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ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS

STATES. CONGRESS. SENATE.
ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

Hearings 1920
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ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS



PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 1

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



**WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1920**

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, Reed, and Pomerehne.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know how many gentlemen are here who have been requested to come. We wish to accommodate them in every way we can. We realize this is a pretty busy time for them. The gentlemen who are here might indicate if there is any time that would suit them.

Dr. RANDOLPH J. HERSEY. I am Dr. Randolph J. Hersey, of West Virginia. We have our primary election to-morrow, and I am very anxious to get back to vote.

The CHAIRMAN. When do you have to leave here to get back.

Dr. HERSEY. Any time before 4.30.

Mr. EMMERSON. I should like to get away by 8 o'clock to-night if it is possible, but I am here subject to the wishes of the committee. I represent the Lowden interests. We are very busy out in Illinois, and I should like to return by 8 o'clock to-night.

Mr. FRANK. I should like to leave this afternoon if it is convenient. I am at your service, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we can get through with all of your gentlemen. We shall try to do so, at any rate.

Before proceeding to the taking of testimony, I wish to say that this subcommittee will carry out the instructions of the Senate and of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections as embodied in the resolution passed by the Senate and likewise the resolution passed by the said committee, both of which resolutions will be made a part of this record.

There is no intention either to aid or injure any of the various candidates for the Presidency in any party.

The question of the source of contributions to presidential campaigns and expenditures of such contributions is a perfectly legitimate subject of inquiry by the Congress. We appreciate that this is a busy time for campaign managers, and shall try to accommodate them in every way consistent with finishing the inquiry at an early date.

The resolution of the Senate under which the investigation is being held is as follows:

[S. Res. 357, Sixty-sixth Congress, second session.]

Resolved, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, is instructed to investigate forthwith and report to the Senate as soon as possible the campaign expenditures of the various presidential candidates in both parties, the names of the persons, firms, or corporations subscribing, the amount

UNITED STATES. CONGRESS. SENATE.
COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

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BEFORE A

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SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

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COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM, Vermont, *Chairman*.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, Iowa.

ATLEE POMERENE, Ohio.

LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN, Illinois.

JAMES A. REED, Missouri.

ALBERT B. FALL, New Mexico.

THOMAS J. WALSH, Montana.

PHILANDER C. KNOX, Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM H. KING, Utah.

SELDEN P. SPENCER, Missouri.

JOSIAH O. WOLCOTT, Delaware.

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, Jr., New York.

HENRY F. ASHURST, Arizona.

JAMES E. WATSON, Indiana.

WALTER E. EDGE, New Jersey.

CHARLES A. WEBB, *Clerk*.

— — —

SUBCOMMITTEE ON S. RES. 357.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, *Chairman*.

SELDEN P. SPENCER.

JAMES A. REED.

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contributed, the method of expenditure of said sums, and all facts in relation thereto, not only as to the subscriptions of money and expenditures thereof, but as to the use of any other means or influence, including the promise or use of patronage and the providing of funds for setting up contesting delegations, and all other facts in relation thereto that would not only be of public interest but would aid the Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

That said Committee on Privileges and Elections, or any subcommittee thereof, is hereby empowered to sit and act at such time and place as it may deem necessary; to require by subpoena, or otherwise, the attendance of witnesses, the production of books, papers, and documents; to employ stenographers at a cost of not exceeding \$1 per printed page. The chairman of the committee or subcommittee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses. Subpoenas for witnesses shall be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or subcommittee thereof. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by authority of said committee or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

The expense thereof shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate on vouchers ordered by said committee, signed by the chairman thereof and approved by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The resolution of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, under which the subcommittee is acting, is as follows:

Resolved, That a subcommittee of five members, of which three shall constitute a quorum, be appointed by the chairman to conduct the investigation with which the committee is charged by Senate resolution 357, and that it proceed at once to prosecute the same; that the managers of the campaigns of the various candidates or persons reputed to be candidates be requested by telegraph to attend before the subcommittee on Monday, May 24, 1920; that the hearings before the said subcommittee be public and that it be directed to proceed in the work with which it is charged with all dispatch. The subcommittee may appoint one or more of its members to investigate any particular question or questions. The subcommittee shall report to the full committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hitchcock, as you seem to be most anxious to get away, we will examine you first.

TESTIMONY OF Mr. FRANK H. HITCHCOCK.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name to the committee and your address?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Frank H. Hitchcock; 120 Broadway, New York City, is my office.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the manager of Gen. Wood's campaign for the Presidency?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. One of the managers.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the other managers?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. William Cooper Procter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he in New York now?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I think not. His headquarters are at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Would he be found at Chicago?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir; at Congress Hotel. The assistant managers in the East, two in number, are Norman J. Gould, Imperial Hotel, New York City, and Thomas W. Miller, same address; and for the South, Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, with headquarters in Washington.

Senator REED. There is just one manager for the East?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There are two assistants in New York City, Messrs. Gould and Miller, and the manager for the South is Senator Moses, with headquarters in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the manager before you took partial charge?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Procter.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there not a man from Connecticut.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was Mr. John T. King, of Bridgeport, Conn.

Senator SPENCER. He is not now connected with the campaign management?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen the resolution, have you not, and know the general purposes of the investigation?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the resolution the committee would like to know the sources of contributions to the campaign. Can you give us any information about the names of the contributors and the expenditures?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That information can be given, I understand, by the treasurers. I have had very little to do with the financial side of the campaign. I came to them under the condition, when I entered the campaign, that I should not be called upon to collect campaign funds, and I have followed that policy. After the announcement of my connection with the campaign various people, from time to time, sent in checks to me and I turned them over to the organization. The total of those checks did not exceed from \$20,000 to \$25,000 for the entire campaign. The money was collected by finance committees in the various States. Each State has a Wood campaign committee, and that committee has appointed a subcommittee on finances. Members of that subcommittee in each State have made collections.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom do they report?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They turn in their money to the treasurers of the campaign. There are two treasurers, one in New York and one in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are they?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Horace S. Stebbins is the eastern treasurer, and his address is 44 Leonard Street, New York City. Mr. Albert A. Sprague, 600 West Erie Street, Chicago, is the other treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Can these gentlemen be found at these addresses now?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I assume so. I am not sure about Mr. Stebbins. When I received your telegram Saturday night I tried to get in touch with him to suggest that he come over with his records, but I found that he was out of town and I have not been able to locate him.

The funds, as I understand, have all been turned in to these two treasurers and they have kept complete accounts in detail of everything received and also of all disbursements. I understand that all disbursements for the campaign have been made by check drawn by these treasurers. So far as my knowledge goes all disbursements have been made in that way.

There is another source of income. The Leonard Wood League, so called, which comprises perhaps 50,000 or 60,000 members all

over the country, is a nation-wide organization and has collected campaign funds chiefly by circularization.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they turned the funds into these two treasurers?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understand all funds collected have been turned in to the treasurers.

Senator POMERENE. Where are their headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They have headquarters in each of the States, but the principal headquarters have been at the Imperial Hotel, New York City. It may be that some of the funds collected by that league have been used in the States where collected. Of that I have no knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can give us that information? Who is the head of that league?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The treasurer can give you the information.

The CHAIRMAN. The treasurer of the league?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I understand the eastern treasurer has acted also as treasurer of the league, and he ought to have the full accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. So Mr. Stebbins will know just what the league has done in the way of collecting money?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It seems to me he could give that in detail.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the officers of the league?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I really do not know who is president at the present time. There have been one or two changes and I have had no relations with the league.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is their office?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. At the Imperial Hotel, New York City.

Senator REED. Who is the secretary?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know.

Senator REED. Who are some of the men connected with it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think Mr. Stebbins himself is one of the officers, if I am not mistaken. I have not been brought into contact with the league in any way. It is an independent organization operating by itself. The disbursements from Washington headquarters have been comparatively small, so far as my knowledge goes. The largest sum sent into any State was \$15,000. Fifteen thousand dollars was sent to New Jersey. They have a primary there in that State; it is a large State and an important one, and that sum was provided by the campaign committee for the campaign in New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you file any statement in New Jersey of expenditures?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir; I think that is required under the State law, and they have made their own records there. The next largest that I know of is \$12,500, which was sent to the State of Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was that sent?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was sent to the Leonard Wood campaign committee of Baltimore. I do not know of any other amount exceeding \$10,000 sent from eastern headquarters to any State.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was the amount in New Jersey sent? To whom was that \$15,000 sent to be handled?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think that was distributed to several people. I think part of it went to the national committeeman of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name, if you know?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Hamilton Kean.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There are two assistants in New York City, Messrs. Gould and Miller, and the manager for the South is Senator Moses, with headquarters in Washington.

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Mr. HITCHCOCK. Sprague, the treasurer, I suppose particularly would know. I was willing to give you as rapidly as possible the sum total of my knowledge, which is not very extensive.

Senator SPENCER. You mean your knowledge is not very extensive?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is not very extensive because I do not know what was done at the western headquarters. The campaign in Michigan was financed by the local people. So far as I know they did not require any money whatever from the Wood organization and I do not know that any money was sent into the State of Wisconsin, but that is getting into the western district.

Senator REED. Who, living in Michigan, was at the head of the Wood campaign in Michigan?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Col. Fred Alger, of Detroit. He informed me that they did not intend to draw at all on the national organization for funds, as they would take care of all expenses themselves.

Senator REED. What was his position with reference to the Michigan organization? Was he chairman or treasurer, or what was he?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He was the chairman.

Senator REED. He is a son of Russell A. Alger, is he?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. A wealthy man himself?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you understand who was associated with him?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He had a large committee that comprised representatives from every county in the State.

Senator REED. Did it have a number of capitalists as members?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. So far as I know he was the only member who would answer that description, but I have not an intimate knowledge of the entire membership of the committee.

Senator REED. How much money did they raise?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know.

Senator REED. You understood through your organization something about that, did you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understood that they would not call on the national organization.

Senator REED. But you do not understand how much they raised?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not any idea how much they raised. That was their own affair and they were to take care of it. You would have to get that from them.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any knowledge about West Virginia?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I have not. That is handled from western headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were diverted you were speaking about the average sum spent in the States of about \$10,000. What did you mean by that? Will you enlarge on that a little?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. So far as my knowledge goes of this campaign—and that is confined simply to disbursements from eastern headquarters—no amount larger than \$15,000 was sent to a State. That was the amount sent to New Jersey. \$12,500 was sent to Maryland and in most other cases the disbursements from New York were less than \$10,000. As I said, not over \$5,000 was sent to any of the New England States, and I remarked that nothing so far as I know went

from national headquarters to Rhode Island or Connecticut, and nothing went to Delaware.

Senator POMERENE. How much has been disbursed from your headquarters all told?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That I do not know, Senator. If I could have procured the records I would have been prepared to give you the facts in detail. I have never gone into that in any way.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give us the amount contributed to your headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I have not any idea.

Senator POMERENE. We can get that from your treasurer?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes. I suppose that the treasurer ought to have all this in detail. Of course, the great expenditures were in the big primary fights like in Illinois and Ohio. Those were handled from western headquarters. I have nothing to do with those campaigns. I did not favor making contests in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. You can give us no information about those States?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I had nothing to do with those two campaigns whatever and know nothing about the disbursements.

The CHAIRMAN. You received or expended less than \$10,000 in certain States, you said. Just what States did you send \$10,000 into, and what States did you send \$5,000 into, or any other sum?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not send this money, you understand. It was sent from the treasurer's office by check.

The CHAIRMAN. But it was sent under your direction?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir, not to any very great extent. I came into the campaign rather late and I had to gain this information in a casual way, but I am quite certain that you will find when you get this information from the treasurer that the total remittances to Maine did not exceed \$5,000, and that is true also of New Hampshire and of Vermont. Most of the expenditures were made before I got into the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Of what States did you have charge?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not have charge of any States directly except that I took charge directly of the campaign in Maryland.

Senator POMERENE. What States did the New York headquarters have charge of?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They had charge of the States eastward from Ohio.

Senator SPENCER. Including Ohio?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; and northward from West Virginia. Ohio was on the western end. The New England States, New, York New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and southward, of course, were under Senator Moses.

Senator SPENCER. Chicago had all the rest except the Southern States under Moses?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then, we have only New England in the East. You say the Southern States in the East were under Senator Moses and everything west of Ohio, including Ohio, was in the western division?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What States did that leave?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. You understand, of course, that my relation to the campaign was supervisory. These other managers advised with me, but they handled the details.

Senator REED. I want to get the jurisdiction of the eastern office.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The New York headquarters had that.

Senator REED. You had New York, did you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The New York headquarters had the States east of Ohio and West Virginia, and, under Senator Moses, the Southern States.

Senator REED. You had New York in the East, had you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How much money was raised and expended there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know how much money was raised.

Senator REED. How much was expended?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That covered a long period, long before I entered the campaign, and I have never seen the records. I have never interested myself in that.

Senator REED. How much was expended there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was informed by the local manager, Mr. Gould, that they had not expended altogether in the whole course of the campaign so far as he knew \$10,000.

Senator REED. In the State of New York?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes; that it was secured by local Wood people.

Senator REED. There are a good many divisions to this.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is a little bit complicated. This arrangement was all made, you understand, Senator, before I came into the campaign. It was rather complicated.

Senator REED. Not to exceed \$10,000 in New York. Let us take the next State. New Jersey you have covered.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. \$15,000.

Senator REED. Pennsylvania.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Nothing whatever from the eastern headquarters, so far as I know. What the western headquarters have done there I do not know.

Senator REED. Does the territory interlap, part of the work in the East and part of it in the West?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The western end of the State, the Pittsburgh organization, seems to be in contact with the western headquarters. Just what their financial relations are I do not know.

Senator REED. Who does know?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The western treasurer ought to know. If they have made any disbursements for Pennsylvania, he would know.

Senator REED. Who was at the head of the local organization in New York and received the money there locally?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There are two agencies there. One of them is the local finance committee.

Senator REED. Who were the local finance committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is made up of quite a number of men. I think there are about 80 members of that committee.

Senator REED. Who is at the head of it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I will recall his name in a moment. He is a lawyer at 120 Broadway. His name is Z. Freeman.

Senator REED. Is he chairman?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is chairman of the committee.

Senator REED. Who is the secretary?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know who the secretary is. The treasurer was Mr. John Iselin, New York.

Senator REED. What is he connected with?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is a lawyer.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know his address?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No. 30 Broad Street, I think, if I am not mistaken.

Senator REED. Can you give us a list of that committee that has been raising the money there at New York?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I can procure it and send it to you. I have never had a list.

Senator EDGE. Can you give us any other names now than those you have given?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir. I have not been brought into contact with those operations to any extent, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stebbins's address is Leonard Street?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Will you send us that list to-morrow?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. You will get it when the treasurer comes here. You will have all that information then.

Senator REED. We have gone through New York and Pennsylvania.

Senator POMERENE. Just one moment, Senator. A moment ago, Mr. Hitchcock, you gave us the personnel of the organization at the national headquarters in New York, and you made the statement that the funds were collected largely by the local organizations. Who is at the head of the local New York organization that had charge of the New York campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Herbert Satterlee.

Senator POMERENE. Where would he be found?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think his office is on Broad Street. I do not remember. He is a lawyer. I do not remember his exact address.

Senator REED. Did I misunderstand you? I thought you said there were two sources that raised money in New York. One of them was this committee of 80 members, and what was the other source?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Leonard Wood League, which is a nationwide organization, and has a New York branch.

Senator SPENCER. Is that the one of which Mr. Satterlee is at the head?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir. Mr. Satterlee is at the head of the Leonard Wood committee of New York City, and this committee of which Mr. Freeman is the chairman, the committee on finance, is a subcommittee of Mr. Satterlee's committee, and that subcommittee, I have been told, has about 80 members.

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Senator REED. We have got now New York and New Jersey. Maryland?

The CHAIRMAN. You did not give us the name of the party to whom the money was sent in Maryland. Do you know that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir; I do. The money was sent to the treasurer of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Leonard Wood campaign committee of Maryland, J. P. Hill, of Baltimore. It was sent to the committee. I suppose it went to him.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that sent?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was sent, I should say, about a week before the primary. I think it was sent in several remittances, not in one remittance.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent no money into Delaware?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No money whatever, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any money was raised in Delaware?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have covered New York?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you not hear of any money being raised in Delaware, or have an understanding that money was being raised there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I suppose the local committee raised money for its own use, but that was not reported to us, and I know nothing about that.

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Mr. HITCHCOCK. The assistant manager at the New York headquarters, Mr. Miller, was from Delaware, formerly a Member of Congress from Delaware, and he managed that campaign. It was his State.

Senator REED. He was in your headquarters, was he not?

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Senator REED. Did he report anything about money?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Nothing whatever.

Senator REED. You have no knowledge about the amount of money raised in Delaware?

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Senator REED. It might have been a million dollars and you would not know it?

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Senator REED. Who did you understand was the chief contributor in Delaware?

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Senator REED. Does anybody know? Can you tell us anybody that does know?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is a hard question for me to answer.

Senator REED. Can you tell us somebody that would know?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Miller would probably know better than anybody else.

Senator REED. What are his initials?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Thomas W. Miller.

Senator REED. And we can find him at your headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. At the Imperial Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hitchcock, do you really think that we can get anything from Mr. Miller that you do not know? We do not want to bring a lot of witnesses here if it is not necessary. Do you not know what was done in Delaware? You are familiar with Delaware and its politics. Can you not tell us just what Mr. Miller could tell us about the contributions and expenditures in Delaware? Were there not quite large contributions from certain interests in Delaware?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not to my knowledge, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Du Pont people contribute anything to that campaign, or to that fund?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. If they had contributed, would you have known it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is quite likely. I am quite certain they did not contribute.

The CHAIRMAN. You are certain they did not contribute?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I feel very certain they did not contribute to the Wood campaign. I have never discussed that matter with any of the Du Ponts, but I know them quite well, and I think if they had contributed to the Wood campaign I would have been informed.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean by that that they may have contributed to some other campaign fund?

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Senator POMERENE. How long have you been in charge of the Wood campaign?

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Senator POMERENE. That has not given you time to get your hands entirely on the machinery, has it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. A good deal of the work was done before I got in. It was a long campaign. Quite a number of the States had had their elections or their primaries before I entered into the campaign, a good many of the Southern States, and other States, and so far as the finances were concerned, I told you at the outset that I specifically stipulated that I was not to be involved in that, was not to be called upon to raise funds, or to have anything to do with that side of the campaign.

over the country, is a nation-wide organization and has collected campaign funds chiefly by circularization.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they turned the funds into these two treasurers?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understand all funds collected have been turned in to the treasurers.

Senator POMERENE. Where are their headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They have headquarters in each of the States, but the principal headquarters have been at the Imperial Hotel, New York City. It may be that some of the funds collected by that league have been used in the States where collected. Of that I have no knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can give us that information? Who is the head of that league?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The treasurer can give you the information.

The CHAIRMAN. The treasurer of the league?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I understand the eastern treasurer has acted also as treasurer of the league, and he ought to have the full accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. So Mr. Stebbins will know just what the league has done in the way of collecting money?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It seems to me he could give that in detail.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the officers of the league?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I really do not know who is president at the present time. There have been one or two changes and I have had no relations with the league.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is their office?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. At the Imperial Hotel, New York City.

Senator REED. Who is the secretary?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know.

Senator REED. Who are some of the men connected with it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think Mr. Stebbins himself is one of the officers, if I am not mistaken. I have not been brought into contact with the league in any way. It is an independent organization operating by itself. The disbursements from Washington headquarters have been comparatively small, so far as my knowledge goes. The largest sum sent into any State was \$15,000. Fifteen thousand dollars was sent to New Jersey. They have a primary there in that State; it is a large State and an important one, and that sum was provided by the campaign committee for the campaign in New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you file any statement in New Jersey of expenditures?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir; I think that is required under the State law, and they have made their own records there. The next largest that I know of is \$12,500, which was sent to the State of Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was that sent?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was sent to the Leonard Wood campaign committee of Baltimore. I do not know of any other amount exceeding \$10,000 sent from eastern headquarters to any State.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was the amount in New Jersey sent? To whom was that \$15,000 sent to be handled?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think that was distributed to several people. I think part of it went to the national committeeman of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name, if you know?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Hamilton Kean.

gether. That campaign was ended before I came in to the Wood campaign. Before that I was in the far West, on the Pacific coast, and came East. I had not been in contact with the campaign. I had been away for months. These early campaigns were conducted before I had anything to do with it, and I have very little information about them. New Hampshire was one of the very first States, you will remember.

Senator REED. Let us go back to Massachusetts for a question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You say you know of only \$5,000 that was sent to Mr. Lufkin. You have not heard of others?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you mean that is all that you know of?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not think any other money was sent to Massachusetts, Senator. As far as my knowledge goes, that was all, \$5,000. And it was sent, by the way, as I understand it, from the Chicago headquarters, rather than New York, because New York had no money at the time and they called on the Chicago headquarters to remit it. I was informed that it was remitted from Chicago to the manager in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Vermont?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Wood manager in Vermont is Nelson Jackson, of Burlington. He has received certain remittances from the New York headquarters, just what I do not know, but I was informed that he had not received as much as \$5,000. I inquired how much was sent to Vermont, and that was the information I received.

Senator REED. Who did you inquire from?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. You can get that in detail when you get the treasurer here, because that money was all sent by check.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Maine?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was a very early campaign, conducted before I had anything to do with the management.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was simply informed they did not send as much as \$5,000. I inquired in a general way how much money was sent to this State, and how much to that, from these managers. It is all hearsay. It is not precise information.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to keep away from hearsay.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I know. I am trying to answer your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other States? I thought I had covered everything east of Ohio, except the South. West Virginia?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was in the western territory.

Senator POMERENE. You conducted no campaign in West Virginia from the eastern headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That was all from the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The manager for West Virginia was appointed by the western office.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who he is?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is the State auditor of West Virginia, Mr. Darst. I have not had any contact with him. I have not seen him.

Senator SPENCER. Where is he located, at Charleston, or Wheeling?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is at Charleston.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Sprague, the treasurer, I suppose particularly would know. I was willing to give you as rapidly as possible the sum total of my knowledge, which is not very extensive.

Senator SPENCER. You mean your knowledge is not very extensive?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is not very extensive because I do not know what was done at the western headquarters. The campaign in Michigan was financed by the local people. So far as I know they did not require any money whatever from the Wood organization and I do not know that any money was sent into the State of Wisconsin, but that is getting into the western district.

Senator REED. Who, living in Michigan, was at the head of the Wood campaign in Michigan?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Col. Fred Alger, of Detroit. He informed me that they did not intend to draw at all on the national organization for funds, as they would take care of all expenses themselves.

Senator REED. What was his position with reference to the Michigan organization? Was he chairman or treasurer, or what was he?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He was the chairman.

Senator REED. He is a son of Russell A. Alger, is he?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. A wealthy man himself?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you understand who was associated with him?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He had a large committee that comprised representatives from every county in the State.

Senator REED. Did it have a number of capitalists as members?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. So far as I know he was the only member who would answer that description, but I have not an intimate knowledge of the entire membership of the committee.

Senator REED. How much money did they raise?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know.

Senator REED. You understood through your organization something about that, did you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understood that they would not call on the national organization.

Senator REED. But you do not understand how much they raised?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have not any idea how much they raised. That was their own affair and they were to take care of it. You would have to get that from them.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any knowledge about West Virginia?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I have not. That is handled from western headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. When you were diverted you were speaking about the average sum spent in the States of about \$10,000. What did you mean by that? Will you enlarge on that a little?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. So far as my knowledge goes of this campaign—and that is confined simply to disbursements from eastern headquarters—no amount larger than \$15,000 was sent to a State. That was the amount sent to New Jersey. \$12,500 was sent to Maryland and in most other cases the disbursements from New York were less than \$10,000. As I said, not over \$5,000 was sent to any of the New England States, and I remarked that nothing so far as I know went

from national headquarters to Rhode Island or Connecticut, and nothing went to Delaware.

Senator POMERENE. How much has been disbursed from your headquarters all told?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That I do not know, Senator. If I could have procured the records I would have been prepared to give you the facts in detail. I have never gone into that in any way.

Senator POMERENE. Can you give us the amount contributed to your headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I have not any idea.

Senator POMERENE. We can get that from your treasurer?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes. I suppose that the treasurer ought to have all this in detail. Of course, the great expenditures were in the big primary fights like in Illinois and Ohio. Those were handled from western headquarters. I have nothing to do with those campaigns. I did not favor making contests in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. You can give us no information about those States?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I had nothing to do with those two campaigns whatever and know nothing about the disbursements.

The CHAIRMAN. You received or expended less than \$10,000 in certain States, you said. Just what States did you send \$10,000 into, and what States did you send \$5,000 into, or any other sum?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not send this money, you understand. It was sent from the treasurer's office by check.

The CHAIRMAN. But it was sent under your direction?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir, not to any very great extent. I came into the campaign rather late and I had to gain this information in a casual way, but I am quite certain that you will find when you get this information from the treasurer that the total remittances to Maine did not exceed \$5,000, and that is true also of New Hampshire and of Vermont. Most of the expenditures were made before I got into the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Of what States did you have charge?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not have charge of any States directly except that I took charge directly of the campaign in Maryland.

Senator POMERENE. What States did the New York headquarters have charge of?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They had charge of the States eastward from Ohio.

Senator SPENCER. Including Ohio?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; and northward from West Virginia. Ohio was on the western end. The New England States, New, York New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and southward, of course, were under Senator Moses.

Senator SPENCER. Chicago had all the rest except the Southern States under Moses?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then, we have only New England in the East. You say the Southern States in the East were under Senator Moses and everything west of Ohio, including Ohio, was in the western division?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What States did that leave?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. You understand, of course, that my relation to the campaign was supervisory. These other managers advised with me, but they handled the details.

Senator REED. I want to get the jurisdiction of the eastern office.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The New York headquarters had that.

Senator REED. You had New York, did you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The New York headquarters had the States east of Ohio and West Virginia, and, under Senator Moses, the Southern States.

Senator REED. You had New York in the East, had you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How much money was raised and expended there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know how much money was raised.

Senator REED. How much was expended?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That covered a long period, long before I entered the campaign, and I have never seen the records. I have never interested myself in that.

Senator REED. How much was expended there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was informed by the local manager, Mr. Gould, that they had not expended altogether in the whole course of the campaign so far as he knew \$10,000.

Senator REED. In the State of New York?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes; that it was secured by local Wood people.

Senator REED. There are a good many divisions to this.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is a little bit complicated. This arrangement was all made, you understand, Senator, before I came into the campaign. It was rather complicated.

Senator REED. Not to exceed \$10,000 in New York. Let us take the next State. New Jersey you have covered.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. \$15,000.

Senator REED. Pennsylvania.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Nothing whatever from the eastern headquarters, so far as I know. What the western headquarters have done there I do not know.

Senator REED. Does the territory interlap, part of the work in the East and part of it in the West?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The western end of the State, the Pittsburgh organization, seems to be in contact with the western headquarters. Just what their financial relations are I do not know.

Senator REED. Who does know?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The western treasurer ought to know. If they have made any disbursements for Pennsylvania, he would know.

Senator REED. Who was at the head of the local organization in New York and received the money there locally?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. There are two agencies there. One of them is the local finance committee.

Senator REED. Who were the local finance committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is made up of quite a number of men. I think there are about 80 members of that committee.

Senator REED. Who is at the head of it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I will recall his name in a moment. He is a lawyer at 120 Broadway. His name is Z. Freeman.

Senator REED. Is he chairman?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is chairman of the committee.

Senator REED. Who is the secretary?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know who the secretary is. The treasurer was Mr. John Iselin, New York.

Senator REED. What is he connected with?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is a lawyer.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know his address?

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Senator REED. Does anybody know? Can you tell us anybody that does know?

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The CHAIRMAN. But you do have something to do with apportioning funds, do you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I advised, from the time I entered the campaign, in certain instances, as regards the allotment of funds, as to how much should be spent, and I am trying to give you everything I know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You said there was none in Delaware and Pennsylvania?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Nothing from our headquarters, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing to Connecticut?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Now, mind you, I did not attempt to dictate to these assistant managers as to what they should do in every instance. I think I would know of any important allotment, but it is possible that these managers have made remittances of which I know nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. They could make allotments without asking you, could they?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They had authority to. I did not restrict them in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Miller and Mr. Gould.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anyone who could make allotments?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Senator Moses.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would have some general idea of how the chest was, as to whether it was being exhausted or not, would you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not have any trouble in ascertaining that, because it was exhausted practically all the time. From the time I entered the campaign the great difficulty was lack of funds.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not exhausted by these allotments you have given us as having been sent to various States, was it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That money was raised from time to time by these agencies. When I entered the campaign, at the eastern headquarters they had a deficit.

The CHAIRMAN. You have given us now all of the States to which you sent money, have you?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I want to make myself very clear about these assistant managers. They handle the details of that campaign under me, and they have naturally more precise information than I about the details.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us continue with these States. We have covered a number of them. Connecticut, no money; Rhode Island, no money.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. None, to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Massachusetts?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I know of one remittance of \$5,000 to Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was that sent?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was sent to Congressman Lufkin, the manager for Wood in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you know of in Massachusetts, is it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is all I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. What about New Hampshire?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know in a precise way what was done there. I was told in a general way they did not send \$5,000 alto-

gether. That campaign was ended before I came in to the Wood campaign. Before that I was in the far West, on the Pacific coast, and came East. I had not been in contact with the campaign. I had been away for months. These early campaigns were conducted before I had anything to do with it, and I have very little information about them. New Hampshire was one of the very first States, you will remember.

Senator REED. Let us go back to Massachusetts for a question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You say you know of only \$5,000 that was sent to Mr. Lufkin. You have not heard of others?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you mean that is all that you know of?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not think any other money was sent to Massachusetts, Senator. As far as my knowledge goes, that was all, \$5,000. And it was sent, by the way, as I understand it, from the Chicago headquarters, rather than New York, because New York had no money at the time and they called on the Chicago headquarters to remit it. I was informed that it was remitted from Chicago to the manager in Massachusetts.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Vermont?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Wood manager in Vermont is Nelson Jackson, of Burlington. He has received certain remittances from the New York headquarters, just what I do not know, but I was informed that he had not received as much as \$5,000. I inquired how much was sent to Vermont, and that was the information I received.

Senator REED. Who did you inquire from?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. You can get that in detail when you get the treasurer here, because that money was all sent by check.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Maine?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was a very early campaign, conducted before I had anything to do with the management.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know about that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was simply informed they did not send as much as \$5,000. I inquired in a general way how much money was sent to this State, and how much to that, from these managers. It is all hearsay. It is not precise information.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to keep away from hearsay.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I know. I am trying to answer your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other States? I thought I had covered everything east of Ohio, except the South. West Virginia?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was in the western territory.

Senator POMERENE. You conducted no campaign in West Virginia from the eastern headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That was all from the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The manager for West Virginia was appointed by the western office.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who he is?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is the State auditor of West Virginia, Mr. Darst. I have not had any contact with him. I have not seen him.

Senator SPENCER. Where is he located, at Charleston, or Wheeling?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is at Charleston.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hitchcock, did you have charge of the publicity part of the campaign, magazine articles?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I had nothing whatever to do with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who handled that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The publicity has been handled chiefly at the Chicago headquarters. From the Chicago headquarters they conducted, as you know, an extensive advertising campaign, and financed it from there, as I understand it.

Senator POMERENE. Who has charge of the publicity?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They have had various men handling the publicity end. The last that I know of was a young man named Sunday.

Senator POMERENE. Not Billy Sunday?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I believe it was his son. Col. Ed. W. Clark, whom you all know, I fancy, a Washington newspaper man, a very able fellow, has been connected with the publicity end there in an advisory way.

Senator REED. Where is he?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I suppose he is in Chicago. Their headquarters are in the Congress Hotel. But he has not had charge of some of the publicity that has been put out by the bureau under Sunday.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hitchcock, let me ask you this question.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You have indicated thus far that you had nothing to do with the financing of this campaign; also that you had nothing to do with the publicity part of the campaign. What part of the work did you have immediate control of?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, my function has been largely advisory, supervisory. I have endeavored to interest the political leaders of the country that I knew, friends of mine, and men that I have known in previous campaigns, in the Wood cause. The work of bringing to the Wood campaign leaders that I had acquaintance with has been my principal work, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. And you succeeded, of course?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Does that come within the scope of this inquiry?

Senator POMERENE. I will withdraw that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have charge of blocking out campaigns in different parts of the country? Take the South, the general plan of campaign in the South, did you have charge of that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. To some extent, but much of the southern territory had been taken care of before I came in. The important States down there, many of them, had already had their conventions. I expected to participate quite actively in that phase of the campaign, the planning of it, but I did not approve of the general plan of contesting in what is called favorite son States, and when I found that plan was to be carried out, I asked to be relieved of any connection with the campaign in such State.

The CHAIRMAN. There are not many favorite-son States in the South, are there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. North Carolina, I believe, Judge Pritchard.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. North Carolina. Most of the conventions in those States were through before I got into the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. The general plan of how the campaign should be carried out in those States was under your direction, was it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. In respect to certain States.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose it was decided to set up contesting delegations, would that question be referred to you? Who would determine that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I will say to you frankly that I have never set up any contesting delegations, and never intend to. I do not believe in that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps that might be an unfortunate term. There has been rumors that there have been contesting delegations set up in Southern States, I do not know as to that, but there are contesting delegations in various Southern States?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not due to any plan?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is due to an outburst of righteous indignation on the part of those who were not delegates, and things of that kind?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The principal contest that has developed since I have been in the movement is the contest in Georgia, and the organization in Georgia is headed by the State chairman, who is recognized by the national committee, and with the approval of the national committman, recognized by our national committee. In this late campaign for Wood in that State, that organization is being contested.

Senator REED. Who is at the head of that organization?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The State chairman is named Roscoe Pickett.

Senator REED. Is he the head of it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is the State chairman in Georgia.

Senator REED. Who is at the head of the Wood organization?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is one of the leaders of the Wood organization.

Senator SPENCER. Does it have headquarters at Atlanta?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They were. That campaign is over, of course. The Wood people have not made any contests in the South.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the Alabama campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Very little, Senator. I know this about Alabama, and I am glad to tell you everything I know, that \$2,500 has been sent into that State from the New York headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was sent to the Wood manager, Col. Dallas B. Smith.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Opelika, Ala.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that sent?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was sent something over a month ago, and in two remittances. I think the first remittance was a thousand dollars, and then a couple of weeks later, \$1,500.

The CHAIRMAN. That was sent from the New York headquarters, was it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was sent—no; I think I am mistaken; I am not quite certain.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not quite certain where it was sent from, but you know it was sent?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was from New York or Washington.

Senator REED. And who was that sent to?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Col. Dallas B. Smith. So far as my knowledge goes, that is the total amount of money sent into Alabama.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the other Southern States? Was money sent from the New York headquarters to any other Southern State?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Senator Moses would have more precise information than I, but I will be very glad to tell you everything I know. The only other Southern State to which funds have been sent, as I recollect, by the Wood campaign committee, is Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. How much have you sent there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think a total from both headquarters of \$10,000 has been sent to Georgia. That is from New York and Washington. At first, \$5,000 was sent for that campaign, and then it was reported to us that the opposition in the State was flooding the State with money, and they asked for additional funds, and we sent \$5,000 additional.

Senator REED. Who was the opposition?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not pretend to know. That is the way it was described—the other candidates.

Senator REED. But you know who was the leading candidate. We are not asking you to commit anybody to having sent money.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I must say, Senator, I do not know. The opposition to us was represented by the leader who was appointed there.

Senator REED. Who was that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That was the leader of the colored element in the State.

Senator REED. What is his name?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Henry Lincoln Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. It was reported to you that he was spending a good deal of money?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not that he was spending a good deal of money, but that the opposition was.

Senator REED. And he was at the head of it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He was one of the leaders of the opposition.

Senator POMERENE. You want to qualify your statement a little while ago to the effect that there were no contesting delegations, so far as Georgia is concerned, do you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is the only State in which there is a contesting delegation, and there is only one throughout the State, I understand, on the part of those people.

I have already remarked that the North Carolina fight was practically over when I entered the campaign. That is also true of Florida. That is also true of South Carolina, and true of Virginia. Virginia was practically finished. Tennessee was just holding its convention at the time. And the later ones, Alabama has been the last one. That was last week. As far as I know, our committee sent only \$2,500 into the State of Alabama.

The CHAIRMAN. These are all the contributions that you know of that the committee has sent into the South?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you know. Did I understand you to say that the Wood management had made no contest themselves in the South?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We have not set up any contests. For instance, take North Carolina. That delegation was instructed for Judge Pritchard. We have not made any contest in that State.

Senator SPENCER. You are not contestant in that State?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You are contestee in Georgia?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We are contestees in Georgia. I will say that the Florida delegation is uninstructed, but is assumed to be for Wood, because the leaders have announced that they are for Wood, and they are reputable men, and having said that, of course, that fixes the status of that delegation. There is a contest against the uninstructed delegation in Florida. That developed some time after the State convention.

The so-called Wood delegation in Mississippi is a contested delegation against an instructed delegation. I want to qualify what I said by making that explanation. That delegation is not, in my judgment, a legally elected delegation, and I have had nothing whatever to do with it for that reason.

Senator SPENCER. Which delegation?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The so-called Wood delegation in Mississippi. I have to qualify what I said before, by making that explanation.

Senator SPENCER. That is, if the so-called Wood delegation in Mississippi is contested, it is not with your cooperation as campaign manager?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not with the eastern management, or with any of the managers who associated with me. We do not consider it has any legal rights, and consequently we have had nothing to do with it.

I do not know whether these proceedings will be published or not. I imagine, from the looks of this table here, they might be.

The CHAIRMAN. They might be. You had better not make any confessions.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I thought this might be an executive session.

Senator REED. Mr. Hitchcock, I have not been able to quite get the scheme of organization. As I understand you, you have an eastern headquarters in New York City, which has general jurisdiction over that part of the country east of Ohio and north of what is called the Southern States. Then, there is another organization in Chicago that has jurisdiction over all of the United States that lies west of the eastern line of Ohio and runs as far south as the Southern States. Is that right?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir. The western headquarters also took jurisdiction of Mississippi.

Senator REED. General speaking, the Southern States are in charge of the southern headquarters, at the head of which was Senator Moses?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There are no other general headquarters than those three?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Only those three, Senator.

Senator REED. Which one of those three headquarters is the real headquarters? There must be some place where the general management is brought together? Now, which one of them constitutes that general headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, I can answer that by saying that the general headquarters would be where Gen. Wood is, and that is in Chicago.

Senator REED. He is at Chicago?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So that you regard the eastern headquarters as subordinate, and the southern headquarters as subordinate to the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. In effect, it has been so.

Senator REED. The general direction or general management has been from Chicago, where Gen. Wood himself is? In fact, that is headquarters. Is that right?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think the Chicago headquarters have assumed that it has general jurisdiction over the entire country.

Senator REED. You have acquiesced in that, have you not? I am not speaking about any arguments or disputes that may have come up, but you would say, as one of the managers, that the general headquarters are in Chicago, or that they have assumed to have a general control?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Senator, are you leading up to something in connection with the financial situation?

Senator REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, on that subject——

Senator REED. I am leading up first to the general management, which necessarily involved the expenditure of money. The question is purely preliminary.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I thought so, and I am going to answer you very frankly. The control of the finances is centered in Chicago.

Senator REED. I know enough about politics to know that puts the control in Chicago. We both know that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. We know that, of course.

Senator REED. That is true in business and every other place.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am very glad to have such control there.

Senator REED. And you have headquarters in New York at what hotel?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The headquarters of the Wood campaign committee are at the Imperial Hotel.

Senator REED. How much space have you there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The space at present is limited to a few rooms. At the beginning of my experience in the campaign it was quite an elaborate headquarters. I do not know how many rooms there were.

Senator REED. How many floors did they have?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Chiefly on one floor, I think.

Senator REED. They had all of one floor, and then some more?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am not certain about that, Senator. I did not establish myself at the headquarters in the Imperial Hotel.

Senator REED. But you are there, are you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I have been there very frequently.

Senator REED. If you are not at the headquarters, who is?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The local manager, Mr. Gould, is in charge of that headquarters, just as Senator Moses is in charge of the Washington headquarters.

Senator REED. How many rooms have they there now?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know; I suppose four or five.

Senator REED. What have been the rental charges?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know anything about that detail.

Senator REED. How many clerks do they have over there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. At present very few. Formerly, a large number.

Senator REED. When did that condition when there was a large number cease?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It began to cease some weeks ago. We did not have the money to maintain such headquarters, and we had to cut it down.

Senator REED. What was the character of these employees, as to the kind of employment they were in? Did you have publicity men there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir; to some extent.

Senator REED. Did you have the managers of the various States?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was largely a campaign of circularizing, sending out all sorts of leaflets and documents, and that sort of thing; and they did that on a rather elaborate scale.

Senator REED. It was on a very large scale, covering the entire country, was it not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was. It was unnecessarily large.

Senator REED. How much money was spent on that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know.

Senator REED. You know something about it, do you not, because you had to cut down the expenses?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not cut them down. I did not assume any jurisdiction whatever over that headquarters or its personnel.

Senator REED. Who did cut down the expenses?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The manager of the headquarters.

Senator REED. That was Mr. Gould?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Gould. I did not interfere with him in any way. I found these tremendous headquarters in various cities, running full blast, and the local managers had charge of them, and I did not wish to interfere with the personnel in any way; and I did not.

Senator REED. There were tremendous headquarters in New York, that we have spoken of, at this hotel. Were there other headquarters in New York besides those at the hotel?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. You had some headquarters of your own, did you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I had two rooms where I live, at the Manhattan Hotel.

Senator REED. What salaries are paid over at this headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know.

Senator REED. Have you no idea about it? Do you not know what anybody gets?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir; I do not know a single salary.

Senator REED. You do not get any?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not get any, naturally.

Senator REED. I assumed not. You do not know the aggregate of these salaries, or anything about it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir; I do not. I have not in any way attached myself to headquarters. I furnish my own rooms, and I have

received no money whatever from the Wood organization for any purpose.

Senator REED. This eastern organization at New York has authority to receive money, solicit funds, and was engaged in doing that when you took hold?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You do not know how much they have received?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. May I make this general statement? I was not expected to take charge of headquarters, or to interfere in any way with the operations at the headquarters. I came in purely in an advisory capacity, with respect to the campaign over the country.

Senator REED. I understand, but what I am trying to get at is, whether this local organization at the eastern headquarters was authorized to and had been raising and expending money, conducting a large publicity campaign, and that was going on at the time you came into your present position?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It was, yes, sir.

Senator REED. In addition to the eastern Wood headquarters, which you have described, there was another organization known as the Wood League, did you say?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The Leonard Wood League has its headquarters in the same hotel.

Senator REED. They do not office with the campaign committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, they have separate offices.

Senator REED. I believe you have told us who is at the head of that. How much space do they have?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know. I never came in contact with that organization in any way. It maintains a separate organization, and so far as I know, its relationship to the other committee is simply that they turn in funds collected to the treasury. They had nothing to do with the conduct of the campaign, or conducting the publicity work, or circularizing the country in the interest of the Wood campaign, but were organized with the object of raising funds by getting a large number of small contributors, and they did get a very large number of small contributions. That was the plan.

Senator REED. But you do not know how much they raised, and you do not know how much of that money was turned over to the Wood campaign committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not. Most of that financing was done, Senator, you understand, before I came into the campaign.

Senator REED. I understand.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I came in toward the end of the financial campaign. The organization and maintenance of these large headquarters, not only in New York and Chicago but also in most of the important States, meant, of course, a very large drain on the finances of the Wood campaign. It was in my judgment a serious mistake to develop such headquarters, and as the campaign developed they reached the point where they found all the money they could raise had to be expended in keeping up these headquarters, and they were very expensive.

The CHAIRMAN. Were rents high in New York?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Certainly they are.

Senator REED. You do not know how expensive the headquarters were, do you?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, I do not, but you can imagine large quarters in various hotels in various cities are very expensive indeed.

Senator POMERENE. Will you allow me to ask one question there, Senator?

Senator REED. Certainly.

Senator POMERENE. In view of these very large expenses, in these very large headquarters in these very large hotels in these very large cities, suppose you were sitting as a member of this committee and you wanted to get full and complete information respecting the receipts and expenditures of that campaign, whom would you call to give the information to yourself as a member of this committee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, I would naturally call the officers of the campaign that received the contributions and made the disbursements. I explained at the outset, Senator, that the funds raised went to two treasurers, and that the disbursements were made by check through the offices of those two treasurers, and I have been informed that they have kept full and detailed accounts of both receipts and expenditures, so that if you will act on my suggestion and get those officers before you I believe you will get the information you desire.

Senator SPENCER. That is, Mr. Stebbins, in New York, and Mr. Sprague, in Chicago, can give full information as to all expenditures?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They certainly would know everything. I assume they would.

The CHAIRMAN. I have wired them as suggested.

Senator REED. Let us get this as nearly in one group as possible, with respect to this plan of organization. Have you been at the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The headquarters are located where?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Congress Hotel.

Senator REED. How much space have they there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know. I have never been through the headquarters. I have been only in the main office.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. In March. I have been in the main office twice.

Senator REED. Where are the headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The second floor of the Congress Hotel.

Senator REED. Where was the place that you visited?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The second floor of the Congress Hotel. One of the offices is the main office.

Senator REED. You never were through the main office?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I never went through the various offices that comprise the headquarters. I simply called at the main office.

Senator REED. You have a pretty general idea of the size of those headquarters, have you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. A very casual idea. I never went through them. They were expensive. I described them myself as being expensive. I do not wish to minimize that point at all.

Senator REED. I do not think you do.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I consider it was a very grave mistake to establish such large headquarters. It was not the way to conduct a campaign of that kind. I think we all feel it was a mistake. It entailed an unnecessary financial burden on the campaign.

Senator REED. You do not know the number of employees they had in Chicago?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir; I do not.

Senator REED. Very well. We will pass from that.

The southern headquarters are established where?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They were established at the New Willard Hotel.

Senator REED. Do you know how much space there was there?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, I do not. I have never been there.

Senator REED. Do you know who constitutes the personnel of the force here in Washington?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir. I have not been in the headquarters, and have not met one of the subordinates. I have dealt only through the manager, Senator Moses. And that is true of the other headquarters. I have not met any of the subordinates there in any case. I just had dealings with the managers.

Senator REED. I can understand that. I only wanted to know if you had the information.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I would give it to you if I had.

Senator REED. Did you ever have at any of these headquarters anyone who performed the function generally of going from one State to another for the purpose of perfecting organizations and carrying on a campaign? I will use the term which is sometimes used, "the flying squadron." I do not use it disrespectfully at all.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understand. I have not had anything that would answer that description, but there have been workers for the Wood cause that have traveled throughout the various States.

Senator REED. Under salary?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. So far as the eastern branch is concerned I do not know of anybody who has been sent out under a salary, but I can not say as regards the Chicago headquarters. I understand that they have followed the plan more extensively of sending workers out.

Senator REED. Paid workers?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know as to that, but they have sent workers out. I am not certain about that.

Senator REED. Do you not understand it to be a fact, that at these various headquarters they have had agents—I do not say it is improper at all, but we are trying to get at the question of expense—whose business has been to go from State to State and from point to point and put up the fences, to use a political expression, arrange for carrying on a campaign, organize locally, etc.? Do you not understand that to be a fact?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Certainly. It is always the case.

Senator REED. How large that force has been you can not tell?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. From my eastern headquarters, very few indeed.

Senator REED. What do you mean by that? There are only 48 States. It does not take very many to cover 8 or 10 States. I am just trying to get at whether that was that sort of an organization.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am trying to refresh my memory as to the exact number of men that have been sent out in that way from the eastern headquarters.

Senator REED. As you go along, running them through your mind, just give us their names.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know of anybody that has been sent out in that way from the New York headquarters. I think that the

managers themselves, the assistant managers, have made several trips. I know they have made several trips through the Eastern States to the various headquarters in those States. I did not favor the plan, Senator, of sending out workers into other States in a campaign of this kind, and so under my jurisdiction it has not been done, because it usually creates ill-feeling on the part of the local political managers. I think it is wiser to work through the leaders in the States and put the responsibility on them. That has been the system I have always followed. I do not favor the policy of entering those States, and I have not done it.

Senator REED. Very well. You have given us the names of those eastern managers, have you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir. They have traveled very largely as a matter of courtesy, to the various headquarters, to call on the local managers, and I do not think we have had a single salaried agent. Certainly not since my connection with the campaign have we had any traveling in those States. I hesitated because I wanted to be sure. I can not think of a State. If it was done, it was not done through me.

Senator REED. Do you think they did have them in Chicago?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Perhaps I should not say that. I have understood that they have used agents to some extent, from the Chicago headquarters, but that is something you can learn directly from them.

Senator REED. Now, I want to come to the question of the State organizations. In some way or another, there was effected a State organization in each of these eastern States, was there not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did it spring up itself, or was it promoted from the outside?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Well, Senator——

Senator REED. Is that a mixed question?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It is perhaps a little mixed, and it relates to a period in the campaign of which I have little knowledge, because I was not in the campaign at the time.

Senator REED. Very well.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. The beginning of that campaign I know little about.

Senator REED. Yes; you have said that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. It passed through a long period of development before I was familiar with it.

Senator REED. When you got in you found every State in the eastern division organized, did you?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir. Well, I would not say that. I would say I found they had an organization of one kind or another in every eastern State.

Senator REED. And that organization had a State headquarters?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And the local organization, by which I mean the organization in the State, raised money and expended money within the State for itself?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I presume so. I have no positive knowledge in any case.

Senator REED. You do not mean to tell us that these State organizations reported to you or to your organization the amount of money they had collected and disbursed within their own State, do you?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Not necessarily. Some of them had to report to their State authorities, but they have had the usual forms or organization, I understand, a treasurer that disbursed the funds.

Senator REED. Exactly; but I am trying to get at whether the State organizations are branches of your general organization, or whether they are independent Wood organizations within their States, and cooperate for the general purpose of his election. In the first case they might be required to report to you all money collected and disbursed, or to collect and remit to you and disburse by check from you; in the other case, they could collect their money and put it in their own treasury and pay it out. Which plan was followed?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I think they usually regarded themselves as independent in that sense, that they had control of their finances, and that their contributions to the general campaign expenses were voluntary. I think that was their attitude. They wanted to help in every way possible, and they sent in what they could to help the general campaign. In some States they kept on functioning after their own campaign had ended, after the need of money in their own State was over.

Senator REED. That is to say, there being one of these State organizations in a given State, it would collect money and expend the money within its own borders, and then sometimes it would collect money which it would remit to the general headquarters to help in the general campaign throughout the country?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is my understanding.

Senator REED. So, if we get at the amount of money which has been expended for Gen. Wood, we will have to find out what was expended through the three general headquarters, in the East, West, and South; then we will have to find out what was collected and disbursed by these State organizations in each one of the States; and then we will have to add to that what was collected and disbursed by the Wood League; and then there may be other sources?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. You will have to do that in respect to every one of these campaigns, to get at all the expenditures, of course, as that is the usual system.

Senator REED. I am not criticizing it; I am just trying to get at the system. I did not want to have the erroneous impression that I might have had, that these State organizations all reported to the central organization, sent all their money to the central organization, and it was all checked out by the central organization.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not think I stated that.

Senator REED. I did not say you did.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not intend to give you that impression at all.

Senator REED. Do you know of any other organizations, aside from these we have mentioned, that have been engaged in raising money or disbursing money in behalf of Gen. Wood?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir; I do not.

Senator REED. Have you heard of any such organization?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Hitchcock, will you kindly give us the names of some of the contributors whom you can remember, all whom you can remember?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I can give you a complete list, furnish it to you.

Senator REED. Have you it with you?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir; I haven't it with me.

Senator REED. Our telegram called for that.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. But those are the records of the treasurers.

The CHAIRMAN. They can furnish all of that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They can furnish all of that.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Stebbins, who has been wired for, will have everything in detail?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Stebbins will have everything in detail. He is, of course, the proper officer to report that. He has exact information.

Senator SPENCER. I suppose the eastern headquarters sent out an enormous amount of circulars and printed information to the different States?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir. The campaign for many months was one of creating publicity over the country, and they did a lot of printing that was expensive, and the mailing of those things was expensive. It required a lot of financing.

Senator SPENCER. When you speak of different amounts being sent to certain States, you speak only in reference to the sending of actual cash, do you not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You do not refer to any amount sent to those States by way of literature or publicity?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Oh, no. The general campaign committee did that printing and distributing, and paid for it, sending it not only to a large number of individuals, but supplying it to the State organizations. Then also some of the State organizations did printing of their own. Sometimes the State managers preferred a different kind of presentation, and they would print their own documents and send them out.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any definite purpose for which the several amounts to the different States were given, or were they sent for such use in organizing work, or otherwise, as the State organization might determine?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They consulted considerably with the State managers, and tried to meet their demands, but at the outset, before the organizations in the States were perfected, they did a large amount of printing, I am told, and distributed it on their own initiative and according to their own ideas. Then later the States began to demand other kinds of documents, and the result was that in some cases they printed and distributed their own. All of that was done, remember, before I had any connection with it. That sort of campaigning was practically over when I came in.

The CHAIRMAN. State for the record the date of your connection with the campaign.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Early in March.

The CHAIRMAN. That is definite enough.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. About the middle of March, I think, roughly speaking, I began to assist.

Senator REED. Just one or two questions more. When were the New York headquarters opened?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Senator, I can not tell you.

Senator REED. Can you approximate it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I do not know. I was on the Pacific coast then, through the winter, far away from New York, and I do not know when they opened the headquarters.

Senator REED. You do not know when the Wood campaign began?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; I do not.

Senator REED. And you do not really know and can not tell us of any of the large financial interests that got together and had a talk about starting Wood in that campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I was a thousand miles away from New York and know nothing about it.

Senator REED. Who was your predecessor?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Proctor was in charge at the time I came into the campaign.

Senator REED. Who else?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Prior to him?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. John T. King, of Connecticut, national committeeman, was the first manager.

Senator REED. Did he have the whole country under his jurisdiction?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. That is, of course, general information. I did not know anything about the relationship, or how it was arranged, but I understood from newspapers report, that he was reported as being Gen. Wood's manager in the campaign.

Senator REED. For the whole country or for the east?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I understood for the whole country. Then I understood Mr. Proctor came in and took charge of this Leonard Wood League. He was the chairman of it. Who succeeded him I can not recall. When he became the manager of the campaign, it had the effect of merging the two, in a sense. As I understand it, he started as the head of the Leonard Wood League, and was conducting the league while Mr. King was conducting the other campaign activities. Then finally Mr. Proctor assumed charge of the campaign in general, and was in charge when I came in. The organizations built up, you understand, were not my organizations. They were not of my selecting.

The CHAIRMAN. You took them as you found them?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I took them as I found them, and in order to avoid any friction of any kind I decided not to interfere in the slightest way with the personnel or operation of the organizations. I preferred simply to have an advisory connection with the campaign. That was the understanding when I came in. That is why I do not know these details that you want.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more questions, gentlemen?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hitchcock, some time ago there was a statement printed, I think in the New York World, to the effect that some certain very rich men had a meeting at another very rich man's house, and they at that time agreed to underwrite this campaign of Gen. Wood's. What do you know about that?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Nothing.

Senator POMERENE. Have you heard about it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Only the newspaper account.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any way by which the facts in regard to that statement can be obtained?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Do you know the names of the men?

Senator POMERENE. The names of the men, so it can be either proven or disproven.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I would think the direct way would be to ask those men, if you have their names.

Senator POMERENE. You know nothing about it?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I know nothing about it.

Senator POMERENE. Have you learned anything about it from anyone connected with the Wood campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No, sir. I will say to you frankly, I never heard of such a meeting, except what I have read in the newspapers.

Senator REED. It was alleged to have occurred before your connection with that campaign, was it not?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Long before that. From the time of my connection with the campaign, the financial situation, so far as the eastern headquarters are concerned, has been decidedly precarious. The managers have been cutting down these headquarters, and cutting off activities constantly.

The CHAIRMAN. You are unable to give us any estimate of the amount of money that has been collected from these various sources from the Wood campaign?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I am unable to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Hitchcock. We are very much obliged to you. We might call you again.

If you see Mr. Stebbins, I wish you would tell him the line of information we want.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I did not receive your telegram until late. I am not at the Imperial Hotel, and I received it on Saturday evening. I tried to reach him then, but I was not able to.

Senator REED. Mr. Hitchcock, you mentioned a Mr. Satterlee?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know his business connection?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. He is a lawyer.

Senator REED. He is not connected with J. P. Morgan & Co.?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. No; not to my knowledge.

TESTIMONY OF MR. RANDOLPH J. HERSEY.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may give your name to the committee.

Mr. HERSEY. Randolph J. Hersey.

The CHAIRMAN. And your home?

Mr. HERSEY. Wheeling, W. Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business?

Mr. HERSEY. Physician.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the Sutherland campaign?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. HERSEY. Just personally interested. Senator Sutherland has no manager. I have prepared a statement of facts, addressed to you as chairman of this subcommittee, that I think will simplify the

situation. I have also some exhibits accompanying it. It is very brief.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You are as near the manager of the Sutherland campaign as we can find, are you not?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; you may proceed.

Mr. HERSEY (reading):

MAY 24, 1920.

HON. WILLIAM S. KENYON,

*Chairman Subcommittee to Investigate Presidential Expenses,
United States Senate.*

DEAR SENATOR: In response to your telegram of May 22, to appear before your committee Monday morning, 10 o'clock, with all books and papers showing contributions, expenditures, and correspondence relating to contributions and expenditures in the campaign of Senator Sutherland, I desire to state that Senator Sutherland has no manager and that my connection with the presidential candidacy of Senator Sutherland is purely voluntary; in fact, his candidacy possibly can be traced to my endeavors. Hence, my interest.

In regard to expenditures, Senator Sutherland has contributed nothing with the exception of defraying his personal expense on his campaign through the State. The only other expenses incurred during the campaign have been in our own State of West Virginia, and this expense has been necessitated by the invasion of Gen. Wood as all other candidates decided not to contest.

We have received by voluntary contribution toward a small printing bill the sum of \$473, which was deposited in the Half Dollar Savings Bank, Wheeling, W. Va., in trust of J. Cecil Fee, V. G. Gundling, and Dr. A. B. Cummins. (Exhibit A.)

Against this account of \$473, \$445 has been checked out. (Exhibit B.)

There are outstanding a few minor printing bills for circulars and posters which will aggregate possibly \$200; also outstanding State newspaper advertising which will approximate \$2,000. These bills have not yet been received. Also outstanding an aeroplane contract for distribution of literature and publicity, \$1,500. (Exhibit C.)

All other expenses connected with the campaign of Senator Sutherland have been purely voluntary and can not be accounted for. The outstanding expense unpaid will be raised by subscription and held in trust by the trustees in charge of the original account.

The only correspondence we have to exhibit is a letter sent out under date of May 21 to some friends soliciting contributions to a fund of \$200 to defray printing bill. (Exhibit D.)

Respectfully,

RANDOLPH J. HERSEY.

The CHAIRMAN. Then your total contributions amount to what?

Mr. HERSEY. The whole contributions amount to \$473.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have incurred about \$3,700 indebtedness in addition to that?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You say some contributions are purely voluntary and can not be accounted for. I do not understand that. A contribution is always voluntary, unless given at the point of a gun.

Mr. HERSEY. That is other work, other contributions of the public.

Senator SPENCER. Individual efforts?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean by "voluntary" somebody outside of your committee may have spent a few dollars and you knew nothing about it?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir; a few telegrams or letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get this \$473? Who did you get that from?

Mr. HERSEY. That was picked up in amounts from a dollar to as high as \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your statement show that?

Mr. HERSEY. It does not show the contributors. The \$100 was the largest subscription.

Senator REED. I do not think it is worth while pursuing that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have there been other expenditures of money in that State by other candidates to your knowledge?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any real information about it? We do not want mere rumors.

Mr. HERSEY. The only real information I can give is that the manager of Gen. Wood filed with the secretary of state a bill of expenditures and money received.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen that?

Mr. HERSEY. It was published.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the amount was?

Mr. HERSEY. I think it was approximately \$3,700.

The CHAIRMAN. Of money received?

Mr. HERSEY. Of money received.

Senator SPENCER. And of disbursements?

Mr. HERSEY. Of disbursements.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that filed?

Mr. HERSEY. Three weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. The law requires the filing of such statements three weeks before election, does it not?

Mr. HERSEY. No, sir; we do not have to file for President.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been three weeks?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir. It was before the entrance of Gen. Wood into the State.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean they published that before his entrance into the State?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the expenditures since that?

Mr. HERSEY. No, sir; not of my own knowledge. Nothing but hearsay.

Senator REED. Let us see if I can not ask a question to put that a little differently. We do not want mere rumors, but if in your work you come across evidence of the expenditure of money, just answer yes or no as to whether you have.

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Has it been considerable, or just trifling amounts? I am asking that preliminary to another question.

Mr. HERSEY. Well, I can not say as to amounts.

Senator REED. Do you understand that it was large or small?

Mr. HERSEY. I understand that it has been large.

Senator REED. I make this suggestion to the committee: As this is mere hearsay, it should not be published, but the committee ought to have the benefit of hearsay so it can run down the information.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask a further question there. Has there been any advertising in either of these campaigns; and if so, to what extent within your knowledge? I refer to newspaper advertising.

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. To what extent?

Mr. HERSEY. The news items, coming in as contributed articles in the press, have been very expensive.

Senator REED. From whom?

Mr. HERSEY. From Washington. The distribution of literature has been expensive. The packing of signs has been expensive. The distribution of buttons has been absolutely fabulous and gross extravagance. During his invasion of the State, in his personal campaign at the meetings in the small towns, where there were public speakers, if the buttons on hand had not been pinned on individuals or children they were deliberately thrown away.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these buttons very expensive?

Mr. HERSEY. Quite expensive. They cost \$7.25 a thousand.

Senator POMERENE. When you speak of newspaper advertising tell us something more about it. Was it small local items, or was it in the form of page advertisements, or in what form was it?

Mr. HERSEY. In page advertisements, half page, quarter page and contributed articles by correspondents, featured in the newspapers, that are generally conceded to be publicity.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know whether those were paid for cash?

Mr. HERSEY. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who the correspondents were?

Mr. HERSEY. No, sir; I do not.

Senator REED. Who was manager of Wood's campaign in West Virginia?

Mr. HERSEY. John S. Darst, State auditor, Charleston.

Senator REED. How many meetings did they have for Wood in the State?

Mr. HERSEY. He came into the State Tuesday morning and finished on Saturday night.

Senator REED. Did they have bands and music?

Mr. HERSEY. Bands and music.

Senator REED. Halls?

Mr. HERSEY. Hall, private street cars, theaters.

Senator REED. Private street cars?

Mr. HERSEY. Private street cars to convey them from the city to the small towns.

Senator SPENCER. How many meetings do you know of where they had bands, etc.?

Mr. HERSEY. Wheeling.

Senator SPENCER. One.

Mr. HERSEY. Morgantown.

Senator SPENCER. Two.

Mr. HERSEY. Fairmont.

Senator SPENCER. Three.

Mr. HERSEY. Clarksburg.

Senator SPENCER. Four.

Mr. HERSEY. Parkersburg.

Senator SPENCER. Five.

Mr. HERSEY. Huntington.

Senator SPENCER. Six.

Mr. HERSEY. Charleston.

Senator SPENCER. Seven.

Mr. HERSEY. Bluefield.

Senator SPENCER. Eight.

Mr. HERSEY. Those are to my personal knowledge. There were more meetings.

Senator SPENCER. And at each of those they had bands, etc.?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The towns were billed?

Mr. HERSEY. The towns were billed, organizations perfected, to get the crowds, and extensive entrance into the State, with numbers of typewriters and aids.

The CHAIRMAN. A sort of an army, a publicity army?

Mr. HERSEY. A real circus. It reminded me, gentlemen, of the coming of a circus. The advance agent would come in a few days before. They came to West Virginia from Chicago, and outlined publicity, perfected organizations for meetings. Then they would go on to the next town. Then the newspapers started to work, and then the entrance of the flying squadron, as the Senator very aptly stated.

The CHAIRMAN. The people seem to like that, do they not?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir; it is rather stimulating to hear the music.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know whether the expense of these local meetings was borne by the local organizations, or whether that was all borne by the outside organization?

Mr. HERSEY. They sent all over the State cards of the Leonard Wood League, soliciting funds in the State.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know how much they got outside of what they reported to the secretary of state?

Mr. HERSEY. No, sir; I do not.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Darst would undoubtedly know, would he not?

Mr. HERSEY. I presume so. I think, however, that was done in the various counties. They had their county chairmen, and organized them, and perfected a wonderful system. The first card was a printed card soliciting membership in the Leonard Wood League. As a matter of course, lots of people, especially the younger men, would fill out those cards from idle curiosity and send them in. They would receive then a button and a membership card that was quite expensive. They used that as the basis.

Senator SPENCER. Do you mean they were engraved cards, or printed cards?

Mr. HERSEY. Printed cards, but they were quite elaborately drawn up. They used that as a basis for their mailing list to solicit these further funds for Leonard Wood.

Senator REED. In each county in your State has the Leonard Wood organization their branches?

Mr. HERSEY. As far as I know, they have.

Senator SPENCER. As far as you know, they collected and disbursed their own funds in the various counties?

Mr. HERSEY. As far as I know.

Senator SPENCER. How many counties are there in West Virginia?

Mr. HERSEY. Fifty-five.

Senator REED. What kind of headquarters are the State headquarters?

Mr. HERSEY. They use our State auditor's office and his force. The State has donated that.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are the Sutherland headquarters?

Mr. HERSEY. In my office.

The CHAIRMAN. Have there been any Sutherland meetings, with halls and bands?

Mr. HERSEY. No, sir. We are strictly gum-shoeing. The whole question has been very interesting to me. First, the contesting of the State, after Gen. Wood qualified in our State.

Senator SPENCER. How did he do that?

Mr. HERSEY. By filing a declaration. There has been no definite organization in the Sutherland campaign, except the natural organization of the Senator, stimulated by personal efforts, personal work, personal letters, getting these men throughout the State and throughout the country interested in his movement.

Senator SPENCER. You mean by "natural organization" the organization he had in the senatorial contest?

Mr. HERSEY. Yes, sir; and what I have been able to crystallize throughout the country in a humble way has absolutely demonstrated to me, gentlemen, the absolute absurdity of gross extravagance in presidential campaigns. As I stated to you before, the inception of Senator Sutherland's becoming a contestant in our State, under our preferential primary, which it was necessary to qualify for, was brought about through the invasion of Leonard Wood, but if it has been possible through my efforts, on a comparative shoe string, to demonstrate to the citizens of West Virginia, the possibility of West Virginia having a presidential candidate, and demonstrating to Senator Sutherland the possibility of his entering that race, on \$473, then I would like to know what in the wide world is necessary to offset a movement of this gross publicity. I figure that Senator Darst's report is correct. I may be mistaken about the exact figures. But with this gross publicity, circularizing of letters, soliciting membership in the Leonard Wood League, collecting funds for the Leonard Wood League, the influx of newspaper men and metropolitan papers into the State from New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, this gross publicity, to offset public opinion, should not take place.

The CHAIRMAN. You think you can not do it on \$473?

Mr. HERSEY. I think we are going to demonstrate to-morrow that we can.

Senator POMERENE. You have described the plan in which this campaign has been conducted. You have referred to advertising, to bands, to halls, to preliminary organization, etc. Do I understand from your statement that this has all been done with \$3,700 in that State?

Mr. HERSEY. If I recall the statement of Mr. Darst, the State manager, the amount of money he had received from the Wood headquarters would hardly defray the postage of his office. I think that was his statement. Mr. Darst challenged Senator Sutherland to a debate, and in the answer which I made I stated it was not in keeping with the dignity of a presidential candidate to discuss issues with a State manager, and he replied that the amount he had received would barely cover their postage.

Senator REED. The amount he had received from the Wood headquarters would barely cover his postage?

Mr. HERSEY. The amount he had received from the Wood headquarters would barely cover his postage.

Senator REED. How much had he received from them?

Mr. HERSEY. I think it was \$3,700. I am not positive of that.

Senator REED. He did not say how much other money he had received?

Mr. HERSEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Or how much literature had been sent to him for distribution, or how much other literature had been sent through other sources into the State?

Mr. REED. No, sir. On that question, the literature and printing was an absolutely outside proposition. The literature in West Virginia was all shipped in from Chicago. The local committee used a propaganda. For instance, in the city of Wheeling, they first came in and organized a Wood club. At that meeting, at which I was present to size up the situation, there were 26 men present, including three newspaper men, myself and 13 democrats, but the next morning the papers came out and stated that a large meeting, attended by some 350 Wood supporters, was held at the market auditorium, which you remember, Senator Kenyon.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, but I was not at that meeting.

Mr. HERSEY. Oh, no. The papers said there was a large and enthusiastic crowd.

Senator POMERENE. What were you doing with us Democrats?

Mr. HERSEY. We were glad to welcome you.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no other place to go.

Senator REED. You probably brought them into raise the average a little.

Mr. HERSEY. They published a list of the vice presidents of the Wood club, and I venture the assertion that 75 per cent of the names published in the daily press of vice presidents of the Wood club are not in sympathy with the movement. In fact they published as an officer of the local organization, a man who is absolutely opposed to the movement. Now, what took place is this, they used thin propaganda from Wheeling, W. Va., the first town entered in the State, published a large list of names of prominent and influential men in Wheeling, and then went on from one town to another, and finally at the end of the trip, according to the press reports, they had a large number of influential citizens actively behind the movement.

Senator REED. Who would they send out as the flying squadron into the State, the advance agents of this movement, which you have irreverently called a circus?

Mr. HERSEY. Mr. Imes, of Chicago. There was one other. I do not know the gentleman's name. There were two advance agents. Mr. Darst can furnish you those names. They were active movers.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Hersey. We are very much obliged to you.

TESTIMONY OF ANGUS McSWEEN.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the committee?

Mr. McSWEEN. Angus McSween.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation now?

Mr. McSWEEN. My occupation now is eastern manager of Senator Johnson's campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there more than one manager?

Mr. McSWEEN. There are two organizations, if you can call them organizations. One is on the coast, which conducted the campaign in California, in Oregon, and in a few of those far northwestern States. The rest of the campaign has devolved very largely upon the eastern headquarters.

I have prepared, Mr. Chairman, a list of contributions and a general statement of our expenditures. I found after receiving your telegram that it was almost impossible to get up a detailed statement, partly because our papers were not in very good shape. We have had a very slim organization. At the present time, with me out of New York, it consists of one man and two stenographers.

The CHAIRMAN. What has been your general organization in New York through the campaign?

Mr. McSWEEN. The general organization has been myself, in charge of headquarters, Mr. Al C. Joy, to assist me in the management, and we also had a general publicity man. We employed for a time three men.

The CHAIRMAN. When were the headquarters opened in New York?

Mr. McSWEEN. The headquarters were opened in New York about the 1st of February. We have employed three men, two stenographers, and one woman who was in charge of our women's bureau. She dealt very largely with women's organizations, and sent out literature to women, and handled the women generally. It was difficult for Mr. Joy and myself to take care of, inasmuch as we were not familiar with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Your headquarters are at the Pennsylvania Hotel?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many rooms do you have there?

Mr. McSWEEN. We had three most of the time. We cut off one a week ago.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your force now?

Mr. McSWEEN. The force now is myself, Mr. Joy, one other man, two stenographers, and a woman's bureau, consisting of one woman. That has been really the eastern organization. the working organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us about the western organization?

Mr. McSWEEN. I do not know very much about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can tell us about that?

Mr. McSWEEN. R. L. Carnahan and Alexander McCabe, both at the San Francisco headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Are either of them in the East, so we can get them here?

Mr. McSWEEN. I do not think so. I think they are both in San Francisco. I had a telegram from Mr. McCabe on Saturday. He is the insurance commissioner of California, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Could we get him at Sacramento?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir; he is in San Francisco, in the Monadnock Building.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your statement cover the contributions for the western headquarters?

Mr. McSWEEN. No; no contributions made to the western headquarters, except one, which was made at the beginning of the cam-

paign, and which we called upon them to return. On the other hand, they have contributed some money to us.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your statement embrace all the contributions to the Johnson campaign, either East or West?

Mr. McSWEEN. All the money we have received, except about \$1,000 I was not able to look up, and which I am having looked up, so that I can give you a complete statement of all the contributions right down to date, \$5, \$2, \$1.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that \$1,000 a single contribution?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir; a number of contributions.

Senator REED. The aggregate of a number of contributions?

Mr. McSWEEN. The aggregate of the contributions which are not included in this statement, and which will approximate about a thousand dollars. Shall I read these contributions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; just read them.

Mr. McSWEEN. This is a statement I have prepared for the record. This is a list of contributors to the Johnson campaign fund in the East.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| R. B. Strassburger, Gwyned Valley, Pa..... | \$27, 000 |
| William Flynn, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 7, 500 |
| Mayor James Cousins, Detroit, Mich..... | 5, 000 |
| J. L. Calary, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 5, 000 |

I would like to explain that item in regard to that check. It was given to me by Mr. Calary, but I understood it represented money that had been contributed by friends of Senator Johnson, handed to Mr. Calary, and Mr. Calary made the check.

Ralph J. M. Bullowa, 32 Broadway, New York, N. Y., and friends..... \$2, 000

That all came through Mr. Bullowa.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a lawyer in New York?

Mr. McSWEEN. He is a lawyer. I understand there were some other contributors to it.

| | |
|--|----------|
| Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Philadelphia, Pa..... | \$1, 000 |
| J. L. Wilhoit, 50 West Twelfth Street, New York..... | 1, 000 |
| Abraham Bijur, 145 Water Street, New York..... | 1, 000 |
| S. O. Levinson, 76 West Monroe Street, Chicago..... | 500 |
| Wm. J. Oland, Scranton, Pa..... | 500 |
| H. P. Woodworth, Bay City, Mich..... | 500 |

That is a contribution for advertising. He prepared an advertisement, and gave us \$500 to put it in the papers, and we put it in.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Bruno Schwill, 116 East Fifty-eighth Street, New York..... | \$250 |
| Mrs. Adelaide Lewisohn, 923 Fifth Avenue..... | 200 |
| E. J. Bowes, Capitol Theater, New York..... | 100 |
| Geo. C. L. Mayer, sent in by Abr. Bijur..... | 100 |
| Dr. Bernhard Lazarus, 448 Central Park West, New York..... | 50 |
| Michael Spellacy, New York City..... | 80 |

That Spellacy item, he brought that in in cash, and I did not get his street address. He is quite a frequent visitor.

| | |
|--|--------|
| Arthur H. Geiseler, Oklahoma City, Okla..... | \$50 |
| Irving K. Taylor, 29 Broadway, New York..... | 5, 300 |

I want to speak of that a moment later, because that was given with the understanding that it should be expended in New Jersey entirely.

San Francisco headquarters..... \$8, 500

That makes a total of \$68,130.

The money contributed by Mr. Taylor was to be used in New Jersey, and was in addition to money he spent there himself before he turned the direction of affairs over to us. There were a number of small contributions received, from \$1 to \$10, which do not exceed \$1,000. There may be a few others I would like to add and send to the committee with a more complete report.

Senator REED. That is substantially all, is it?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes; that is substantially all, Senator.

Now, if I may explain some of these contributions, our chief contributor, as shown here, contributed nearly 50 per cent of the money we received, R. B. Strassburger, of Gwynned Valley, Pa. I would like to make a statement, largely for the newspapers, because I thought they might be interested in knowing who Mr. Strassburger is.

Ralph Beaver Strassburger, Norristown, Pa., has been one of the chief supporters of Senator Hiram W. Johnson from the inception of his candidacy. Mr. Strassburger was one of those who made the candidacy possible. A great admirer of Senator Johnson and a believer in his principles of Americanism and clean government, Mr. Strassburger tendered his assistance through Mr. McSween almost immediately after the Johnson supporters in California had declared for him for the presidency.

He made the first considerable contribution of money to start the campaign in some of the Western States, and has been a steady contributor to the funds of the campaign ever since. Mr. Strassburger's total contributions to date aggregate \$27,000. He has been closely associated with the eastern management of the campaign, cooperating and advising in all important matters. Mr. Strassburger is largely interested in the Singer Manufacturing Co., but is in no way concerned in the management of that company. He is a man of large wealth, but has, in agreement with others in charge of the work for Senator Johnson, limited his contributions, because he has believed that no one man should be the chief financial supporter of any political candidate. While Mr. Strassburger has very extensive business interests, he has for a number of years taken a very active interest in politics as a regular Republican. He was at one time a candidate for the congressional nomination in the Norristown district of Pennsylvania. Mr. Strassburger belongs to one of the very old families of Pennsylvania. Gov. Beaver, of that State, was a relative, and his father was prominent in Pennsylvania politics before him. The Strassburgers have lived in Pennsylvania for more than 200 years. Mr. Strassburger served in the Navy during the war.

Mr. Strassburger and I were very good friends for a number of years. Mr. Strassburger came to me on several occasions, seeking advice, when he contemplated the purchase of a newspaper. I think I was influential in preventing him from committing that folly.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps he is grateful to you?

Mr. McSWEEN. Possibly so. At any rate, we talked over the political situation long before Senator Johnson had become a candidate, and I told him that Senator Johnson was the only candidate who, to my mind, stood for the things that right-thinking Americans would stand for, and it was as a development of that suggestion that Mr. Strassburger suggested to me that he would like to help me promote the candidacy of Senator Johnson, if Senator Johnson should be a candidate. That was before Senator Johnson made any

announcement. After he made his announcement, Mr. Alexander McCabe came East to see how the prospects were, representing the San Francisco organization; he met Mr. Strassburger, and Mr. Strassburger contributed \$2,500 to start the campaign, as I recall, in Nebraska, Minnesota——

The CHAIRMAN. South Dakota?

Mr. McSWEEN. I do not think South Dakota was included, but two other Western States. That was virtually the beginning of the campaign outside of California. They did get a manager to take charge in Nebraska, Mr. Harrison, and we had a man to take charge in Minnesota, Mr. Schroder, who did not seem to accomplish very much, although he worked against very extraordinary disadvantages.

At this time I had no official connection whatever with Senator Johnson's campaign. Later, after there had developed a very strong sentiment for Senator Johnson in the East, Senator Johnson asked me if I would go to New York and take charge in the East for him. I consented to do that, largely as a matter of friendship and largely because I thought I could be effective in New York, perhaps more effective than if somebody else had charge of the campaign.

That is the story with respect to Mr. Strassburger. We have not depended on him for our entire support, although he has helped us out in so many emergencies, that if it had not been for him I do not know exactly where our campaign would have gotten to.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had any financial difficulties in the campaign?

Mr. McSWEEN. We have been in constant financial difficulties. I opened the New York office on \$1,000 and I was in difficulties at once. In the early stages of the campaign we were so hard up for money that we virtually sat there and did nothing. It was at this time that we called upon the western headquarters, the San Francisco committee, to return the money which Mr. Strassburger had contributed. Mr. Strassburger, in the meanwhile, had gone South and was detained there several weeks by serious illness of his wife and little boy, and was virtually out of the campaign all during that period. One of the reasons why our accounts are not in very good shape has been that our money was really spent before we received it. For example, at the time I received this contribution of \$5,000 from Mayor James Cousins, of Detroit, I went to Detroit and asked him for it, telling him that that was the kind of money we wanted to receive. I owed in excess of that amount in New York at that time on various bills.

When I went to Mr. Flynn, of Pittsburgh, he was a supporter of Gen. Wood. I had known him very well in the Roosevelt campaign, and I told him the Johnson movement was the cleanest movement I had ever been connected with. As a result of that he gave me \$5,000 and our needs were so urgent that I had his bank telegraph to my bank in New York so as to make that money immediately available, having left signed checks with Mr. Joy to be expended as soon as the money could get there. That was one reason why we have never kept a complete set of books; we have never had a surplus in bank at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. What were your disbursements?

Mr. McSWEEN. Our disbursements were \$72,230.54, as we can make them out, leaving a balance unpaid of \$3,100 and some cents.

The CHAIRMAN. What, in general, were those disbursements? You can put the items in the record and give us the general nature.

Mr. McSWEEN. We made a campaign in New York which cost us, according to these figures, \$13,685. It was necessary in order to have candidates file to get up petitions for them. We put up candidates for delegates at large, and I think we put candidates in 12 districts. The total cost of circulation of petitions was \$6,000. Then there was meetings, printing of pamphlets, advertising, circulars—we did very little advertising, but we had to advertise our meetings—buttons, stationery, office supplies, etc., aggregating \$10,658. 54. In one or two of these districts we authorized them to open small headquarters, and the aggregate cost of those headquarters was \$750. The postage we figured cost \$4,000. That was not entirely for the New York campaign, because we were sending literature to all parts of the country, as far as our funds would permit.

We billed the Senator for seven days in New York, two days up the State, and five days in New York City, rented the hall, band, etc., amounting to \$27,000. Those figures aggregate about \$27,000, not more than \$28,000.

Our headquarters expense included rent, per week, \$135; employees, \$320; telegraph toll, \$100; messengers, taxis, tips, incidental expenses, \$100; living expenses and railroad fares, entertainment, etc., \$150; aggregating \$805 a week for 17 weeks, which amounted to \$13,685.

In New Jersey we spent \$13,207.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you file a statement in New Jersey?

Mr. McSWEEN. We filed a statement in New Jersey, which amounted, I think, to \$10,500, and the excess was expended afterwards. The statement had to be made five days before the primaries. Of course, our expenses continued right up to the primaries, and we figured it at \$13,207. We expended for meetings, etc., expenditures through Mr. Joy, \$5,907. That includes also office help, printing, advertising meetings, etc., expended by Irving K. Taylor, \$5,300. Election day expenses, automobiles, watchers, distributors of literature, etc., printing, etc., \$1,000. Attorneys' fees in recount proceedings, \$1,000.

When I went to New York City it was understood that Mr. Irving K. Taylor was to be in charge of New Jersey. Mr. Taylor had opened headquarters in Newark and had employed some people over there and had established something of an organization, a very meager skeleton organization. After several weeks I concluded that the New Jersey campaign was languishing and I asked Mr. Taylor to let me take charge of it. This he did, and he contributed \$5,300, to be expended by me in New Jersey, instead of by him.

Our additional expenditures, we sent \$4,100 into Maryland; \$1,500 I sent to John I. Nolan for attending meetings and addressing meetings; \$2,000 to Representative J. E. Elston; and \$600 to S. J. McAtee. Those three were arranging for the campaign and trip of the Senator through the State. Those were the total expenditures in Maryland.

Senator SPENCER. How much?

Mr. McSWEEN. \$4,100. In Indiana our figures show \$8,730 expended; \$3,730 were given to Z. C. Swain during 13 weeks that he maintained headquarters and stenographers and possibly some clerks in Indianapolis. We sent \$5,000 in the last week of the campaign

in which the Senator himself participated, to pay for halls and meetings and advertising and necessary campaign expenses. That money was expended by E. T. Mitchell and F. P. Doherty, both of whom belonged to the western organization and had been lent to us for work in the East and Middle Western States.

Senator REED. What were the total expenditures in Indiana?

Mr. McSWEEN. \$8,730. We spent from our headquarters \$1,300 in Montana. Of that \$400 was sent out to pay the expenses of Representative Schall, of Minnesota, who made a campaign trip through the State, and \$900 to A. A. D. Rahn, of Minneapolis, for advertising and other bills, who informed me that those bills had been incurred by men who could not afford to stand them. He gave me the names of some of them, amounting to \$900. I sent the check to Mr. Rahn and asked him if he would distribute it to the people to whom we owed the money. We sent, in the last week, \$2,800 to North Carolina.

Senator SPENCER. What was the total in Minnesota?

Mr. McSWEEN. We have no figures in Minnesota. We did not expend any money in Minnesota.

Senator SPENCER. I thought you were just speaking of Minnesota.

Mr. McSWEEN. No; I was talking about Montana.

Senator SPENCER. What was the total in Montana?

Mr. McSWEEN. \$1,300 was the total amount we expended in Montana.

We sent into North Carolina \$2,800. I think \$800 were sent about a week or 10 days ago and \$2,000 on Thursday or Friday.

That totals up \$72,230.54. Our receipts show \$69,130. That probably will be \$70,000 in the end, maybe a little in excess of that when I get hold of all the checks. We have unpaid bills on hand in the neighborhood of \$3,000. That is our complete financial statement. It includes every cent we have paid out for salaries, in the headquarters in New York, and everything that we have paid out for the rent of headquarters in New York and Indianapolis, and even includes the money we have spent for campaign cigars; everything is included, all postage, all circularizing, all printing. We could have spent a good deal more, as everybody knows, for printing, if we had had it. In fact, our circularizing and our distribution of literature has been about the lamest part of our campaign, because we did not have the money with which to do it.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have other local organizations in these various States who collected funds of their own and which are not included in this?

Mr. McSWEEN. No; we did not; other than that Mr. Swain reported that he received \$1,000 in Indiana in the first few weeks of our campaign for undertaking to establish local organizations. We found many men, some prominent, politically prominent, who assured us privately that they were for Senator Johnson; that they stood for everything that Senator Johnson stood for, but that not for their lives would they permit themselves to become identified with his campaign, because it was either going to queer them with the political organization or it was going to queer them with some other business associates. And so we gave up the idea of trying to form business organizations, except as we were able to form them among

men who had no standing in politics and not very much standing in business.

Senator SPENCER. Did you spend any money in Michigan?

Mr. McSWEEN. Michigan was financed entirely by Michigan.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know how much was spent there?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir; it was not very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would know that?

Mr. McSWEEN. Representative Crampton would know every dollar.

Senator SPENCER. Did you spend any money in California?

Mr. McSWEEN. That was entirely handled by the California organization, as was the Oregon campaign.

Senator SPENCER. Would it be true that in many of the States there were local organizations of some kind or another which conducted their own local accumulation of money and their own distribution in the interest of Senator Johnson that did not come to you?

Mr. McSWEEN. That would be true of those far western States.

Senator SPENCER. Would it be true of Michigan?

Mr. McSWEEN. It would be true of Michigan.

Senator SPENCER. Would it be true of Nebraska?

Mr. McSWEEN. It would be true of Nebraska. I think my report shows I sent \$2,000 to Nebraska.

Senator SPENCER. Would it be true of some of the other States?

Mr. McSWEEN. It was true of Minnesota. We only made contest for a few States.

Senator SPENCER. Would it be true in Missouri?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. The money spent in Missouri would be local?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir; but we were not in Missouri. I received a letter from one man saying that he was going to vote for Johnson. I guess you know him. The only effort we made in Missouri was when Senator Johnson went out there and spoke in the third district that being at the invitation of the third district organization. That was not a part of his campaign.

Senator SPENCER. Have you kept an accurate account of your receipts and disbursements, so far as the New York office is concerned?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir; just as accurately as we could keep them.

Senator SPENCER. What do you mean by that? Did you jot down every dollar that came in?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir. We have not had any bookkeeper. I brought along some things here.

Senator SPENCER. And these amounts you have given us are to the best of your recollection an accurate aggregate of all the amount that came into the New York office?

Mr. McSWEEN. They are the best of what we could do with our detached figures. For example, we got the expenses from New Jersey something like this, showing the details of expenditures for the work, publicity work, offices, etc., \$502. I put in a whole bunch of these, but I did not intend to leave them with you, unless you insist on it, because I did not see where they would do you any good. I have got to have these all gone over.

Senator SPENCER. I was not thinking so much of disbursements. I was thinking rather of receipts. You have been very frank in giving us the list of names and amounts. It is possible that we might find out that the name of some man who has given \$500 is no

on that list at all, or is that list an accurate list of every dollar that came in?

Mr. McSWEEN. That is so near accurate now, except, as I was telling you, there may be a thousand dollars in the aggregate of small amounts which is not included. When I got your telegram to come down here Saturday morning, the banks all close at 12, and we are an hour ahead of you there, and I did not have time to get a statement from the bank, or to get my checks. I had to go, and I went through the records.

Senator SPENCER. What do you mean by the "records"? Are they made up of slips or memoranda you made?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir. We had a pretty fair filing system, but we had to send our file man away, and he is now down in North Carolina.

Senator SPENCER. But you had no actual book account?

Mr. McSWEEN. We have no book account, and that is largely because we had nobody to keep the books.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have a treasurer?

Mr. McSWEEN. It all came through me.

Senator SPENCER. The receipts and disbursements came largely through you?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have general headquarters anywhere else in the country?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir. We had these local headquarters in Indianapolis and local headquarters in Newark.

Senator SPENCER. Did the local headquarters in Indianapolis solicit and receive certain funds?

Mr. McSWEEN. He reported to me \$1,000.

Senator SPENCER. Did he receive any others, or do you know?

Mr. McSWEEN. I think not. If he did, he made no report of it.

Senator SPENCER. He only reported that \$1,000?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did he send that in to you?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir; he spent that in the campaign.

Senator SPENCER. If I gather it rightly, the amount you give us is the very best you can gather from what sources you have, without a complete book account, and are substantially complete and accurate?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir; I am sure all the items I have given are complete.

Senator SPENCER. It does not include any amount that may have been collected or disbursed in other States locally, where they did not report directly to you?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir; but I can tell you there was only that done in Michigan, and some slight disbursements in Minnesota, some in South Dakota, some in Nebraska, and possibly small disbursements in Montana; that is, for the Johnson campaign.

Senator SPENCER. What about California?

Mr. McSWEEN. I don't know anything about it.

Senator SPENCER. You do not know how much money was expended there?

Mr. McSWEEN. I have no idea.

Senator SPENCER. And you do not know how much was expended in Michigan?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir. I think they told me they had only \$4,000.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, it is true in connection with Senator Johnson, as it probably is with most of the candidates, that the aggregate of the amount expended in his interest would be, first what came through the general headquarters, and that, in this case would be yourself?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Plus what came through different local State minor subdivisions; and third, any independent associations of people in the interest of Senator Johnson who might have formed some association and collected and disbursed some money?

Mr. McSWEEN. That is true.

Senator SPENCER. And those organizations. of course, you do not know anything about what they may have collected or disbursed?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir. I only know it was small. I know they had very little money.

Senator SPENCER. You do not mean to say it was small in California, do you?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I presume it was somewhat substantial in Michigan, was it not?

Mr. McSWEEN. I think Crampton told me they had about \$4,000.

Senator SPENCER. But you have no accurate account of it?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir. They made no report. That was entirely a voluntary organization. Every member was a volunteer.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have anything to do with Ohio?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir. We were not in Ohio.

Senator SPENCER. Maryland.

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir. I gave that figure of \$4,100. I think there were no contributions in that State, so far as I know. They were not reported to me, if there were any.

Senator SPENCER. There was no general Johnson headquarters, except the one in New York, and the ones you provided for in Indianapolis, Ind., and Newark, N. J.?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Was there not one in California?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir. I said in the beginning there was a California organization.

Senator SPENCER. Did that take in all of the Western States?

Mr. McSWEEN. It was supposed to take in all of the Western States, west of the Mississippi River, but they did not go into all of them.

Senator SPENCER. You were supposed to take the States east of the Mississippi?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who took care of the Southern States?

Mr. McSWEEN. We did not do anything in the South. We sent a man in the South, but he did not seem to do any good down there.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have many men you were sending around?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Why could you not make any inroads in the South?

Mr. McSWEEN. Well, my understanding was there was a good deal of money being used, and we had none to use. For example, one gentleman, a colored clergyman, came to me and said he wanted to be for Johnson. I think he was from Alabama. He said there was a strong Wood organization in Alabama, and there was a strong Lowden organization in Alabama, and there ought to be a strong Johnson organization in Alabama. I said, "As I understand it, the Wood people and the Lowden people are able to spend a lot of money." "Certainly," he said, "and you have got to spend a lot of money down there, too." That was the discouraging feature down there.

Senator POMERENE. You seem to have gotten along reasonably well in the northern States, and did not have as much money as you claim other aspirants for the Presidency have had. Why could you not do it with equal success in the South?

Mr. McSWEEN. It was our plan of campaign to go into States where there was a preferential primary, and we could make our appeal direct to the voters, without respect to the control of any political organization.

Senator SPENCER. They do not generally prevail in the South.

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir. The only State in which we deviated from that plan was in New York, and we failed in New York. We could not even inform our people who the delegates were that were for Johnson, or we would have gotten a much larger vote. We could not indicate it on the ballot. The newspapers were constantly declaring that the Johnson delegates were not Republicans, and we could not get very far.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnson's name or Gen. Wood's name could not appear on the ballot?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Unless they filed a petition?

Mr. McSWEEN. They would not appear then. It was just the name of the delegate, and you could not state who the delegate was for.

The CHAIRMAN. You could not state that on the ballot?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What was this petition in New York that cost you \$6,000?

Mr. McSWEEN. In order to set up delegates in the districts, in order to file a petition.

Senator REED. Are we not getting some distance away from the issue here? I am only thinking about getting through with it sometime.

The CHAIRMAN. In South Dakota, can you give us any idea of what was expended?

Mr. McSWEEN. I was told they spent about \$3,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who expended that money?

Mr. McSWEEN. Mr. Doherty spent most of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he where we can get hold of him?

Mr. McSWEEN. He is in North Carolina now, but he will be back the end of the week.

The CHAIRMAN. Can we get him at the New York headquarters?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his full name?

Mr. McSWEEN. Frank P. Doherty.

The CHAIRMAN. If we communicate with you, can we get him?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much do you understand was spent in Nebraska?

Mr. McSWEEN. I saw a statement by Frank Harrison, who was in charge out there, and I think it was about \$2,000—\$1,800 and something.

The CHAIRMAN. Frank Harrison lives where?

Mr. McSWEEN. Lincoln.

The CHAIRMAN. Minnesota. How much do you understand was expended there?

Mr. McSWEEN. I don't understand anything was expended there, except possibly a little local money in getting up a meeting or two for the Senator to make some speeches there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did that?

Mr. McSWEEN. I think a man named Schroder.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was expended in Montana?

Mr. McSWEEN. I sent them \$1,400.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any outside of that?

Mr. McSWEEN. I don't know. I think very little.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can tell us about that? Who was the manager there?

Mr. McSWEEN. Carter. I will send his initials to you.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no information about California?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But Mr. McCabe could tell us about that?

Mr. McSWEEN. Mr. McCabe or Mr. Carnahan.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether either of them expect to be in the East shortly?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir; they will be in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when?

Mr. McSWEEN. Two or three California men are in Chicago now, I understand. I will wire them and find out and let you know.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have one of them here as soon as we can, to give us the information with respect to California.

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea how much was expended there?

Mr. McSWEEN. No, sir.

Senator REED. You do know that these accounts which you have rendered here are substantially correct?

Mr. McSWEEN. Substantially correct.

Senator REED. And you do know with substantial accuracy the amounts of money that have been expended by local parties in various States?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you have told us about it?

Mr. McSWEEN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Except what you said you did not know anything about.

Mr. McSWEEN. In California, and in Michigan, and South Dakota.

Senator REED. In conducting this campaign, what evidence have you run into of money being used on the other side?

Mr. McSWEEN. I have not been out of New York very much myself, except on hurried trips. What has come to me concerning the use of money has been largely hearsay.

Senator SPENCER. We want to get definite information. We do not want mere hearsay.

Mr. McSWEEN. There have been men coming in and telling me, "Well, if we had the money that the Wood people had we could have done better." I don't really know anything about it. I just heard it from other people.

Senator REED. We do not care to pursue that line any further.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all, Mr. McSween. We are very much obliged to you.

Mr. McSWEEN. Did you want this statement of receipts and disbursements?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; those may be inserted in the record.

(The statements of receipts and disbursements submitted by the witness are here printed in full, as follows:)

NEW YORK, May 24, 1920.

Following is a list of contributors to the Johnson campaign fund in the east:

| | |
|--|----------|
| R. B. Strassburger, Gwyned Valley, Pa..... | \$27,000 |
| Wm. Flynn, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 7,500 |
| Mayor James Cousins..... | 5,000 |
| J. L. Calary..... | 5,000 |
| J. C. Trees, through Wm. Flynn..... | 2,500 |
| Ralph J. M. Bullowa, 32 Broadway, New York, and friends..... | 2,000 |
| Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Philadelphia, Pa..... | 1,000 |
| J. L. Wilhoit, 50 West Twelfth Street, New York..... | 1,000 |
| Abr. Bijur, 145 Water Street, New York..... | 1,000 |
| S. O. Levinson, 76 West Monroe Street, Chicago..... | 500 |
| Wm. J. Boland, Scranton, Pa..... | 500 |
| H. P. Woodworth, Bay City, Mich., for advertising..... | 500 |
| Bruno Schwill, 116 East Fifty-eighth Street, New York..... | 250 |
| Mrs. Adelaide Lewisohn, 923 Fifth Avenue, New York..... | 200 |
| E. J. Bowes, Capitol Theater, New York..... | 100 |
| Geo. C. L. Mayer, sent in by Abr. Bijur..... | 100 |
| Dr. Bernhard Lazarus, 448 Central Park, West, New York..... | 50 |
| Michael Spellacy, New York City..... | 80 |
| Arthur H. Geissler, Oklahoma City, Okla..... | 50 |
| Irving K. Taylor, 29 Broadway, New York..... | 5,300 |
| San Francisco headquarters..... | 8,500 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 68,130 |

The money contributed by Mr. Taylor was for use in New Jersey and was in addition to money he spent there himself before he turned over the direction of affairs to us.

Small contributions received from \$1 to \$10 do not exceed \$1,000.

(Subsequent to the adjournment for this day, the following was received, which by order of the chairman, is here printed in full, as follows:)

NEW YORK, May 25, 1920.

Senator W. S. KENYON,

Chairman Subcommittee Investigating Campaign Contributions,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KENYON: Permit me to supplement my statement of contributions to the Johnson campaign fund, presented to the committee on Monday, the 24th, with the following:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Chas. Wagner, Fifth Avenue, New York..... | \$100 |
| Chas. J. Searle, Rock Island, Ill..... | 100 |
| Henry Salant, 261 Broadway, New York..... | 50 |
| S. T. Unger, 2783 Third Avenue, New York..... | 25 |
| Lawrence Cioffi, 320 East One hundred and twelfth Street, New York..... | 25 |
| Alex. R. Fordyce, Newark, N. J..... | 10 |
| John F. Curran, 134 Lexington Avenue, New York..... | 10 |
| W. J. Timberman, 949 Broadway, New York..... | 10 |
| R. D. Robinson, Maquon, Ill..... | 10 |
| Glenn McGirr, Maquon, Ill..... | 10 |
| Emil W. Riegler, 331 East Sixteenth Street, New York..... | 10 |
| Edw. W. Riess, 116 Nassau Street, New York..... | 10 |
| Chas. F. Emery, 99 Warren Street, New York..... | 10 |
| Miss S. E. Armstrong, 141 West Bigelow Street, Newark, N. J..... | 5 |
| Maj. S. J. McWilliams, Hoboken, N. J..... | 5 |
| Gustave Hogstedt, 411 West One hundred and twenty-eighth Street, New York..... | 5 |
| Geo. F. Frend, 1342 Third Avenue, New York..... | 5 |
| C. W. Murphy, 71 Broadway, New York..... | 5 |
| R. A. Hill, 6518 Fort Washington Avenue, New York..... | 5 |
| Anna F. Curran, 134 Lexington Avenue, New York..... | 5 |
| Louis A. Falk, 26 Broad Street, New York..... | 5 |
| Chas. Habicht, 241 East One hundred and twenty-fourth Street, New York... | 5 |
| H. R. Perkins, 238 East One hundred and eleventh Street, New York..... | 5 |
| E. Eberlein, 161 Charles Street, New York..... | 5 |
| S. L. Stadelman, General Delivery, New York..... | 3 |
| A. F. Baxtrom, Dover, N. J..... | 2 |
| Mrs. Clara Schumacher, 574 West End Avenue, New York..... | 2 |
| Mrs. W. Stonehman, 380 East One hundred and fortieth Street, New York.... | 1 |
| Samuel Fried, New York City..... | 1 |
| William A. Sperling, 305 West Ninety-second Street..... | 1 |
| M. Vasa, 84 Prince Street, Newark, N. J..... | 1 |
| M. Rosenthal, 25 Broad Street, New York..... | 500 |
| W. H. Nichols & Co., New York..... | 50 |
| W. H. Stevens, Hopbottom, Pa..... | 10 |
| Total..... | 1,016 |

There are no other contributions in excess of \$10; not enough to make \$200 at the utmost.

The above includes contributions made subsequent to my appearance before the committee on Monday.

Very truly, yours,

ANGUS MCSWEEN,
Eastern Campaign Manager.

DISBURSEMENTS.

New York:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Incidentals, rent for small headquarters..... | \$750. 00 |
| Printing pamphlets, circulars, advertising, buttons, stationery, office supplies..... | 10,658. 54 |
| Petitions circulated in New York..... | 6,000. 00 |
| Postage..... | 4,000. 00 |
| Rental of halls, bands, etc., for meetings..... | 7,000. 00 |
| Headquarters' expense, including— | |
| Rent, per week..... | \$135. 00 |
| Employees..... | 320. 00 |
| Approximate telegraph toll..... | 100. 00 |
| Messengers, taxis, tips, incidental expenses..... | 100. 00 |
| Living expenses and railroad fares, entertainment, etc.. | 150. 00 |
| For 17 weeks at..... | 805. 00 |
| | 13,685. 00 |

New Jersey:

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Meetings, etc., expended through Mr. A. Joy | \$5, 907. 00 |
| Office help, printing, advertising meetings, etc., expended by Irving K. Taylor..... | 5, 300. 00 |
| Election day expenses, autos, watchers, distributors of literature, printing, etc..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Attorneys' fees, in re recount proceedings..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| | <hr/> \$13, 207. 00 |

Maryland:

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| To John I. Nolan..... | 1, 500. 00 |
| To J. E. Elston..... | 2, 000. 00 |
| To S. J. McAtee..... | 600. 00 |
| | <hr/> 4, 100. 00 |

Indiana:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| Z. C. Swain, during 13 weeks..... | 3, 730. 00 |
| E. T. Mitchell..... | 3, 000. 00 |
| F. P. Doherty..... | 2, 000. 00 |
| | <hr/> 8, 730. 00 |

Montana:

| | |
|---|------------------|
| A. A. D. Rahn, for advertising and other bills..... | 900. 00 |
| Representative Schall, expenses..... | 400. 00 |
| | <hr/> 1, 300. 00 |

| | |
|----------------------|------------|
| North Carolina | 2, 800. 00 |
|----------------------|------------|

| | |
|---------------|-------------|
| Total..... | 72, 230. 54 |
| Receipts..... | 69, 130. 00 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Balance (for which bills are on hand) | 3, 100. 54 |
|---|------------|

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now hear Mr. Seibold.

TESTIMONY OF MR. LOUIS SEIBOLD.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the committee.

Mr. SEIBOLD. Louis Seibold.

The CHAIRMAN. And your business?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Political correspondent of the Press Publishing Co., and New York World.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been called here because you wrote two or three articles in the New York World some time ago, respecting contributions to the Wood campaign.

Mr. SEIBOLD. I brought with me in that connection an article appearing in the World, written by me on March 22.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write two articles on that subject?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I wrote several, but this was the one in which most of the information of any importance is contained.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you give in that article a list of the contributors?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read that list of contributors?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Yes, sir. Will you permit me to state the circumstances in connection with the writing of the article?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SEIBOLD. For a month prior to the publication of the article there had been reports that certain candidates for the presidency had been expending large sums of money in the promotion of their ambition. Those reports were published in newspapers, and all that sort of thing. The World paid no attention to it until the charges were directly made in the campaigns of North and South Dakota.

That came along just after the Newberry trial at Grand Rapids, and seemed to indicate an expenditure of money on the part of some candidates for the same reasons as disclosed in that trial at Grand Rapids, that is, an extensive, unnecessary publicity, in the establishment of large bureaus, the appointment and use of a great many more men than seemed justified. As the basis of the investigation we made, we took the nearest law on the statute books, and found there was none. Accompanying that article, was a section of the corrupt practices act, which seemed to relate more nearly to it than anything else, but it did not cover it. There was no law that covered it.

Senator SPENCER. The New York act?

Mr. SEIBOLD. The Federal statute. We thought perhaps there should be one; that the practices which had grown up under the presidential primary system had given certain candidates an unfair advantage over others, who were not so fortunate in the possession of the material for that sort of a campaign. I conducted an investigation that continued for about three or four weeks. I went to Boston, and Indianapolis, and Chicago, and Washington, and other places, and by reason of observation and experience and talking to people I made out that a good deal of money was being expended in that way. I had no interest in Gen. Wood's campaign one way or the other, or no prejudice against it. I tried to secure information to substantiate the statements made in the North Dakota campaign, and went to certain gentlemen and secured certain information which is embodied in this article. I have no other information relating to it.

Senator SPENCER. Who were those men?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I went to them under the usual guaranty that I would not disclose their names.

Senator SPENCER. You do not want to give us the source of your information?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Information of that character can not be secured otherwise.

Senator SPENCER. I think we should not take information we can not get the source of.

The CHAIRMAN. This information was given under a pledge of secrecy, was it?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Yes, sir; but in the article itself are the names of eight gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these gentlemen deny it?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I believe two or three of them did.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the names of those in the article.

Senator REED. I think we had better put the whole article in the record. We can receive it, not as evidence, but as information which will go before the committee, and which can be traced down.

Senator POMERENE. Just as a matter of convenience to the committee.

Mr. SEIBOLD. It was read into the Congressional Record by Senator Borah.

The CHAIRMAN. In this list of names how many have denied the truth of the statements?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I think three.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I think they were Mr. Doheny, Mr. Sinclair, and Mr. Thompson. The others named I do not think have denied it.

Senator POMERENE. Who were those?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Ambrose Monel, Harry F. Sinclair, H. M. Byllesby, Dan R. Hanna, E. E. Smathers, and A. A. Sprague.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you claim they had given?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I did not claim any specific amount. I merely said the evidence pointed to the use of large sums of money. I made no statement of the amount. The article was intended to describe the promotion of the Wood movement, from its inception, who was connected with it, and all that sort of thing, and you will find the names of the gentlemen who we had reason to believe were identified with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are their addresses at New York?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Some are at Chicago, and some at New York. Mr. Monel has an office in New York, Mr. Byllesby in Chicago, Mr. Hanna in Cleveland, Mr. Smathers in New York, and I think Mr. Sprague is in Chicago.

Senator SPENCER. If I am right in my understanding, and correct me if I am not, from sources which are confidential and which you desire to respect, you heard that these eight men, and perhaps others, had associated themselves in the providing of large sums of money in connection with the Gen. Wood campaign?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you published an article to that effect, and you considered the information to be accurate?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Otherwise I should not have published it. We had confidence in the source of the information.

Senator SPENCER. As a result of the publication of those names, you have received from three of those eight——

Mr. SEIBOLD. I think three.

Senator SPENCER. You have received from those three denials of the statements made?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Denying the statement.

Senator SPENCER. Did you make any personal inquiry of the other five?

Mr. SEIBOLD. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you know, the fact as to whether or not they were true in connection with any of the other five, was not brought up to them individually?

Mr. SEIBOLD. No, sir; but I think that some of them made comments about it. I recall that one or two justified it, and said they were supporters of Gen. Wood and did not care who knew it.

Senator SPENCER. Do you remember what their names were?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I think Mr. Sprague was one. I would not like to say. I do not recall definitely.

Senator SPENCER. Then of the eight whose names you mentioned, three have disaffirmed the truth of the statement?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Yes, sir. Of course, we published their denials as they made them.

Senator SPENCER. The other five, so far as you know, made no denial of it to you, but were not personally interviewed or asked about it?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I have no knowledge of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doheny denied in behalf of the company he represented, did he, or himself?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Mr. Doheny's telegram, which was addressed to Mr. Ralph Pulitzer, and turned over to me, denied he had contributed as stated in the article.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether an inquiry was made of him then as to whether or not his company had contributed?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I think I saw a newspaper statement that there has been. I do not recall the telegram.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there was an answer?

Mr. SEIBOLD. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know yourself of any individual men and the amounts they contributed?

Mr. SEIBOLD. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When you got this information, did your informants tell you how they had learned these facts, what the source of their information was?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Well, I had very good reason to believe that my informant was competent to furnish it. I had very good reason to believe the gentleman from whom I had secured this information was competent to speak with authority.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, I assume you had no doubt about the statement, or you would not have published it.

Mr. SEIBOLD. Not the slightest.

Senator POMERENE. Could you be relieved from your pledge of secrecy in that matter, or have you ever asked to be relieved?

Mr. SEIBOLD. No, sir; because I went to these gentlemen with that distinct understanding; otherwise it is quite obvious that that information would be most difficult to procure.

Senator POMERENE. The situation is somewhat different now from what it was at the time you got the information.

Mr. SEIBOLD. I do not think that would relieve me.

Senator POMERENE. I can understand the necessity for that method of securing information.

Mr. SEIBOLD. At the moment it was most important. I could not have secured it otherwise at the moment. The changed conditions now do not affect me, I do not think.

Senator POMERENE. Not unless they would relieve you of that pledge?

Mr. SEIBOLD. I do not know, even if they did, because I went to those gentlemen with the distinct understanding that I would protect their identities. They may change their views about it, but that would not change my own obligations.

Senator POMERENE. It would perhaps change your obligation to the committee and to your paper.

Mr. SEIBOLD. The names of the gentlemen who could give information are disclosed in the article.

The CHAIRMAN. When you get information that way for your paper, and you are sued for libel, what do you do?

Mr. SEIBOLD. If they get a judgment against us, we have to pay it.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not give up the information?

Mr. SEIBOLD. Not under circumstances of that sort. I have never known an instance where we did.

Senator SPENCER. Of course, these gentlemen will know of this inquiry, and are no doubt anxious that we get all the accurate infor-

mation possible, and if they are sufficiently interested they would certainly prefer to have us get accurate information from them.

Mr. SEIBOLD. I presume so.

Senator SPENCER. You do not feel free to give us the names, at this time?

Mr. SEIBOLD. That is correct.

(The article published in the New York World on March 22, 1920, by Louis Seibold, produced by the witness, is here printed in full, as follows:)

MILLIONAIRES BACK WOOD BOOM—\$1,000,000 FUND BASIS OF PLAN—KING SPENT AT LEAST \$101,000—CONTRIBUTIONS SOUGHT AND ACTUALLY MADE CAME FROM RAILROAD, BANKING, OIL, LIFE INSURANCE, PUBLIC UTILITY, AND OTHER TRANSPORTATION AND INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS—\$20,000 SO FAR DECLARED PAID IN BY EACH OF 10 MEN—DAN R. HANNA WAS FIRST OF POLITICAL AND FINANCE CHIEFS TO BECOME ACTIVE—OTHERS WHO THEN BECAME INTERESTED INCLUDE EDWARD L. DOHENY, OF MEXICAN PETROLEUM CO.; AMBROSE MONEL, INDUSTRIAL CAPTAIN; H. F. SINCLAIR, OF OIL CORPORATION; H. M. BYLLESBY, TRANSPORTATION MAGNATE; W. B. THOMPSON, COPPER BARON; E. E. SMATHERS, CAPITALIST; AND A. A. SPRAGE, BANK DIRECTOR—ADVENT OF HITCHCOCK IN RANKS STILL SHROUDED IN MYSTERY.

The underwriting of the boom for Gen. Leonard Wood for the Republican nomination for President has been one of the most puzzling features of the great battle for delegates. Senator Hiram Johnson, one of Gen. Wood's competitors for the nomination, recently charged that large sums of money and other improper methods were being used to give Gen. Wood an advantage in the contest for the Republican Presidential nomination.

For several months the inspiration of the movement to nominate Gen. Wood with combined regular Republican and Progressive support as the political residuary legatee of Col. Roosevelt has been the subject of widespread speculation among politicians.

FUND OF \$1,000,000 WAS EXPECTED FOR BOOM.

From sources that are not open to question, The World has obtained the following facts:

1. That the initial promotion of the Wood boom was undertaken by Dan R. Hanna (son of the old-time national boss, who "put McKinley over"), who undertook to raise \$600,000 to be used to bring about the nomination of Gen. Wood.

2. That John T. King, the Republican boss of southern Connecticut and national committeeman from that State, was retained by Gen. Wood and Hanna to manage the Wood campaign, and did so up to two months ago, when he retired in favor of W. C. Procter, the Cincinnati millionaire soap manufacturer, who is now in command of the Wood forces.

3. That King, while acting as political manager for Gen. Wood, raised and disbursed \$101,000 contributed by Gen. Wood's personal friends, on a promissary note negotiated by him, and \$11,000 which he (King) personally provided and for which he was reimbursed.

4. That the underwriting of the Wood boom was to have been \$1,000,000, made up of contributions of \$100,000 each by 10 men, and that the most definite information is that \$20,000 of each contribution has thus far been made.

5. That all of the contributions sought and actually made came from men connected with railroad, banking, oil, life insurance, public utility, and other transportation and industrial corporations, the aggregate investment of which is in excess of \$1,000,000,000.

MEN OF WEALTH AS THE UNDERWRITERS.

While it would probably require an investigation to determine the exact amount of contributions made to promote the Wood presidential boom, the World is in possession of information which shows that the gentlemen named herewith participated in the underwriting of the Wood syndicate:

Edward L. Doheny, president of the Mexican Petroleum Co. and officer and director in other oil companies, railroads, and banks, with an aggregate capital and investment of \$500,000,000.

Ambrose Monel, officer and director in nickel, phosphate, motor, steel, bank, and other corporations, with an aggregate capital of more than \$215,000,000.

Harry F. Sinclair, head of the Sinclair Oil & Refining Co. and other corporations and officer and director in many corporations, baseball promoter and racing commissioner of New York State, whose interests total more than \$250,000,000.

H. M. Byllesby, officer and director in 29 transportation, light, heat, power, oil, steel, and other corporations in the Middle and Far Western States, the aggregate capital stock of which exceeds \$200,000,000.

W. B. Thompson, copper magnate, director in Federal Reserve Bank and officer and director in many corporations, including the Utah and Inspiration Copper Companies and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. of New York.

Dan R. Hanna, capitalist of Cleveland Ohio, with interests involving hundreds of millions of dollars in steel, banks, and lake transportation corporations.

E. E. Smathers, capitalist of New York, promoter of racing and baseball, art connoisseur, with large financial interests.

A. A. Sprague, head of one of the largest wholesale grocery houses in Chicago and director in many corporations.

OTHERS ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE TO WOOD'S BOOM, BUT DECLINED.

The information presented shows that several other gentlemen whose names do not appear in the above list were asked to contribute to the Wood nominating campaign fund, but declined to do so. King, the first Wood manager, and Procter, who is in command of the Wood forces at this time, naturally refuse to give any information regarding the origin or distribution of the amounts of money received and disbursed.

There is no way of securing absolutely complete information on the subject except by a congressional inquiry or through some legal action. None of the existing Federal election laws specifically prohibit the use of money in campaigns for the election of delegates favorable to any candidate. There is a law, however, that pretty closely touches the subject and which is presented elsewhere.

This statute makes it unlawful for any bank or corporation "to make a money contribution in connection with any election to any political office." Competent authorities assert that this statute was intended to cover contests for election of delegates to nominating conventions as well as general elections and that the excessive use of money in connection with nominations is a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the law.

BUSY BEFORE ROOSEVELT DIED.

The promotion of the Wood presidential boom began even before the death of Col. Roosevelt. If the latter had lived he would undoubtedly have been the choice of a very large number, if not the majority, of the leaders of his party for the Republican nomination. Whether Gen. Wood, under such circumstances, would have figured as prominently as at present is problematic. Some of his ardent supporters, who were not in entire sympathy with Col. Roosevelt, assert he would have been quite as active, with a fair chance of getting more votes than his old friend.

However that may be, certain it is that friends of Gen. Wood were at work in various parts of the country building up sentiment favorable to him before Col. Roosevelt died, in January of last year. The activities of the Wood supporters up to that time were confined to Oklahoma and three or four other trans-Mississippi States, but were not attended by publicity. His friends in those States operated on the assumption that Gen. Wood could recruit strength in both the reactionary and progressive camps which would be denied the colonel.

With the passing of Col. Roosevelt, Gen. Wood became an active and frankly avowed candidate. He began to confer with personal friends in the spring of 1919, but it was not until June last year that his boom began to take definite form.

AID FROM PERSONAL FRIENDS.

In the early efforts to secure the support of both regular and progressive leaders Gen. Wood was aided by personal friends. One of these, who has never figured in politics, contributed the first \$25,000 of the fund which was later swelled to impressive proportions, while another contributed \$15,000.

Up to this time (June, 1919) none of the big political leaders or financial supporters of Gen. Wood's boom who subsequently took charge of it manifested any particular interest in his ambition. The regular leaders viewed the general's aspirations as more interesting than important; many still adhere to this opinion.

The first man of either political or financial importance to become identified with Gen. Wood's boom was Dan R. Hanna. He was one of the organizers of the Progressive movement that supported Col. Roosevelt, and he maintained intimate relations with

the leader of that cause until his death, despite the fact that the relations between his father and the colonel had at times been most unpleasant.

At any rate, Hanna early became associated with the Wood presidential enterprise. There is reliable information to substantiate the statement that Gen. Wood looked to Hanna for guidance and financial support. As a result of their many conferences held in this city and Chicago during June and July of 1919 several prominent Republican politicians were considered for manager of the Wood boom.

KING TAKES UP THE CAMPAIGN.

One of these was King, the Connecticut leader, a power in the southern part of the Nutmeg State and a politician of unusual intelligence and practical qualities. King had enjoyed the favor of Col. Roosevelt for two or three years. In fact, he was selected by the colonel as chairman of the national committee and would probably have been the chief manager of the Roosevelt presidential campaign if the colonel had lived. He was defeated for national chairman through a combination of leaders on the national committee who favored John T. Adams, of Iowa, and who finally forced a compromise whereby Will H. Hays was chosen.

King, however, held and still holds the respect of the most important Republican leaders of the country. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that in his quest for a man to handle his campaign for the Presidential nomination, Gen. Wood should pay considerable attention to King, the general and Hanna talked it over several times, with the result that Hanna sent for King and put the proposition up to him.

Later on King had several talks with the candidate himself and an arrangement was made whereby King should have general direction of the Wood recruiting forces. During the preliminary stages of King's work Republican politicians throughout the country discussed with interest certain features of the deal between Gen. Wood and King with particular reference to the financing of the Wood boom. Although King has resolutely refused to throw any light on the subject, some of his friends, as well as national leaders, assert that he agreed to undertake the management of the Wood boom only after he had been convinced that there would be ample funds to promote it.

HUGE FUNDS FAILED TO COME IN.

Some of these leaders have it that Gen. Wood informed King that Hanna had agreed to raise \$600,000 to be used in electing Wood delegates. Persistent attempts to secure a verification of this statement from King have failed. He permitted it to be known, however, that the Hanna promise was never fully kept, and financiers and politicians in New York and elsewhere have very good reason to know that King himself was even more active than Hanna in the effort to secure contributions to the Wood campaign fund. Just how much money Hanna actually raised is not known. Presumably, Gen. Wood, Hanna, King, and more latterly Mr. Procter, the present manager of the Wood forces, could, if they desired, supply complete light on the point.

Hanna gave something, probably \$20,000 altogether, and while he is still counted as one of the most active operators in the Wood forces, he has been less conspicuous in a public sense during recent months than in earlier periods.

Before accepting the post as Wood's manager, King consulted with most of the party leaders of the first rank, among others, Senator Boies Penrose, with whom he has maintained intimate relations for years. The result of these conferences was that King was advised to go ahead and see what there was in the Wood movement. His first activities naturally related to the recruiting of financial support.

As already said, two of Gen. Wood's personal friends contributed \$40,000. During his connection with the Wood boom, King handled altogether \$101,000. Of this amount \$50,000 was raised on a note drawn by King himself, the other \$11,000 was money that he personally put up. With this sum the work of paving the way for the election of delegates favorable to Gen. Wood was inaugurated.

COPPER MAN TOOK UP \$50,000.

Since his retirement from the management of the Wood forces some of King's personal friends in Connecticut, here in New York, and at Washington have secured a pretty complete idea of the conditions in the Wood camp. They know, for instance, that the note executed by King for \$50,000 was taken over by the "handy man" of one of the big copper corporations in New York, and that the \$11,000 in cash put up personally by King was paid with a cashier's check on a Chicago bank after Mr. Procter assumed the management of the Wood forces.

Republican politicians who have sought light in the matter attribute the retirement of King to two causes. The first was the desire of Gen. Wood to organize a

big movement intended to stampede delegate support in his direction rather than the orthodox method favored by King and other experienced political promoters through the negotiation of private deals with local organizations controlling the party machinery of districts and States.

The other reason for King's retirement, which is generally credited by Republican leaders, was the lack of a definite understanding regarding obligations of a political and financial character. During King's intimate association with Gen. Wood, however, the former was supplied with the fullest authority to deal with political leaders. The general, in conforming to his policy as an avowed candidate for the presidential nomination, wrote several political leaders with the greatest frankness regarding King. To one of his correspondents he communicated the fact that King "was to occupy the same relations to him that Mark Hanna did to McKinley."

MEN PICKED FOR OFFICE.

The general frequently anticipated his probable attitude toward matters of Government importance in the event of his election, concerning which he does not appear to entertain the slightest doubt. A letter written by him last fall to a colored politician in a Southern State who will probably be a delegate to the Chicago convention is of particular interest in this respect.

To this man the general intimated that, if elected, he might appoint Franklin D. Roosevelt, the present Democratic Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as the head of the naval establishment. To other correspondents and in personal conversation the general indicated that, if elected, he would appoint Elihu Root Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson Secretary of War, and John T. King either Postmaster General or Secretary of Labor.

That the general entertained a very high estimate of King's political sagacity was frequently instanced by his declarations that the reason he wanted King for Postmaster General was because "he can take care of the political features for me." The general possessed little knowledge of political mechanics. He frequently admitted, in fact, that he did not know anything about politics and for that reason desired the services of men like Hanna, King, and Hitchcock.

The advent into the Wood promotion of Frank H. Hitchcock, who was the Postmaster General in the Taft Government and earned wide celebrity as the chief recruiting officer of the Hughes forces in 1916, began in a modest way last fall. Hitchcock had been associated in business with T. Coleman du Pont, the powder magnate, whose support is sought by Republican politicians of every brand and ambition. The managers of Gov. Lowden of Illinois claim that Hitchcock was friendly to their candidate and it was naturally inferred that Col. du Pont also looked with favor upon the Illinois governor.

LOWDEN MEN CLAIM HITCHCOCK.

Just before King retired from the management of the Wood forces, however, Hitchcock began to figure actively, though unostentatiously, in the Wood camp. The General and his confidential supporters, who did not view with favor the King plan of campaign, attached great importance to the established skill of Hitchcock in negotiating private arrangements affecting the election of delegates to the nominating convention.

For some reason, however, the Lowden managers have only recently expressed great confidence that Hitchcock would finally round up in the Lowden camp and would bring with him quite an impressive string of delegates that would favor Gov. Lowden. Just what relations or understanding exist between the Wood managers and Hitchcock is not quite clear.

Republican politicians generally regard Hitchcock as an "independent promoter." His specialty is tying up delegates on a contingent basis, the ultimate delivery of which is determined by exigencies and personal expedencies. With the advent of Hitchcock into the Wood movement a change in the plan of procedure became apparent to all Republican politicians of first rank.

According to King's friends he had negotiated agreements with State leaders that would eventuate to the advantage of Gen. Wood "without fuss, feathers, or publicity." This plan seems to have been all right as far as it went, but it did not satisfy Gen. Wood and his more intimate advisers. What they wanted was publicity and open contests for delegates.

The crisis between Gen. Wood and Manager King was reached early in December last when the General decided to file a petition as presidential candidate in the South Dakota primaries. The law of that State makes it mandatory on every aspirant for a presidential nomination to file a formal declaration and to make at least one speech

during the primary campaign. The South Dakota primary, by the way, is to be held to-morrow, and according to present advices the most interesting contest will be between Gen. Wood and Senator Hiram Johnson.

JOHNSON'S CHARGE OF BOODLE.

The California Senator has recently charged that the promoters of other presidential booms (meaning, of course, Gen. Wood's) were expending large sums of money to influence the decision of voters not only in South Dakota but in North Dakota, where Gen. Wood recently came out the victor. As Republican politicians who have been speculating as to the exact causes for the break between Gen. Wood and Manager King understand it, the latter was averse to making an open fight in the presidential primaries in the comparatively few States whose election laws are identical or similar to that of the two Dakotas.

Expert opinion among politicians does not attach any great importance to presidential primaries, because the decision of one State generally exercises very little influence over the judgment of the uninstructed delegates from other States. The King plan of procedure is consequently the more popular among politicians of both parties.

Gen. Wood, admitting inadequacy of personal experience in politics, seems to have taken the other view of the matter, however, and his insistence provided one of the chief reasons for the retirement of King.

Another consideration that influenced the breach was the decision reached by the leaders at the meeting of the Republican National Committee at Washington in December to discourage the selection of instructed delegates. King was favorable to this plan because it permitted of a wide latitude in negotiating private agreements.

Gen. Wood and his more intimate supporters, however, decided to ignore the wishes of the majority of the Republican leaders and have continued to do so. Thereupon King retired, and the full management of the Wood forces was turned over to Procter, who has been in active charge ever since. With the assistance of Mr. Monel and the financial cooperation of representatives of men active in corporation circles, Mr. Procter has almost completely revised the King plan of campaign and has established a high mark of political energy.

CAMPAIGN OF PUBLICITY STARTS.

Headquarters were established by him in New York and Chicago, many agents employed to promote the Wood boom, an impressive and active publicity bureau engaging the services of high-priced writers and propagandists started, and every avenue of publicity developed and fully exploited. Books and magazines presenting the most favorable studies of Gen. Wood's views on public questions and describing his activities as soldier and administrator have been circulated to the extent of hundreds of thousands of copies.

The General himself appears to have devoted little time to the study of political mechanics, but to have adhered closely to the plan of campaign decided on by Mr. Procter. It is, of course, impossible to reveal the extent of the methods followed by the Wood managers in financing that enterprise or even give full credit to the men who are contributing to the Wood campaign fund. Such information, for obvious reasons, can only be brought to light by a congressional inquiry or through a legal action relating to some point of controversy between the agents of the Wood movement.

There is information at hand, however, to justify the acceptance of the list of contributors given above. There is supplementary information to show that in addition to the contributors several powerful financiers were approached by the friends or agents of the Wood movement soliciting contributions.

Among those were the late H. C. Frick, G. S. Mellen, the Pittsburgh banker; Percy Rockefeller, of the Standard Oil; Col. du Pont, and George W. Perkins. There were and probably are others of less fame. While Mr. Procter has general charge of the Wood boom the man most active in the supervision of the financial feature of it is an official connected with one of the most important oil corporations with extensive properties in Mexico.

MORE TO COME IF NECESSARY.

The best informed men in Republican politics seem to think that they have reason to justify the opinion that while the present guarantors of the Wood boom agreed to contribute \$100,000 apiece, up to date only \$20,000 from each has actually been turned over, with the understanding that additional installments are to be forthcoming as necessary.

For obvious reasons the men directly connected with the promotion of the Wood boom are disinclined to throw any light on the financial features of that enterprise. King, who was most active in various parts of the country while engaged in the promotion of the boom, has completely withdrawn from any connection with national ventures. He is spending his time at Bridgeport attending to his personal business.

He will be a delegate to the Chicago convention from his own district. He is now engaged in a battle for the control of the Republican machine of Connecticut, which takes pretty nearly all his time.

To all inquiries regarding his connection with the promotion of the Wood boom he returns the reply that it is a matter which he can not discuss. Some of his personal friends have reason to know, however, that he has nothing to conceal and that he would supply to the properly accredited authority the fullest statement of his relations with the Wood enterprise.

Several Members of Congress have indicated a desire to learn whether there is any foundation for the charges hinted at by Senator Johnson of California. The corrupt-practices act does not relate to the prenomination campaign. It is the opinion of Senators with whom I have talked, however, that the intent of the corrupt-practices act was to prevent the excessive use of money or use of other improper methods of influencing political sentiment in presidential primary contests as well as in general elections for national candidates, for executive or legislative offices.

Senator Johnson returned to Washington only a day or two ago from campaigning in the West. Some of his Senatorial associates believe that he and his friends will feel themselves justified in initiating a movement to probe into the sources and distribution of money contributions which give the beneficiary an unfair advantage over his less fortunate competitors.

CORPORATIONS FORBIDDEN TO GIVE ELECTION FUNDS.

The Federal law making it unlawful for corporations to make contributions in connection with political elections is as follows:

"That it shall be unlawful for any national bank or any corporation organized by authority of any laws of Congress to make a money contribution in connection with any election to any political office. It shall also be unlawful for any corporation whatever to make a money contribution in connection with any election at which presidential and vice presidential electors or a representative in Congress is to be voted for, or any election by any State legislature of a United States Senator.

"Every corporation which shall make any contribution in violation of the foregoing provision shall be subject to a fine not exceeding \$5,000, and every officer or director of any corporation who shall consent to any contribution by the corporation in violation of the foregoing provision shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not exceeding \$1,000 and not less than \$250, or by imprisonment for a term of not more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court."

While this statute does not specifically prohibit contributions by corporations in presidential primary contests, or directly apply to contests for delegates to nominating conventions, many Senators and Members of Congress hold that such contests come within the spirit of the law.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all we have to ask you, Mr. Seibold. We are very much obliged to you.

We will take a recess until 2.30 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 2.30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

At 2 o'clock p. m., the committee reassembled pursuant to the taking of recess.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS L. EMMERSON.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the committee.

Mr. EMMERSON. Louis L. Emmerson.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. EMMERSON. At this time I am secretary of state of Illinois. My business is banking in Illinois, and my home is at Mount Vernon.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been secretary of state?

Mr. EMMERSON. Since 1917.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the Lowden presidential campaign in any way?

Mr. EMMERSON. I am its manager, or chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the disbursements and of the collections in connection with that campaign?

Mr. EMMERSON. I think I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you prepared a statement on that subject?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you keep a set of books?

Mr. EMMERSON. We did. We have books showing every item. I have every check with me that has been issued from No. 1 up to May 21. I might say I came here in response to the invitation of Senator Borah early in April, and was then prepared to make a showing up to that time. I do not know whether we are too methodical with our campaign or not, but I have checks covering every item of expenditure that has gone through my hands, and I think I have handled all of them during the campaign. We have had no auxiliary organizations of any kind. We have collected no money from State organizations, and I think the entire finances of the campaign have passed through my hands.

The CHAIRMAN. How many headquarters have you maintained?

Mr. EMMERSON. Our real headquarters have been in Springfield, Ill. We have had in Chicago some rooms in the Congress Hotel, a sort of visiting place for visitors who might drop in. At the Auditorium we have had a room where our publicity men have worked. The young men's Lowden Club had one room at the Congress, and the women's organization had two. In addition to that, we have had the Washington headquarters here in the Munsey Building that you perhaps know about. We have had no other headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. None in New York?

Mr. EMMERSON. None in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a force have you had at these different headquarters?

Mr. EMMERSON. Of course, in Springfield we had a large number of stenographers and typists and people to prepare and mail out literature. We have had a man in charge of that, Mr. Crews, a newspaper man formerly of Springfield, that we have been paying \$300 a month. He has had entire charge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. How large was your salary roll at Springfield?

Mr. EMMERSON. I can give you all those figures here.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go into the figures, let me ask you has there been money raised in different States through organizations?

Mr. EMMERSON. None. I know of no money that has been raised outside of Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. How about South Dakota?

Mr. EMMERSON. Not a dollar, as far as I know. Early in the campaign, soon after it was generally understood that Gov. Lowden would present his name, or his friends in Illinois would, some friends of his got together in Chicago, and raised some money, the governor

knowing nothing about it. When it was reported to him, he asked that it be stopped, and said he desired to finance his own campaign, so that if he was successful he would not be under financial obligation to anyone else. I have a full list of those contributors and the amounts they have given. So far as I know, that covers every dollar that has been contributed by an outside source to the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. In that list long?

Mr. EMMERSON. It totals \$35,825, and the largest contribution is \$2,500. I will be glad to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. EMMERSON. The first item is small; S. L. Call, \$75. It seems that Mr. Call wrote a story about the governor, and he sent him a \$75 check and he insisted on turning it into the campaign fund.

The next item is William V. Kelly, a retired business man, \$500; A. J. Miller, \$500. Mr. Miller is an attorney in St. Louis. I do not know why he sent that money. It seems he is an old friend of Gov. Lowden.

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| B. E. Sunny, telephone company..... | \$500 |
| D. R. McLennan, insurance..... | 500 |
| David E. Shanahan, real estate..... | 500 |
| Frank G. Logan, retired, board of trade..... | 750 |
| B. A. Eckhart, wholesale miller..... | 1,000 |
| F. H. Rawson, banker, Union Trust..... | 1,000 |
| C. T. Boynton, retired, coal..... | 1,000 |
| J. A. Spoor, central manufacturing district..... | 1,000 |
| Edward B. Butler, retired, Butler Bros..... | 1,000 |
| C. P. Wheeler, coal..... | 1,000 |
| Arthur W. Cutten, board of trade..... | 1,000 |
| Wm. Wrigley, jr., manufacturer..... | 1,000 |
| Silas H. Strawn, attorney..... | 1,500 |
| W. L. Brown, coal, retired..... | 1,000 |
| Geo. M. Reynolds, banker..... | 1,500 |
| James Deering, manufacturer, retired..... | 2,000 |
| James A. Patten, board of trade..... | 2,500 |
| Samuel Insull..... | 2,500 |
| Chas. G. Dawes, banker..... | 2,500 |
| Fred. W. Upham, coal and ice..... | 2,500 |
| Walter H. Wilson, real estate..... | 2,500 |

Total..... 29,825

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the funds that were contributed before the governor had announced himself, or permitted himself to be announced?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir. They came to me through the hands of Mr. Shanahan, speaker of the house, and thereafter the treasurer of our campaign. As a matter of fact, he has not handled the funds. They have come direct to me, and my name has been signed to every check that has gone out.

In addition to that, Senator Curtis, of Illinois, and former Treasurer Small, made contributions of \$2,500 each, and later Mr. Wilson gave \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What Wilson is that?

Mr. EMMERSON. Walter H. Wilson, real estate.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time what contributions has the fund received?

Mr. EMMERSON. None that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. The entire expense has been paid by Gov. Lowden?

Mr. EMMERSON. By Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. How have you managed it? Have you drawn on the governor when you needed it?

Mr. EMMERSON. Whenever I needed money I sent over to him and he sent it to me, \$25,000 or \$30,000 at a time. I have the date of the receipt of every dollar that has been paid to me. The governor insisted at the beginning of the campaign that we should run it along business lines, so we could know where we were every moment. Our bills are practically up to date. We have kept our accounts in that shape. I have been ready at any moment to make a detailed report of expenditures.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us the amounts and the various times?

Senator SPENCER. If it was all from one man, the aggregate is sufficient, is it not?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the aggregate of the amounts you have received from the governor?

Mr. EMMERSON. All of the money I have expended, with the exception of that \$35,825.

The CHAIRMAN. How much is that?

Mr. EMMERSON. Do you want me to give you what we have expended?

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get what the governor has paid over to you.

Mr. EMMERSON. I will have to do a little figuring on that. I thought you wanted a list of our expenditures. That would cover the whole thing, except the \$35,000. I can give you that exactly in a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have expended it all.

Mr. EMMERSON. I have, except some small sums. It amounts to \$379,159.78.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that exclusive of the \$35,000?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir; that is exclusive of the \$35,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the total amount expended would be what?

Mr. EMMERSON. \$414,984.78.

The CHAIRMAN. For what, in a general way, has that been expended?

Mr. EMMERSON. I will explain any of these items that you stop me and ask me about. We have expended in traveling expenses, \$8,198.80. All told, in salaries for the help, stenographers and a force of that kind, \$34,262.64.

Senator SPENCER. That commences at what date?

Mr. EMMERSON. From the beginning of the campaign, I suppose some as early as September of last year. Of course, our real campaign—we opened our headquarters in Chicago, I think, along in December. I could not give you the exact date at this time.

Office equipment, expenses, etc., \$33,786.83; postage, \$16,268; incidentals, \$2,092; rent, Congress Hotel headquarters, including rent of every kind, \$4,971; Auditorium Hotel, where our publicity man was located, \$1,500.92; telephones, \$1,104; telegraph, \$1,006; Young Men's Lowden League, \$8,333; Traveling Men's Club, \$3,156; women's division, \$16,271.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you expend that money in the women's division?

Mr. EMMERSON. On bills paid out by them. I mean to say the bills were sent to me O. K'd and the money was paid. That included

their publicity and pink teas, and everything that women have in connection with a campaign. They entered into a pretty wide publicity campaign, getting out some printed matter of their own, and that was their help, the stenographers and postage and everything connected with their headquarters.

Agricultural campaign, \$6,198.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of a campaign?

Mr. EMMERSON. Agricultural.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that?

Mr. EMMERSON. Mr. Schones, of Illinois, did some work for Gov. Lowden in almost every state among the farmers. He is a very prominent agriculturalist, and had the publicity work done in almost every agricultural State.

Chicago, Cook County, \$2,953; our Washington headquarters, \$22,000; printed matter, circulars, etc., everything in connection with stuff sent out of all character, \$96,056; organization expenses, \$156,843.

The CHAIRMAN. What does that cover?

Mr. EMMERSON. That covers all of our work in every State in the Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything showing the money you have sent into different States?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a list of it?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir. I think I can give you any State.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give me the States you have sent money to and the amounts?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir. I can give you all the States we have sent money into and the amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you do that?

Mr. EMMERSON. We have sent into the State of Georgia \$9,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. That was sent principally to Henry Lincoln Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate at large to the convention?

Mr. EMMERSON. I think he is now one of the contesting delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not at that time?

Mr. EMMERSON. He was not at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a colored man?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. Alabama, \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. That was sent to two men, one named Irwin, and I do not remember the other man's name. They have done some work for us there.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they colored men?

Mr. EMMERSON. Both white men.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. Oklahoma, \$7,500.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. F. A. Parkinson.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. Texas, \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. George F. Rockhold.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the addresses of these men?

Mr. EMMERSON. Rockhold is at Dallas. I think Mr. Parkinson is at Pawnee, but I am not certain about that. I can refer to my books and tell you. Those are all of the Southern States.

The CHAIRMAN. None into North Carolina?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir; I have sent no money into North Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. And Virginia?

Mr. EMMERSON. I have sent none. If any has been sent there, it was sent by the Washington headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether any was sent into Virginia or not?

Mr. EMMERSON. I do not. The Washington headquarters would know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. South Dakota, \$9,783.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. Fred Sterling handled that from Illinois. Michigan, \$39,141.56.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. It was handled through W. E. Hull, of Peoria, Ill.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. Wisconsin, \$7,500.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. Karl P. McAssey, Milwaukee.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not entered in the primary in Wisconsin?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir. I don't think so. I don't think there was any entrance in the Wisconsin primary. I don't recall that there was.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. Oregon, \$11,000.

Senator SPENCER. Who did that go to?

Mr. EMMERSON. Joseph E. Dunne.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. North Dakota, \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. That was handled through W. H. Boise, of Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Gov. Lowden in the primary of North Dakota?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well, go ahead.

Mr. EMMERSON. Indiana, \$18,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to?

Mr. EMMERSON. Joseph S. Baldwin, of Decatur, who handled that campaign in Indiana.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have an Indiana manager?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir. We had an Indiana committee, but he was manager. He went over there during the campaign and was at the Claypool Hotel.

We expended in Illinois, \$2,953.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any expended by local workers in addition to that?

Mr. EMMERSON. Not that I know of. I have no knowledge of it. We did not make any fight in Illinois, except to write the governor's friends, with a committee, of which Gov. Oglesby was the head.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you run against the expenditure of money in Illinois by other candidates?

Mr. EMMERSON. I have no personal knowledge in regard to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. EMMERSON. We were very busy trying to get our vote out, and I had no opportunity to know what was going on.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with your list.

Mr. EMMERSON. Missouri, \$38,703.

The CHAIRMAN. Who handled that?

Mr. EMMERSON. That was handled by more than one individual.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the individuals who handled it?

Mr. EMMERSON. E. L. Morse, of Excelsior Springs, handled part of it.

Senator SPENCER. Do you remember how much?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir; I do not think I can tell you that. Some money was paid to Nat Goldstein, of St. Louis.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know how much?

Mr. EMMERSON. I think \$2,500, if I remember right.

Senator REED. Who else in Missouri?

Mr. EMMERSON. Robert Moore, \$2,500.

Senator REED. Where was he located?

Mr. EMMERSON. St. Louis.

Senator REED. What is he there? What is he politically? Is he on any committee or anything of that sort?

Mr. EMMERSON. I could not tell you.

Senator REED. How did you come to give him \$2,500? He must have represented something.

Mr. EMMERSON. He is an active Republican.

Senator REED. Is he on any committee?

Mr. EMMERSON. I could not tell you that. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. He is city central committeeman.

Senator REED. Is that the usual price for city central committeemen?

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Moore is a very good man.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any more in Missouri?

Mr. EMMERSON. Mr. Fred Essen, \$1,000.

Senator REED. Where is he?

Senator SPENCER. Clayton.

Senator REED. Do you know him?

Senator SPENCER. I know him.

Mr. EMMERSON. That is all. I want to correct one statement. I said W. E. Hull had charge of the money sent to Michigan. Clarence F. Buck of our State was one of the parties in that State who handled the money.

Senator SPENCER. That must mean that by far the larger proportion of the \$38,703 in Missouri was sent to Mr. Morse.

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir. I also want to state that in Oklahoma the money was sent to J. W. Kayser, instead of Mr. Parkinson.

Senator REED. How much went to Oklahoma?

Mr. EMMERSON. \$7,500.

Senator REED. That was a cheap State.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Kayser a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. EMMERSON. I think not.

Senator REED. Were you through with Missouri?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did Missouri have a primary in the Republican Party?

Mr. EMMERSON. I think not.

Senator REED. Have they had caucuses to select delegations yet?

Mr. EMMERSON. I understand they have.

Senator REED. All they have had in either party is what is called caucuses, where the party is called on to select delegates, and certain units, counties, or wards of cities select the delegates, and then the delegates thus selected meet in county conventions or in the State convention. That is all that has taken place in Missouri, is it not?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir; and I think I have heard from Missouri that they had a pretty active time in their convention. I presume that is their method. That is the way I understand it, starting in with the county as the unit.

Senator REED. All I am trying to get at is that there was no State-wide primary held where the people voted directly for candidates?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir; I think not.

Senator REED. This other method was pursued, which usually results in 15 or 20 men getting together in a county and picking some delegates to the county convention. I was wondering what you did with \$38,700, in that kind of a contest. Did not somebody give you an explanation of what they were going to do with it?

Mr. EMMERSON. I do not know that anybody gave me any explanation. I presume that it was used in working up interest in the county and organizing the county convention, and from that to the district convention.

Senator EDGE. Was there not considerable competition in the various Congressional districts in Missouri?

Mr. EMMERSON. We had some contest in Missouri, I think.

Senator EDGE. I think I read of some contest there.

Senator REED. Who got the delegates?

Mr. EMMERSON. That will be determined in the convention at Chicago. They were not instructed in Missouri. Possibly one or two districts were.

Senator REED. What was the contest that Mr. Lowden's friends were making? Were they trying to get an uninstructed delegation, or to get a delegation for Lowden?

Mr. EMMERSON. Our program has been for uninstructed delegations in all States. We have not asked for instructions in any State. We have endeavored to have delegates who were friendly to Gov. Lowden, but we have not asked instructions anywhere. I think Iowa is the only State that has instructed for Lowden, outside of Illinois.

Senator REED. Do you mean to say you spent \$38,700 in a State to get a delegation that is not instructed for you, is wide open, anybody can vote, or can vote for anybody?

Mr. EMMERSON. When you are spending your money, Senator, you can no more than anticipate what the delegates will do.

Senator REED. Did you try to pick a delegation or get one picked that would be composed of Lowden men?

Mr. EMMERSON. I did not handle that end of it.

Senator REED. Was that the plan?

Mr. EMMERSON. Oh, that was the plan, of course.

Senator REED. If you are paying out that amount of money, you are going to get something. What were you going to get?

Mr. EMMERSON. We hoped to have a delegation friendly to Lowden.

Senator REED. If you hoped to have a delegation friendly to Lowden, what was the idea of concealing that behind an uninstructed delegation? Why did you not just say that you wanted a Lowden delegation and have them instructed that way? I do not get the plan.

Mr. EMMERSON. I can not answer as to that. Of course, the Missouri situation was being handled by Missouri men.

Senator REED. I know, but you say that you pursued the same plan in other States, except Iowa, where they got an instructed delegation.

Mr. EMMERSON. I said we have not asked for instructions in any State.

Senator REED. Well, I do not care to follow it further. Who do you understand got the delegates in Missouri?

Mr. EMMERSON. We understood that in the main they are friendly to Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. How many delegates are there?

Mr. EMMERSON. Thirty-six, I think.

Senator REED. A little over \$1,000 each.

Senator EDGE. They are economical, if it resulted that way.

Senator REED. That depends, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead with the other States, Mr. Emerson.

Mr. EMMERSON. I think that is all except the State of Iowa. We expended \$2,200 in Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was that sent?

Mr. EMMERSON. That was handled by Guy Guernsey, of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. He does not live in Iowa, does he?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir; but he was out there handling our campaign, and the money was sent to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have some kind of headquarters there?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir; he was in the State two or three weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not anything to show to whom he gave it?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all of the money you sent into the various States?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. None into Minnesota?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir. I did not handle Minnesota. I don't know anything about it. It was handled by Mr. Boise, the only State I have no knowledge about.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a lot of men going through the country under pay?

Mr. EMMERSON. We did not.

The CHAIRMAN. What has been called here the "flying squadron?"

Mr. EMMERSON. We had a few friends without salary, like Mr. Guernsey in Iowa, and we paid their railroad fare and hotel bills.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that money expended? Take the Missouri money, how was it expended?

Mr. EMMERSON. I understood it was being expended in the county work, in arrangements for the county conventions, and in awakening interest in the county.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that interest awakened?

Mr. EMMERSON. Well, I suppose by getting out men to the convention who were friendly to Gov. Lowden.

Senator EDGE. Was there any advertising matter or printed matter, or anything of that kind that would come within these individual State apportionments?

Mr. EMMERSON. There might have been. I know nothing about that, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. How did you know how much money to send to Missouri? Did you volunteer it or was it asked?

Mr. EMMERSON. It was asked.

Senator REED. Who asked for it?

Mr. EMMERSON. The gentlemen to whom it was sent.

Senator SPENCER. Did you get any more information than that these gentlemen said they thought so much money was needed for the work in regard to Lowden, and you sent them the money?

Mr. EMMERSON. That is the only information I had, that in that district so much money would be required to get out the Lowden sentiment.

Senator REED. You did not do anything to create any Lowden sentiment, did you?

Mr. EMMERSON. In that State we were not in charge of the campaign. I am talking of these States where we sent money. We were creating sentiment among our own men.

Senator REED. You sent men around to talk? Did you send out men to make speeches?

Mr. EMMERSON. In Missouri?

Senator REED. Any States?

Mr. EMMERSON. That was done in Indiana and South Dakota.

Senator REED. To what extent?

Mr. EMMERSON. I can not tell you that.

Senator REED. Was it done in Michigan?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you spend money on those meetings?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you pay the men?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir. We have no hired men along that line that I know of. We sent men from Illinois into each of these States, but they were all friends, whose expenses were paid, but who received no salary.

Senator REED. Did you get out any literature or anything of that sort?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir. I gave those figures before you came in; a complete statement of all those figures.

Senator REED. I will not go over it again.

Senator SPENCER. How did you know the men in Missouri to whom that money should go? Where you acquainted with these gentlemen whose names you have given?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir; I knew some of them; I did not know them all.

Senator SPENCER. And it was because of your confidence in them that you responded to their requests?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you paid out anything for magazine articles?

Mr. EMMERSON. Not a dollar.

The CHAIRMAN. Or for newspaper write-ups, or anything of that kind?

Mr. EMMERSON. If there is anything of that kind, it is in the bills from these states to which we have sent money. Our headquarters has done nothing of that kind. We have issued from Chicago—I do not know what the newspaper men would call it—a date sheet every week or two, that has been mailed to all of the press of the country, but there has been no money sent with it. It was a voluntary offering, and if they used it, all right. I suppose in most instances they have not used it. That has been done every week or two. Gov. Lowden was opposed to newspaper publicity and we have not entered into it. If it has been done in any instance, it has been in the States which were not under the control of the Springfield headquarters. The publicity I referred to is the pamphlet and circulars we have sent out.

Senator REED. Let me understand you. Altogether you have expended about \$400,000?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Mr. Lowden has contributed all of it except how much?

Mr. EMMERSON. \$35,825.

Senator REED. And you have instructions in one State?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you have appointed some of your friends in the other States?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Have they got any local organizations in these various States that have raised money and expended it in the Lowden interests?

Mr. EMMERSON. I answered that a moment ago, and stated that so far as I knew, none. We have had no auxiliaries. I think I have handled every dollar that has been handled, with the exception of Minnesota.

Senator REED. The situation comes to this: That the man you are promoting as your own candidate for President expended \$400,000 and took it all out of his own pocket except \$35,000. That is to say, the total financial interest of the United States in your candidate is apportioned to the personal interest as \$35,000 is to \$400,000.

Mr. EMMERSON. Well, we had our opportunities, Senator, and we could have solicited money, of course, and doubtless would have received it. Gov. Lowden's position from the beginning, which was stated before you came in, was that he wanted to finance his own campaign.

Senator REED. And he has been pretty well permitted to do it, has he not?

Mr. EMMERSON. Yes, sir; and that money was received without his knowledge.

Senator REED. There does not appear to be any great evidence of popular uprising, as far as finances are concerned.

Mr. EMMERSON. I do not care to discuss that.

Senator EDGE. Just following that thought along, I understood you to say he preferred to finance his own campaign. I presume if you were to come in here with a long list of contributions, representing various interests of the country, it might be assumed there was too much interest in his campaign. Is that the thought?

Mr. EMMERSON. That is a thing we have tried to avoid, and perhaps our bookkeeping is too good at Springfield; I do not know.

Senator REED. Possibly, instead of bringing in a long line of men representing interests, as suggested by the Senator from New Jersey, which might carry its own inference, if you had come in here with a long line of subscriptions by the plain common people, it would have been more indicative of a general uprising, would it not? Did that kind of subscription ever occur to either you or the Senator from New Jersey?

Senator EDGE. The Senator from New Jersey is not on the witness stand, or he would be very glad to answer you.

Senator REED. You spoke about some interests subscribing. Did you refer to any interests Mr. Lowden is connected with?

Mr. EMMERSON. I do not remember saying anything of that kind.

Senator REED. You said if you had come in with a long line of subscriptions of certain interests that might have been criticized.

Mr. EMMERSON. I do not recall that statement.

Senator REED. Perhaps it was the Senator from New Jersey who made that statement.

Mr. EMMERSON. I think so.

Senator REED. Was any part of this money that was subscribed or put up by Mr. Lowden or in his interest furnished by any company he is connected with?

Mr. EMMERSON. Not a dollar, that came to me.

Senator REED. What companies is he connected with?

Mr. EMMERSON. I don't know. I do not know of any corporations he is connected with.

Senator REED. His private fortune must be very large if he can give that amount.

Mr. EMMERSON. I don't know about that, Senator. I am not familiar with his private fortune. The checks that have come to me have all been signed by Gov. Lowden or his wife.

Senator REED. Then, if they were signed by Gov. Lowden or his wife, it does not follow that he contributed all that money. His wife may have contributed part of it.

Mr. EMMERSON. It came to me through his hands.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send all that money into Missouri at the same time?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir; several different times.

The CHAIRMAN. We asked you about correspondence. Have you any correspondence relating to contributions?

Mr. EMMERSON. No, sir. We might have in the files two or three letters from men who were sending in a hundred dollars, or something of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any correspondence with Henry Lincoln Johnson, of Georgia, the man you referred to as handling the money there?

Mr. EMMERSON. I have in my files, yes; but I do not think it refers to money; I do not recall anything of that kind. I have had some statements from him in regard to the contest down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Does his letters complain of expenditures by other candidates?

Mr. EMMERSON. I believe they do.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent \$9,500 to Georgia?

Mr. EMMERSON. \$9,000.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have separate local organizations in these various States that collected funds on their own account?

Mr. EMMERSON. Not a dollar, to my knowledge. We have in nearly every instance managed the campaign from Illinois. We sent Illinois men into a number of States as managers—South Dakota, Indiana, in most of the States. Not a dollar has been paid out along that line. I have learned since I came to Washington that the headquarters here, somebody left \$100 there. I was told about it a few minutes ago. We believe if a man is able to pay his own expenses he is under less obligations to anyone afterwards.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Emmerson. We are very much obliged to you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. EDMUND H. MOORE.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your full name to the committee?

Mr. MOORE. Edmund H. Moore.

The CHAIRMAN. And where do you live?

Mr. MOORE. Youngstown, Ohio. I want to say, prefatory to what I am about to testify, that I was absent when your telegram arrived. I was here in Washington. I only know what the committee desires by what I have seen in the newspapers. The newspaper statement is that you want a statement of contributions, our expenses, and our pledges. I will, therefore, take them up in that order. I sent for the books and they arrived last night. We are not like some of the gentlemen who have testified, who have not kept books; we keep books.

Senator REED. You are speaking as a representative of Gov. Cox?

Mr. MOORE. I am subpoenaed as a representative of Gov. Cox. Our contributions were made up solely of contributions from personal friends of the governor, outside of \$2,500 contributed by himself. Unfortunately, unlike some of the gentlemen I have heard testify here, we have no reformers who have contributed large sums upon the statement that we have a clean candidate, which we think we have, who represented all that was good in politics. On the other hand, we did not want any tainted money. Our contributions are from 24 men, and range from a hundred dollars to \$2,500, which is the contribution by the governor himself. The only contribution we have above a thousand dollars is one of \$2,000 by John J. Whitaker. Senator Pomerene will appreciate how much that evinces that the Ohio Democrats are together. There was also \$1,500 from James E. Campbell and \$1,500 from Claude Meeker, of Columbus. Shall I read the entire list?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; just read the list, Mr. Moore.

Mr. MOORE (reading):

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| James E. Campbell, Columbus..... | \$1, 500 |
| H. P. Wolfe, Columbus..... | 500 |

Mr. Wolfe is a newspaper proprietor.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Harry Newman, Chicago..... | \$500 |
| Claude Meeker, Columbus..... | 1,500 |
| H. S. Firestone, Akron..... | 1,000 |
| W. A. Julian, Cincinnati..... | 1,000 |
| W. S. Pealer, Mansfield..... | 250 |
| L. E. Kaplan, Akron..... | 1,000 |
| D. C. Rockwell, Cleveland..... | 1,000 |
| C. A. Mulcahey, Akron..... | 1,000 |

Then appear two small items of \$10.90 and \$20.96, which were refunds for expense money. Then follow:

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| Walter Beebee..... | \$350 |
| Dwight Harrision, Columbus..... | 500 |
| J. J. Whitaker, Waynesboro..... | 2,000 |
| James M. Cox..... | 2,500 |
| W. A. Benton, Columbus..... | 500 |
| F. P. Connely, Columbus..... | 500 |
| Sam Ungerlider, Cleveland..... | 1,000 |
| W. V. Burdell, Columbus..... | 300 |
| Simon Lazarus, Columbus..... | 500 |
| Smith Bennett, Columbus..... | 500 |
| B. C. Harmon..... | 250 |
| Emmett Curtin, Lima..... | 1,000 |
| Charles E. Morris..... | 1,000 |
| A. G. Allen, Cincinnati..... | 200 |

Then there are two other small items of refunds for expenses. That is all the money either contributed or pledged.

Senator SPENCER. What is the total of that?

Mr. MOORE. \$19,681.86. That includes these small refunds. It will amount to about \$19,600.

Senator SPENCER. And includes the amount contributed by Gov. Cox?

Mr. MOORE. It includes the amount contributed by Gov. Cox, and we have no money either contributed or pledged, except \$3,000. I will explain a little later when I come to the expenses, and except what has been contributed indirectly by myself, Mr. White and Mr. Julian, in the way of paying our expenses in endeavoring to elicit support for the governor, in going about the country, and our hotel bills at Columbus, which we preferred to pay ourselves, as our way of making a contribution.

The expenses aggregate \$7,501.19. That is all the money expended except in Kentucky, and I want to say that with that exception there has been no money raised in any State in the Union by anybody. We have had none of these outside organizations, save in Kentucky. I can not tell you the exact amount of our expenditures in Kentucky, but it will be in the neighborhood of \$8,000, and might run to \$10,000, but not more than \$10,000. When the campaign was undertaken in Kentucky, the only State where we have undertaken to make a fight, our Kentucky friends agreed to raise \$5,000 and we raised a like amount, which was sent down by Mr. Julian. Mr. Julian furnished the money. He is a very wealthy friend of the governor, a manufacturer there, and also I believe a friend of Senator Pomerene. There were some additional expenses for some additional bills, that will run about \$3,000, which Julian agreed to take care of. He is to be reimbursed for all that, except the \$3,000 in Kentucky, where he said he would contribute \$3,000. I said at the beginning that our contributions and pledges would amount to a little over \$22,000.

The additional amount Mr. Julian is to be reimbursed for comes out of that fund.

I have here our bank book, showing all of our deposits. Our money has been paid out by check, and I have the checks here and will leave them with the committee, only we desire to have them back.

Senator POMERENE. On what bank were the checks drawn?

Mr. MOORE. The Citizens Trust & Savings Bank of Columbus, deposited in the name of C. E. Morris, special.

Senator EDGE. You have really only made a contest in two States, Ohio and Kentucky.

Mr. MOORE. We made no contest in Ohio.

Senator EDGE. You did not have to make a contest in Ohio?

Mr. MOORE. We did not have to make a contest in Ohio, and there was no money expended there.

Senator EDGE. In those States, approximately, you spent from \$8,000 to \$10,000 in each State?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir. The reason the Kentucky gentlemen raised the amount, and we raised an equal amount, which has been expended by them, was because that was a sort of a fight there, I take it, between two different factions, if we may so term it, and the question of organization was somewhat at stake; and they made their fight, and we were making our fight for the delegates, and we received the instructions.

Senator EDGE. There was that amount expended?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir; it might be \$10,000.

Senator EDGE. There was that amount expended in each State. Then, if you had made a similar fight in the 48 States, it would have amounted to \$480,000, would it not?

Mr. MOORE. If we had made a fight in every State, and expended as much money, perhaps you are right, but that is the only State in which we undertook a fight. My own judgment is that it would not be necessary to make an elaborate fight in every State in the Union and spend tremendous sums of money. We think we have made a fight in a good many other States, and think we have a considerable number of delegates, without spending a dollar, except what we have expended by way of so-called propaganda, that is, giving a brief résumé of the character and achievements of the candidate we represent.

Senator REED. Part of that money you have expended, and which you have told us of, was expended in getting out literature, was it not?

Mr. MOORE. I did not catch the Senator's question. That money, all save the Kentucky money, was expended for literature.

Senator REED. Was that literature confined to Ohio, or was it sent all over the country?

Mr. MOORE. All over the country. We sent out over 75,000 of these little pamphlets, of which I will leave a copy with the committee. We did believe we should have publicity, newspaper publicity. We think the people are entitled to know about it.

Senator EDGE. As a matter of fact, \$10,000 in Ohio, and the \$10,000 spent in Kentucky, was the only fight you made?

Mr. MOORE. The only direct fight of that kind. As far as pledges are concerned, we have made none.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not promised any Cabinet positions?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir; except that if our candidate is nominated and elected President, he will be a Democratic President.

Senator EDGE. Do you care to qualify that expression?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that any invidious distinction?

Mr. MOORE. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. There has been no contest in the Democratic ranks in Ohio?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What knowledge, if any, have you concerning the money expended in the Republican contest in Ohio for delegates? Their primary was held at the same time ours was.

Mr. MOORE. Well, I have not—I will not say I have none, for I have, but my direct personal knowledge, I have none, except I want to say that I have been in politics for nearly 40 years, more or less actively, and if I know a chicken hawk from a handsaw, there was more money expended in the preprimary fight in Ohio by the two candidates than I have ever seen expended in Ohio in any election, and in comparison with the money said to have been expended by Senator Newberry in Michigan it makes that look like a mere piker's contest. There were page advertisements in the various important newspapers in the State, not one day, but days. There were meetings, that were perfectly proper, held all over the State, large meetings, music, and bands, and all of that, which is perfectly proper, I suppose. In addition to that, there were State organizations in cities like my own, which is not one of the most important in the State, a town of about 130,000, and the headquarters in our town, and I understand they were the same character all over the State, were extensive headquarters in an expensive hotel, the Lee Hotel, very expensive, and maintained for perhaps six weeks or two months.

The CHAIRMAN. Who maintained these headquarters?

Mr. MOORE. Both Wood and Harding. I am taking it for granted that this investigation is not a mere blarney investigation. I suppose it is a real investigation. You could subpoena 20 men in Ohio that could tell the story much better than I can.

Senator SPENCER. Have you their names and addresses?

Mr. MOORE. It would take too long.

Senator SPENCER. Give us 10 or 15.

Mr. MOORE. John H. Price.

Senator SPENCER. Where does he live?

Mr. MOORE. Cleveland.

Senator SPENCER. What does he know about it?

Mr. MOORE. He was State chairman of the Wood headquarters.

Senator REED. Who is treasurer?

Mr. MOORE. I don't know. I know who the angel was.

Senator REED. Who was the angel?

Mr. MOORE. William Cooper Proctor, of Cincinnati. I don't like to drag a number of my friends in here. The Senator here knows about it.

Senator SPENCER. Do you not think it is better to do it directly than by innuendo?

Mr. MOORE. I could give you the names, but it is unnecessary to have me do it and give the names of my friends, who have talked to me

confidentially. I think the Senator here can give you the names of 50 men in Ohio that will demonstrate what I say is true.

Senator SPENCER. You never should have made the other statement.

Mr. MOORE. I should have made it, because it is perfectly true, and I think Senator Pomerene undoubtedly—I have not discussed it with him—I think he knows the names of gentlemen that could be called in here and would tell you the truth about it.

Senator SPENCER. You do not want to give their names?

Mr. MOORE. I would prefer not to, but if the committee insists, I will.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us a few of them. You have given us one.

Senator REED. Your position is simply that you have made this general statement, and you have given us one or two, and some of the rest are personal friends, and you would rather the committee would find them from some other source?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. It would be somewhat embarrassing?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I do not see why you should be criticized for that?

Mr. MOORE. If you would send for Mr. Harry M. Daugherty, manager of the Harding campaign, he would undoubtedly be very glad to give you the names of the gentlemen who were identified with the Wood campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is there in the Wood campaign that will be gratified to give us the names of men connected with the Harding campaign?

Mr. MOORE. Any of them. Call Mr. Price, and I think you will get sufficient for that purpose.

Senator EDGE. You infer they will be glad to do that, do you?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no bad feeling there between the Wood and Harding people, I presume?

Mr. MOORE. I would hate to say there was not.

Senator SPENCER. Simply a desire to eliminate.

Mr. MOORE. A desire to eliminate.

If I may be pardoned another suggestion I heard Mr. Seibold testify. I think I need not suggest to gentlemen of your discernment that if you read that article you will not have any trouble in getting men who can testify to this, and who will be very glad to tell their story. I would imagine from that article that John T. King, of Connecticut, would probably be able to give you some facts, and might not be averse to doing so. I have no personal knowledge as to that.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any men who have subscribed largely to the Wood and Harding campaigns in Ohio, and the amounts they have given?

Mr. MOORE. Do you insist on the question?

Senator SPENCER. No; not if it embarrasses you.

Mr. MOORE. I do, but it would be embarrassing. I know of one man who gave \$50,000. I would prefer not to give his name.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you think this committee is going to get this information when you refuse to tell us the names?

Mr. MOORE. I think, Senator, you can get it from somebody else, and I have suggested the names of men who can be called. They could give you that information without any embarrassment.

Senator SPENCER. You referred to Mr. Price and Mr. Daugherty?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir; I refer to Mr. Price and Mr. Daugherty.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to get that information, and we do not care who it hits or who it hurts or who it helps.

Mr. MOORE. I know you don't.

The CHAIRMAN. If people will not give it to us, I do not see how we can get it.

Mr. MOORE. I will be very glad to be recalled, if necessary, but I think it will not be necessary, and it can be given without any embarrassment at all. You know how it is in politics. You learn a great many things from your friends.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not a politician.

Senator EDGE. That is the reason he is in the United States Senate.

Senator REED. I understand, if we can not get this information elsewhere, you will make a full disclosure, whether it is embarrassing or not?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir. I want to say that none of this money was either received or expended by me. I have spent nothing but my own money, approximately \$1,000.

Senator EDGE. Will you not put in the record your connection with Mr. Cox?

Mr. MOORE. I don't know that I have any particular relation with Mr. Cox, except as a friend and admirer. I am a national committeeman from our State, and have been interested in what little work in the nature of organization has been done outside.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all we wish to ask you, Mr. Moore. We are very much obliged to you. If we are not able to secure this information elsewhere, we may recall you.

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD M. RICE.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the committee.

Mr. RICE. Howard M. Rice.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you charge of the candidacy of Senator Poindexter?

Mr. RICE. Probably as much as any one. The Senator has no authorized campaign committee or manager, but in the capacity of his secretary I probably know as much about the campaign as any one.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to know about the contributions and disbursements.

Mr. RICE. I have here a fairly complete record. The disbursements were for publicity work. That has been the main feature of the campaign. I think the total contributions for the campaign would probably amount to around \$75,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the contributors?

Mr. RICE. I have not a list of the contributors here.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have that list.

Mr. RICE. I will get that for you and file it with the committee.

Senator REED. Why did you not bring it? It was called for.

Mr. RICE. I did not have it as complete as I would like to. I would like to give you the exact amounts.

Senator REED. Where is it?

Mr. RICE. Part of it is in my office now.

Senator REED. Where is the rest of it?

Mr. RICE. I would have to get the rest of it. I do not know just where the rest of it is.

Senator REED. How do you know you will get it, if you do not know where it is?

Mr. RICE. I will have to do the best I can, Senator.

Senator REED. Tell us about it. How does it come that you did not get it?

Mr. RICE. There are some other people interested in the campaign besides myself?

Senator REED. Who?

Mr. RICE. And the funds, I think, have been contributed through them.

Senator REED. I am asking you about contributions now.

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Who else besides yourself has been collecting money?

Mr. RICE. Some friends of the Senator in Seattle, Wash., Mr. J. E. Chilberg.

Senator REED. Did they report to you the money they had collected?

Mr. RICE. I think they reported most of it to me, although there has been some money raised there and spent locally.

Senator REED. You do not know how much that is?

Mr. RICE. It will amount to a few hundred dollars.

Senator REED. Where else has money been raised?

Mr. RICE. I can give you from memory the names of most of the contributors, and I can give you approximately the amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and do that.

Senator SPENCER. Has anybody collected except yourself and Mr. Chilberg?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir; Mr. Thaddeus Lane, of Spokane.

Senator SPENCER. Anybody else?

Mr. RICE. Senator Bourne has made a contribution.

Senator SPENCER. Were those contributions sent to you?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You know about those?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I mean, has anybody been collecting money and turning it over, except Mr. Chilberg and Mr. Lane?

Mr. RICE. None, only those two.

Senator SPENCER. When you get your reports from Mr. Chilberg and Mr. Lane, then you will have the aggregate of the contributions?

Mr. RICE. So far as I know.

Senator SPENCER. You think that would only be a few hundred dollars.

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is, as far as Mr. Chilberg is concerned?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How about Mr. Lane? Is that also a small amount?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Under \$2,500?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. What is that record you have there?

Mr. RICE. That is a record of expenditures.

Senator EDGE. What is the total of that?

Mr. RICE. For publicity work, \$50,029.02. That covers something over 15 months.

Senator EDGE. That is all publicity work?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. What main type of publicity—advertising and circularizing, and such work as that?

Mr. RICE. No, sir; the circularizing work, sending out of platforms, which were sent out about six months ago. I have sent out hundreds of thousands of those platforms.

Senator EDGE. And the Poindexter buttons; are they included?

Mr. RICE. That is not included in the publicity. That was around \$1,000.

Senator REED. Does that cover your entire expenditures?

Mr. RICE. No, sir. In addition to that, there is about \$20,000 more.

Senator SPENCER. For what?

Mr. RICE. For salaries and traveling expenses, rent, telephone bills, cost of furniture, and equipment in our regular campaign office. We have an office in the Munsey Building, which has been devoted to the work of the press club, as differentiated from the publicity work. The total expense of that office is around \$20,000. That is the entire expense of the campaign, around \$50,000, for the publicity work and around \$20,000 for the other.

Senator EDGE. Have you the names of these large contributors making up this seventy-odd thousand dollars you have collected?

Mr. RICE. I can give them to you. I can not give the exact amount, but I can give you the names.

Senator SPENCER. Can you give us the approximate amounts?

Mr. RICE. I think so. William H. Todd, of Brooklyn, \$20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Todd?

Mr. RICE. President of the Todd Shipyard Corporation, with yards in Tacoma, Wash., and, I think, at New York and Brooklyn.

Mr. J. F. Duthie, of Seattle. His contribution, I think, was \$1,500.

Senator SPENCER. Is that the next largest?

Mr. RICE. I think not. There is another larger than that. J. S. Bache, of New York, around \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. RICE. Banker.

The CHAIRMAN. What bank?

Mr. RICE. He has his own bank, J. S. Bache & Co.

Senator SPENCER. Are there any other contributions of \$5,000 or over?

Mr. RICE. A banker named Jones, in New York, whose initials I do not remember, has contributed \$5,000. H. F. Alexander, of Tacoma, has contributed \$5,000.

Senator SPENCER. Anybody else \$5,000 or over?

Mr. RICE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything more?

Mr. RICE. I do not remember any more at this moment. There are several more small amounts. I will give you a complete list of them. All the rest are small.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you do that to-morrow?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir. I think Jonathan Bourne should go in.

Senator EDGE. How about the Senator himself?

Senator SPENCER. What amount for Jonathan Bourne?

Mr. RICE. I am not sure about the amount, and I am not sure about the Senator's contribution. He has handed me funds from time to time, but whether they were his personal contribution, or other people sent to him, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do we want this statement of disbursements filed?

Senator REED. Yes; let us look it over.

Mr. RICE. I will file it. I would like to have it back.

Senator REED. This list of subscriptions you have told us of, when it is supplemented by the papers you are going to give us, will be a complete list of all money contributed to that campaign?

Mr. RICE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How about pledges of money?

Mr. RICE. As far as I know, we have none.

Senator REED. Have you got any organizations in the different States?

Mr. RICE. No, sir; we have not, Senator. Let me modify that. We have a manager in New York to conduct the activities there, from his own office, Mr. William A. Orr.

Senator REED. Where is his office?

Mr. RICE. His office is at 51 East Forty-second Street. Mr. J. A. Desmond, of Boston is looking after our affairs in Massachusetts and New England.

Senator REED. Generally speaking, what has the money been expended for?

Mr. RICE. It has been expended for the publicity work I spoke of, and for such traveling expenses as have been necessary in trips about the country by the Senator and his friends.

Senator EDGE. You spoke of expending approximately \$50,000 in publicity. Did you send that platform generally around the country, and did the postage amount to that large sum?

Mr. RICE. Not entirely postage, but the cost of printing was considerable. At one time we had as many as 25 clerks working on the mailing. Of course there was considerable salary expense there. That also includes the rent of the office from which that was conducted, and in addition to the work of distributing the platform there were a good many plates of the candidate's photographs sent out to different newspapers, which would naturally be identified with a publicity campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all we wish to ask you, Mr. Rice. We are very much obliged to you. Please furnish the committee with the information you have indicated.

(The statement referred to by the witness was subsequently submitted and is here printed in full, as follows:)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO CAMPAIGN FUND OF SENATOR POINDEXTER FILED WITH
SENATE CAMPAIGN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE BY HOWARD M. RICE, SECRETARY TO
SENATOR POINDEXTER.

Contributed by—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Jules S. Bache, New York..... | \$26, 800 |
| Wm. H. Todd, New York..... | 20, 500 |
| Thaddeus Lane, Spokane, for Spokane friends..... | 3, 100 |
| H. F. Alexander, Tacoma, Wash..... | 5, 000 |
| J. F. Duthie, Seattle, Wash..... | 1, 500 |
| J. E. Chilberg, Seattle, for Seattle friends..... | 2, 500 |
| Jonathan Bourne, Washington, D. C..... | 10, 000 |
| C. E. Jones, New York..... | 5, 000 |
| Guy Standifer, Vancouver, Wash..... | 250 |
| Frank Waterhouse, Seattle, Wash..... | 1, 000 |
| T. S. Ripley, Tacoma, Wash..... | 500 |
| W. E. Boeing, Seattle, Wash..... | 1, 000 |

Total..... 77, 150

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn now until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 4 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned to meet again on Tuesday, May 25, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

TUESDAY, MAY 25, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in the committee room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, Edge, Pomerene, and Reed.

Chairman KENYON. The committee will be in order.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES W. BELLER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(The witness was duly sworn by Chairman Kenyon.)

Mr. BELLER. I am appearing in behalf of Senator Owen's candidacy. Senator Owen was unanimously indorsed by the Oklahoma State convention last February. They instructed their delegates to vote for him first, last, and always, and designated a committee to take charge of the campaign, and our nominating campaign is in charge of the Oklahoma delegation. We have no campaign manager, as such. The governor of the State, Gov. Robertson, is acting as chairman of the committee and he has charge of it, but Mr. Thomas D. Lyons, of Tulsa, a lawyer, was designated as the treasurer.

We have two headquarters, one in Oklahoma City and one in Washington. The one in Oklahoma City is in charge of Mr. D. H. Linebaugh, who is one of the delegates and a practicing attorney in Muskogee, Okla. The one in Washington is nominally in charge of myself, but we have a publicity man who takes charge of the national work. Really, all that I have been doing is to disburse the money up here. I have a telegram from Mr. Lyons, the treasurer, which I should like to read, addressed to me, Continental Trust Building, Washington, D. C., reading as follows:

TULSA, OKLA., May 23, 1920.

JAMES W. BELLER, Esq.,

Continental Trust Building, Washington, D. C.:

Referring to telegram from Chairman William S. Kenyon to Senator Owen, I beg to advise that, as treasurer of the Owen for President Club and as treasurer of the Oklahoma delegation, I have received a total sum of \$7,810. Disbursements amount to \$3,352. Cash on hand, \$4,458.

Amount was contributed by approximately 250 or 300 citizens of Oklahoma. You have list of contributors up to date of April 8, and I am mailing you additional list covering contributors to date. The expenditures have been made for items of expense at Oklahoma City headquarters, consisting of printing, postage, and stenographers' salaries accruing from July, 1919, to date, except the sum of \$1,500 which has been forwarded to you for similar expenses incurred in Washington.

The largest contribution received is in the sum of \$1,000 and the smallest is in the sum of \$1. Most of the contributions range from \$10 to \$25.

The first contribution received was from Miss Ada L. Cardell, of Oklahoma City, in the sum of \$50, and was made July 11, 1919. The last contribution was received May 20, 1920, in the sum of \$125, and was contributed by 15 of the good citizens of Beckham County, Okla. Please represent Senator Owen before the committee.

THOMAS D. LYONS,

Treasurer of Owen for President Club and Treasurer of Oklahoma Delegation.

As a part of the record I submit the list to which Mr. Lyons refers, of contributions up to April 8. The additional list, when received, I will file with the committee. An analysis of this list which I have just referred to shows 3 contributions of \$1, 2 of \$2, 18 of \$5, 9 of \$10, 1 of \$20, 27 of \$25, 13 of \$50, 1 of \$75, 36 of \$100, 1 of \$120, 1 of \$125, 1 of \$150, 1 of \$200, 2 of \$250, 2 of \$300, 2 of \$500, and 1 of \$1,000.

The expenditures which have been made thus far, as Mr. Lyons says, in the headquarters in Oklahoma City have been entirely for clerical hire, such as stenographers and parties to send out literature (The statement referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

Receipts and disbursements of Owen for President fund to and including Apr. 8, 1920.

RECEIPTS.

| Date. | Name. | Address. | Amount. |
|------------------|--|--------------------|---------|
| 1919. July 11 | E. Emberson..... | El Reno, Okla..... | \$5 |
| | J. D. Pippen..... | Oklahoma City..... | 3 |
| | E. H. Eiklor..... | do..... | 1 |
| | W. W. Robertson..... | do..... | 5 |
| | Frank E. Rausdell..... | do..... | 5 |
| | Jasper Sipes..... | do..... | 50 |
| | Roy Hoffman..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Samuel Smalley..... | do..... | 5 |
| | John H. Pitchford..... | do..... | 5 |
| | E. A. Vance..... | do..... | 5 |
| | A. N. Leecraft..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Benjamin F. Layalette..... | do..... | 100 |
| | H. N. Christian..... | do..... | 2 |
| | Ada L. Cardell..... | do..... | 50 |
| | Leonore Shaw..... | do..... | 10 |
| | C. B. Holtzendorff..... | do..... | 5 |
| | R. L. Redwine..... | Spiro..... | 20 |
| | Eugene M. Kerr..... | Muskogee..... | 25 |
| | W. H. Kornegay..... | Vinita..... | 25 |
| | W. Redder..... | El Reno..... | 10 |
| | A. G. C. Blerer..... | Guthrie..... | 100 |
| | H. U. Miller..... | Norman..... | 10 |
| | J. W. Scruggs..... | do..... | 2 |
| | P. G. Phelps..... | Kingfisher..... | 10 |
| | Tom Wade..... | Marlow..... | 100 |
| | H. D. Emerson..... | Britton..... | 10 |
| | M. F. Emerson..... | do..... | 10 |
| July 12 | Thos. D. Lyons..... | Tulsa..... | 100 |
| | E. K. Thurmond..... | Oklahoma City..... | 25 |
| | W. P. Kendall..... | do..... | 5 |
| | B. H. Russell..... | Yukon..... | 5 |
| | O. H. Smith..... | do..... | 1 |
| | W. R. Parker..... | do..... | 2 |
| Nov. 13 | Noble County contribution (no record of individual names). | | 50 |
| Dec. 15 | J. W. Callahan..... | Guthrie..... | 25 |
| 17 | H. R. Christopher (this was check from Oklahoma City office to assist in covering draft of \$1,000 of J. W. Beller). | Oklahoma City..... | 500 |
| 1920. | | | . |
| Jan. 14 | T. J. Hinchey..... | Tulsa..... | 50 |
| | J. A. McLaughlin..... | Weatherford..... | 10 |
| 23 | T. B. Stringfield..... | Boise City..... | 1 |
| 25 | R. L. Williams..... | Muskogee..... | 100 |
| Mar. 8 | do..... | do..... | 300 |
| 23 | Geo. L. Miller..... | Ponca City..... | 250 |
| Apr. 2 | R. L. Williams..... | Muskogee..... | 300 |
| Apr. 7 | John A. Simpson..... | Weatherford..... | 25 |
| | J. Carl Finsh..... | do..... | 25 |
| | J. T. Rowland..... | Arapaho..... | 5 |
| | M. O. Dawson..... | do..... | 5 |
| | O. E. Watson..... | do..... | 5 |

Receipts and disbursements of Owen for President fund to and including Apr. 8, 1920—Con.

RECEIPTS.

| Date. | Name. | Address. | Amount. |
|--------|---|--|---------|
| 1920. | | | |
| Apr. 7 | H. E. Vaughan..... | Arapaho..... | \$5 |
| | J. H. Buchanan..... | do..... | 5 |
| | F. E. Rayston..... | do..... | 5 |
| | Elizabeth Penick..... | do..... | 5 |
| | E. M. Cowles..... | do..... | 5 |
| | V. B. Cunningham..... | do..... | 5 |
| Apr. 8 | Tradesmen State Bank..... | Oklahoma City..... | 25 |
| | H. B. Houghton..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Al. G. Patterson..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Dorset Carter..... | do..... | 25 |
| | J. F. Owens..... | do..... | 200 |
| | S. A. Layton..... | do..... | 150 |
| | First State Bank..... | do..... | 120 |
| | Baker-Hanna-Blake..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Alexander Drug Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Richards-Conover Hardware Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Mideke Supply Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | W. J. Pettie Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Hughes-Bozarth-Anderson Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | N. S. Sherman Machine & Iron Works..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Harbour-Longmire Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Western Bank Supply Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Patterson & Hoffman..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Hugh M. Johnson..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Southwestern National Bank (I. T. Sammons)..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Liberty National Bank (G. L. Browning)..... | do..... | 100 |
| | J. M. Aydelotte..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Oklahoma Publishing Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Aurelius-Swanson Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Huckins Hotel Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Levy & Pentecost..... | do..... | 100 |
| | E. K. Thurmond..... | do..... | 100 |
| | J. C. Walter (mayor)..... | do..... | 100 |
| | John R. Boardman..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Barth & Meyer Clothing Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | S. W. Hayes..... | do..... | 100 |
| | J. B. A. Robertson..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Ed. M. Seamens Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Chas. W. Gunter..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Skirvin Hotel Co..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Davis & Younger..... | do..... | 100 |
| | W. C. Grenning..... | do..... | 100 |
| | Schliff-Mayer Co..... | do..... | 75 |
| | The McIntosh Co..... | do..... | 50 |
| | M. B. Blake..... | do..... | 50 |
| | R. A. Vose..... | do..... | 50 |
| | Jasper Sipes..... | do..... | 50 |
| | Madansky Bros..... | do..... | 50 |
| | G. B. Stone..... | do..... | 50 |
| | American National Bank (H. B. Carson)..... | do..... | 50 |
| | Allen Street..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Arnold & Wetherbee..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Prentiss Price..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Mont. F. Highley..... | do..... | 25 |
| | W. A. Ledbetter..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Security National Bank (Wm. Mee)..... | do..... | 25 |
| | F. P. Johnson..... | do..... | 25 |
| | J. W. Teter..... | do..... | 25 |
| | C. P. Vance..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Abe Herskowitz..... | do..... | 25 |
| | J. E. Parker..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Hartwell Jewelry Co..... | do..... | 25 |
| | Wilkin-Hale State Bank (J. L. Wilkin)..... | do..... | 25 |
| | W. C. Dean Jewelry Co..... | do..... | 25 |
| | J. J. Hughes..... | do..... | 25 |
| | S. E. Tracy (Southwestern Advertising Co.)..... | do..... | 25 |
| | W. Frank Wilson..... | do..... | 10 |
| | H. L. Stuart..... | do..... | 10 |
| | Donald O'Neil..... | Dallas, Tex. (Oklahoma City contribution)..... | 50 |
| | Milas Lasater..... | Wichita, Kans. (Oklahoma City contribution)..... | 100 |
| | R. E. Stafford..... | Oklahoma City..... | 250 |
| | Anton H. Classon..... | do..... | 50 |
| | John Tomerlin..... | do..... | 10 |
| | Paul M. Pope..... | do..... | 125 |
| | Total receipts..... | | 7,417 |

Receipts and disbursements of Owen for President fund to and including Apr. 8, 1920—
Continued.

DISBURSEMENTS.

| Date. | Name and address. | Amount. |
|---------|---|---------|
| 1919. | | |
| July 30 | By draft of Hubert L. Bolen, for Oklahoma City office expense..... | \$200 |
| Sept. 5 | By draft of H. R. Christopher for same..... | 100 |
| | Do..... | 25 |
| Dec. 18 | By draft of J. W. Beller, of Washington, D. C..... | 1,000 |
| 1920. | | |
| Apr. 6 | By check to Hubert L. Bolen, on requisition of Oklahoma City office by H. R. Christopher and Hubert L. Bolen..... | 500 |
| Apr. 8 | By cash on hand..... | 5,592 |
| | Total..... | 7,417 |

Statement of receipts and expenditures, Owen for President, headquarters 312 Bond Building, Washington, D. C.

RECEIPTS.

| | Dr. |
|--|--------------------|
| Dec. 22, 1919. Received from Thomas D. Lyons, treasurer. . . . | \$1,000. 00 |
| Mar. 23, 1920. Received of H. R. Christopher, Oklahoma headquarters..... | 1,000. 00 |
| Mar. 29, 1920. Received of Charles Owen, contribution..... | 500. 00 |
| Apr. 29, 1920. Received of Samuel Untermeyer, contribution... | 1,000. 00 |
| May 5, 1920. Received of Thomas D. Lyons, treasurer..... | 1,000. 00 |
| May 6, 1920. Received of L. S. Skelton, contribution..... | 100. 00 |
| | <u>\$4,600. 00</u> |

EXPENDITURES.

General expense:

| | Cr. |
|---|-----------|
| Jan. 20, 1920. National Publishing Co. (publisher Owen brochure)..... | \$524. 50 |
| Mar. 3, 1920. Equitable Building Co. (rent)..... | 175. 00 |
| Mar. 31, 1920. D. W. Campbell Co. (office furniture)..... | 115. 00 |
| Apr. 3, 1920. Equitable Building Co. (rent)..... | 175. 00 |
| Apr. 9, 1920. Western Union Telegraph Co. (March bill)... | 8. 68 |
| Apr. 9, 1920. Postal Telegraph Co. (March bill)..... | 2. 75 |
| Apr. 9, 1920. Underwood Typewriter Co. (machine rental Mar. 8-Apr. 8)..... | 5. 00 |
| Apr. 26, 1920. Batt, Bates & Co. (mimeographing)..... | 72. 89 |
| Apr. 26, 1920. Acem Printing Co. (paper)..... | 11. 25 |
| Apr. 29, 1920. A. Y. Bradley (expense trip to New York)... | 100. 00 |
| Apr. 29, 1920. J. W. Beller (reimbursement of expense of trip to New York)..... | 40. 00 |
| Apr. 30, 1920. Consolidated Supply Co. (stationery)..... | 128. 50 |
| Apr. 30, 1920. Cheasapeake and Potomac Telephone Co..... | 13. 93 |
| Apr. 30, 1920. Underwood Typewriter Co. (rent of typewriter) | 5. 00 |
| Apr. 30, 1920. Equitable Building Co. (rent of quarters).... | 175. 00 |
| May 4, 1920. S. W. Mullins (copying list)..... | 2. 00 |
| May 7, 1920. Consolidated Supply Co. (stationery)..... | 92. 15 |
| May 7, 1920. Harris & Ewing (photographs)..... | 10. 00 |
| May 7, 1920. Henry Romeike (clippings)..... | 2. 56 |
| May 7, 1920. Chas. G. Stott & Co. (office supplies)..... | 13. 55 |
| May 7, 1920. Western Union Telegraph Co..... | 18. 05 |
| May 7, 1920. LeRoy Goff (insurance on furniture)..... | 2. 00 |
| May 14, 1920. Calvert Commercial Co. (multigraphing).... | 144. 05 |
| May 14, 1920. Postal Telegraph Co..... | 9. 31 |
| May 14, 1920. Judson King (reimbursement of amount expended for telegrams in connection with news article)..... | 55. 36 |
| May 20, 1920. Calvert Commercial Service (multigraphing). | 41. 98 |

1,943. 51

Miscellaneous:

| | |
|--|--------|
| Jan. 10, 1920. H. G. Thomas (stamps for brochure)..... | 50. 00 |
| Feb. 28, 1920. To A. Y. Bradley (miscellaneous office expense, publicity man)..... | 50. 00 |
| Mar. 10, 1920. A. Y. Bradley (publicity man, miscellaneous office expense)..... | 68. 75 |

| Miscellaneous—Continued. | | | Cr. | |
|--------------------------|-----------|--|----------|------------|
| Mar. | 24, 1920. | A. Y. Bradley (miscellaneous man, publicity man)..... | \$50. 00 | |
| Apr. | 2, 1920. | Owen headquarters (miscellaneous office expenses, petty cash)..... | 10. 00 | |
| Apr. | 30, 1920. | Miscellaneous office expenses..... | 10. 00 | |
| May | 18, 1920. | Do..... | 10. 00 | |
| May | 20, 1920. | Do..... | 100. 00 | |
| Salary: | | | | \$348. 75 |
| Mar. | 6, 1920. | A. Y. Bradley..... | 50. 00 | |
| Mar. | 12, 1920. | Pay roll..... | 118. 55 | |
| Mar. | 19, 1920. | Do..... | 140. 00 | |
| Mar. | 26, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| Apr. | 2, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| Apr. | 9, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| Apr. | 16, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| Apr. | 23, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| Apr. | 30, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| May | 7, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| May | 14, 1920. | Do..... | 190. 00 | |
| May | 21, 1920. | Do..... | 175. 00 | |
| | | | | 2, 003. 55 |
| Balance on hand..... | | | | 304. 19 |
| | | | | 4, 600. 00 |

Mr. JAMES W. BELLER.
Attorney at Law, Continental Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

TULSA, OKLA., May 24, 1920.

DEAR MR. BELLER: We beg to hand you herewith report of receipts and disbursements of the Owen-for-President fund to date of May 24, 1920.

The totals of the receipts and dishursements sent you by telegram yesterday were slightly in error, and this statement is made to correct the same.

Yours, faithfully,

RICE & LYONS.

Receipts and disbursements of Owen-for-President fund, from Apr. 8, 1920, to May 24, 1920.

RECEIPTS.

| Date. | Name. | Address. | Amount. |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|--------------|
| 1920 | Total receipts of statement of April 8, 1920..... | | \$7, 417. 00 |
| Apr. 15 | Mrs. Eliza S. Strout (contributed by 18 persons of Vinita). | Vinita, Okla..... | 48. 00 |
| Apr. 16 | A. E. Selby..... | Nelogany..... | 35. 00 |
| Apr. 23 | Katherine Pierce..... | Oklahoma City..... | 5. 00 |
| | Lula E. Phelps..... | do..... | 15. 00 |
| | Mary Schwoerke..... | do..... | 10. 00 |
| | Lula E. Phelps..... | do..... | 10. 00 |
| | J. R. Armstrong..... | do..... | 100. 00 |
| | Mary J. Hutchinson..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| | Mrs. H. G. Hatfield..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| | Mrs. Margaret Gerlack..... | Woodward..... | 10. 00 |
| May 3 | R. L. Williams..... | Muskogee..... | 300. 00 |
| | Wyatt S. Lipscomb..... | do..... | 25. 00 |
| May 6 | B. A. Enloe, jr..... | do..... | 50. 00 |
| | John W. Jones..... | Shawnee..... | 167. 50 |
| May 11 | Archibald Bonds..... | Muskogee..... | 25. 00 |
| | Foster V. Phipps..... | do..... | 8. 00 |
| | Cliff V. Peery..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| | L. K. Pounders..... | do..... | 10. 00 |
| | C. L. Summers..... | do..... | 10. 00 |
| | C. C. Lydick..... | do..... | 10. 00 |
| May 20 | C. E. Foley..... | Eufaula..... | 200. 00 |
| | J. A. Whitehurst..... | Doxey..... | 25. 00 |
| | Guy Ford..... | Sayre..... | 25. 00 |
| | J. C. McKenzie..... | Carter..... | 10. 00 |
| | H. C. Garnett..... | Erick..... | 25. 00 |
| | A. G. Gillem..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| | E. A. Lewis..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| | John W. Heplin..... | do..... | 2. 50 |
| | J. C. Riley..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| | D. C. Prather..... | do..... | 2. 50 |
| | A. B. Hutts..... | do..... | 2. 50 |
| | Terry W. Hudgen..... | do..... | 2. 50 |
| | O. N. Windle..... | Sayre..... | 5. 00 |
| | C. E. Steele..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| | E. L. Mortin..... | do..... | 5. 00 |
| Total receipts..... | | | 8, 595. 50 |

Receipts and disbursements of Owen-for-President fund, from Apr. 8, 1920, to May 24, 1920—Continued.

DISBURSEMENTS.

| Date. | Name and address. | Amount. |
|---------|--|--------------|
| Apr. 8 | By expenditures reported on Apr. 8 statement..... | \$1, 825. 00 |
| Apr. 13 | By draft of Hubert L. Bolen..... | 300. 00 |
| May — | By check to J. W. Beller in Washington..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| May 8 | Nettie Hardy, 2 weeks steno work at Oklahoma City..... | 62. 50 |
| May 10 | D. H. Linebaugh, for expenses paid..... | 550. 00 |
| May 14 | D. H. Linebaugh, same..... | 300. 00 |
| May 20 | By draft of Hubert L. Bolen..... | 100. 00 |
| May 24 | By cash on hand..... | 4, 458. 00 |
| | | 8, 595. 50 |

Mr. BELLER. I submit a complete statement of the funds which I personally have received, showing \$4,600, \$2,000 of which represent the funds sent to me by Mr. Lyons.

Senator SPENCER. Is that in addition to the \$7,800?

Mr. BELLER. The \$2,600 is in addition to that which was sent up by Mr. Lyons. In addition to that reported by Mr. Lyons and those which I have received, representing two \$1,000 drafts sent to me by Mr. Lyons, there is one contribution of \$500, one of \$100, and one of \$1,000.

Senator EDGE. Did Senator Owen contribute himself to his campaign?

Mr. BELLER. He is paying his own expenses, so far as he is traveling around. I do not think he has contributed. That is the extent of our receipts and contributions.

Chairman KENYON. What is the total amount of your contributions?

Mr. BELLER. \$4,810, plus \$1,600.

Chairman KENYON. And the largest contribution was \$1,000?

Mr. BELLER. The largest contribution was \$1,000.

Chairman KENYON. Who is that from?

Mr. BELLER. From Samuel Untermyer, of New York.

Senator SPENCER. As far as you know, are there any other committees or agencies that would accumulate money?

Mr. BELLER. I am quite sure I would know, Senator, and there are none.

Senator SPENCER. Neither State, national, or independent?

Mr. BELLER. Neither State nor national.

Senator SPENCER. You would know if there were?

Mr. BELLER. I would know. In Oklahoma I think there are some contributions still coming in, and probably will come in, but they are contributing voluntarily, and in the State pride, to assist in nominating Senator Owen.

Senator EDGE. What other contributions have you received outside of Oklahoma?

Mr. BELLER. That \$1,000 that Mr. Untermyer sent to me, and the \$500 contribution from Mr. Charles Owen, of Kanona, Kans., who is Senator Owen's son in law, and \$100 from Dr. L. S. Skelton, now of Indianapolis, formerly of Oklahoma City.

Chairman KENYON. Have you disbursed all of this money?

Mr. BELLER. No; we have \$4,000 and some odd on hand.

Chairman KENYON. Have you expended anything for parades and bands?

Mr. BELLER. Not as yet, Senator.

Chairman KENYON. You will wait until after the convention?

Mr. BELLER. We will do that after the nomination.

Chairman KENYON. Can you run a pretty good presidential campaign on \$10,000?

Mr. BELLER. I think we could have used considerably more money to great advantage. Personally, I told Senator Pomerene that I felt very much ashamed to be required to come up here and make such a small report, in view of what I have been reading.

Senator EDGE. What delegations, outside of the Oklahoma delegation, has Senator Owen secured, so far as you know?

Mr. BELLER. We have secured no delegations.

Senator SPENCER. Have you made any big fights in any States?

Mr. BELLER. No effort has been made in any of the primary States.

Senator SPENCER. It has been largely along the line of publicity and creating favorable sentiment?

Mr. BELLER. Our campaign, Senator, has been almost wholly confined to the delegates as they are elected. We feel that if we can show them what Senator Owen stands for, what he has accomplished, and his capacity, etc., we will have no further difficulty.

Senator SPENCER. As a matter of fact, from your experience in this campaign, if you had had it six months ago or nine months ago, how much money would you really feel could be legitimately and profitably spent in a presidential campaign throughout the United States?

Mr. BELLER. Senator, I do not feel qualified to answer that question, because I am not particularly experienced in managing campaigns, and since we did not undertake to go into any of the primaries, it is almost impossible for me to determine. I imagine that if one should go into the primaries it would take almost as much to obtain the primary election as it would to get the final election.

Senator EDGE. Would you consider \$10,000 within a State excessive to go through a big fight, and actually fight for the delegation against some other candidates?

Mr. BELLER. I do not feel qualified to answer that, Senator.

Chairman KENYON. Of course, there would be a difference between a State like Nevada and a State like New York. That is the difficulty of properly adjusting a national corrupt practices act.

Mr. BELLER. And it would depend altogether upon the fight made by one candidate against the other.

Chairman KENYON. Do you think it is possible for you to give thought to the question of a national corrupt practices act as relating to a presidential campaign?

Mr. BELLER. I think it would be possible.

Chairman KENYON. You have not given much thought to that, probably.

Mr. BELLER. No; but, as you say, it would be impossible to fix any definite sum for all States.

Chairman KENYON. Does your bill before the committee cover that, Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. No; it did not cover the presidential primaries, because those who have gone into that question have felt that there was not any constitutional authority whereby we can

control that. We can control it, so far as the election of Congressmen and Senators is concerned, but the difficulty seems to be this: The President, of course, is elected by the electors. The electors are State officers. The States have full authority to control that situation. The language of the Constitution is that the legislature can provide for the appointment of electors, and the word "appointment" has been construed to mean either appointment by the legislature or to provide for their election as we do now. They meet in an electoral college after they are elected. That was taken up with the Department of Justice here at one time——

Chairman KENYON. Did they render any opinion?

Senator POMERENE. Not the Attorney General, but one of the best experts they had some years ago delivered a very elaborate opinion upon it. I have it in my possession.

Chairman KENYON. Did he take the position that it would require a constitutional amendment?

Senator POMERENE. He took the position that there was not any present constitutional authority.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. WALTER W. VICK.

(The witness was duly sworn by Chairman Kenyon.)

Chairman KENYON. Will you state your name, Mr. Vick?

Mr. VICK. Walter W. Vick.

Chairman KENYON. You are the manager of the Edwards campaign for the presidency, with headquarters in New York?

Mr. VICK. I am the organizer of the headquarters.

Chairman KENYON. What has been your business, Mr. Vick?

Mr. VICK. Exporter.

Senator REED. Of what?

Mr. VICK. Everything, Senator, general exporter. I am engaged in exporting textiles, chemicals, heavy goods, heavy hardware, to sell to Europe.

Chairman KENYON. Have you ever held any Federal positions?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What is your firm?

Mr. VICK. My present firm is the Victory Products Corporation, 2 Rector Street.

Senator REED. Where is it located?

Mr. VICK. 2 Rector Street, New York.

Senator REED. Is it a New York corporation?

Mr. VICK. It is incorporated under the Virginia laws.

Senator REED. What is the capital?

Mr. VICK. The paid-in capital is a million.

Chairman KENYON. What governmental positions have you held?

Mr. VICK. I was general receiver of customs at Santo Domingo, sir.

Senator EDGE. Was Mr. Sullivan there at the same time?

Mr. VICK. He came there; yes, sir. I finally brought the charges which resulted in the investigation conducted by Senator Phelan.

Chairman KENYON. I thought there was something running in my mind about that; I was not sure. You brought the charges against Mr. Sullivan?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Chairman KENYON. You know the general scope of this inquiry. We want to know the contributions to the Edwards campaign fund, from what sources received, and the expenditures. Can you give that to us?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir. As you gentlemen are aware, we only opened our headquarters on the 7th of this month—the 7th of May. I can give the contributions in detail.

Chairman KENYON. We would like to have that.

Mr. VICK. Mr. Cornelius S. Edwards, 1 Exchange Place, Jersey City, \$3,000.

Senator REED. Is he any kin to the governor?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What?

Mr. VICK. I think he is a first cousin, Senator. The one is a brother and the other is a first cousin.

Chairman KENYON. What is his business?

Mr. VICK. He is a contractor. I do not know this Mr. Edwards personally, but I know David F. Edwards, who is the brother of the governor, and an attorney, who contributed \$3,800. Charles E. McWilliams, 1 Broadway, New York, \$500.

Chairman KENYON. What is his business?

Mr. VICK. Mr. McWilliams is in the towboat business, doing a general lightering business in New York. He is an old friend of the governor's for 30 years or more. John J. Teery, \$100.

Chairman KENYON. What is his business?

Mr. VICK. Mr. Teery lives in Newark. I think he is connected with some mercantile house in New York, Senator Kenyon. I do not know him personally. Theodore H. Smith, Jersey City, \$2,500. He is a banker.

Senator EDGE. What position does Mr. Smith hold, public position, in New Jersey, any?

Mr. VICK. Not that I know of, Senator. He is connected with the Commercial Trust Co. at Jersey City.

Senator EDGE. I think he was a civil-service commissioner; I do not know.

Mr. VICK. Theodore Rurode, \$2,000. He is a banker. That is the crop up to date, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. What is the total of that?

Mr. VICK. \$12,900.

Chairman KENYON. The question I wanted to ask, and meant to ask the others, but neglected to, was this: In these straw-voting contests such as being conducted by the Literary Digest, did you carry on any campaign to get straw votes?

Mr. VICK. Absolutely none, Senator. We have carried on no campaign as a campaign of any kind until the 7th of May.

Senator SPENCER. What States have you been active in since then?

Mr. VICK. Since the 7th of May I have been trying to get pretty active throughout the country.

Senator SPENCER. Along publicity lines?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Because I presume the delegates have already been selected?

Mr. VICK. In a number of the States. Of course, in a large proportion of the States the delegates have been selected.

Senator SPENCER. The convention is not until the 28th of June, is it?

Mr. VICK. The 28th of June, and the Democratic primary conventions run up to June 16. As I recall, there are about 12 States still to act.

Senator EDGE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Vick, Gov. Edwards withdrew, did he not, or did not permit his name to be used in most of the States when the delegates were being elected?

Mr. VICK. When he was asked to allow his name to be used in a number of the States, he caused it to be withdrawn from all of them. That was in February of this year, prior to my association with the campaign.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any other associations that might be collecting money for Gov. Edwards, except the one with which you are associated?

Mr. VICK. I know positively there are none. There is an organization in New York known as the National Personal Liberty League that has been very active. The majority of them are our good Republican friends, so far as I can gather. The head of it is a former business man of Chicago, and Indianapolis, who owns a hotel in New York.

Senator EDGE. Was that the same association that was rather active in the gubernatorial campaign?

Mr. VICK. Not to my knowledge, Senator, from the fact that I understand that the man who is behind this association in every way only met the Governor during the gubernatorial campaign, and according to his story, he wanted to see how sincere the Governor was on his personal liberty issue, and he went over to listen to several speeches during the campaign. The head of this organization is Mr. Frank C. Hurley.

Chairman KENYON. Have they raised any money?

Mr. VICK. So far as I know, they have not raised any money. He may have raised some money, but not any for Gov. Edwards. Any money they have raised has been entirely expended by themselves in their own way.

Chairman KENYON. What is Mr. Hurley's address?

Mr. VICK. The Hermitage Hotel.

Chairman KENYON. At New York?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the membership of that league?

Mr. VICK. Only what I have heard, Senator Reed. Mr. Hurley told me the membership was very largely made up of Republicans like himself, and that they had a membership extending throughout the country, based entirely on this personal-liberty issue; that was all.

Senator REED. Was that membership composed of any particular class of people?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Senator EDGE. If it was made up of Republicans, it was rather active, or I assume they were active in New Jersey last fall?

Mr. VICK. I do not know. I was not active in New Jersey last fall myself.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the membership of this league? Have you any idea?

Mr. VICK. So far as I know, Senator Kenyon, they claim a membership of about 30,000 or 40,000.

Senator SPENCER. In the United States?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a league that is opposed to prohibition, is it not?

Mr. VICK. Mr. Hurley made himself very plain to me in a statement that this league had absolutely nothing to do with the prohibition issue, except as a personal-liberty matter; that the league was formed entirely for the purpose of promoting and agitating among the people the personal-liberty issue, no matter what it affected.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it formed, do you know?

Mr. VICK. As near as I can recall, it was formed about the time of the New Jersey gubernatorial campaign last year.

The CHAIRMAN. It did not exist at the time of the draft?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of leagues of this kind throughout the country organized at the time of the draft?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. This has no connection with any of those leagues?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; absolutely not.

Senator REED. Let me ask you, Mr. Vick, about the 7th of May it was determined that Gov. Edwards would allow the use of his name?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And headquarters were then opened, were they?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. VICK. At the Manhattan Hotel, New York City.

Senator REED. Have you any general plan of organization?

Mr. VICK. I am working out a general plan. It is being worked out, Senator Reed. I have a plan throughout the South, I have a plan in some of the Middle Western States, and I am working out my plan through the Western States.

Senator REED. I did not want to call for anything that is really confidential information in regard to your scheme or plan of campaign. I am only trying to get at the question as it may involve the expenditure of money.

Senator SPENCER. Am I right, Mr. Vick, in understanding that, so far as you know, this league has a much wider purpose than Gov. Edwards, and that Gov. Edwards is merely one of the incidents of their broader plan?

Mr. VICK. That is what they have told me, Senator Spencer.

Senator SPENCER. And that is what you believe to be the fact?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir. We have no connection with them of any kind, except that we appreciate the cooperation they have given us throughout the country.

Senator REED. I did not finish my question. I had not asked a question, really, but made a statement. I want to ask a question. Now, what is the general plan of your organization? Does it involve an organization in each State?

Mr. VICK. No, sir. Of course, our main purpose is this. The majority of the States having acted through the election of delegates, I am working directly in those States with the delegates, both from New York and by personal contact with friends in each State, with the various delegations.

Senator REED. Writing letters, of course, to people you know?

Mr. VICK. Writing

Senator REED. You are trying to get people actively interested that you think are inclined to be for Gov. Edwards?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir. Let me illustrate just a moment, Senator, if you will permit me. From Senator Kenyon's State I received a letter day before yesterday from a delegate, replying to a letter written by another presidential candidate for the Democratic nomination, in which the delegate stated to the campaign manager of the other candidate that he was for Gov. Edwards. Now, my immediate plan with him, of course, was to get that gentleman, who is a member of the Iowa delegation, actively at work with the other delegates.

Senator REED. Well, you do not contemplate taking money, going out to a State and opening headquarters, financing headquarters, and starting in a general organization of the States in that way?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; except——

Senator REED. Is there a movement on to get State organizations created which will finance themselves?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That is, you will go to Iowa, the Senator's State, for illustration, and ask people that you know are for Gov. Edwards to organize in that State and to finance themselves; you are not going to furnish money for them? That is not contemplated now?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

Senator REED. You could not furnish it out of this fund that you have. Anybody can see that. There is not enough of it. Is there a plan to get organization of that kind created, and then have them raise money and send it in to this central organization?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

Senator REED. That has not been talked of?

Mr. VICK. That has not been talked of.

Senator REED. Now, I want to ask this question. It has not been asked before, but it is going to be asked the rest of them: Have you got any arrangements made, express or implied, by which moneys are pledged or substantially pledged to carry on this campaign?

Mr. VICK. Well, I have certain promises which have been made to me, Senator Reed, and also made to our treasurer.

Senator REED. Are they made by individuals, or are they made by the representatives of societies or organizations?

Mr. VICK. Absolutely by individuals, sir.

Senator REED. Are the sums large or small?

Mr. VICK. The sums are comparatively small, sir.

Senator REED. Then they are pledges of individual subscriptions? People have said to you, "I am going to give you some money"?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. But there is not anything like this, now, that some body of men, or organization of men has said, "Go ahead and we will underwrite this campaign for a certain amount"?

Mr. VICK. Absolutely not, sir.

Senator REED. Nothing of that kind or character?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

Senator REED. All that you have, then, to rely on in the future is the popularity, great or small whatever it may be, of Gov. Edwards, and the fact that a few individuals have said to you that they will subscribe, but none of those subscriptions are large?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did they come from any particular or special interest?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; absolutely not.

Senator REED. They are simply personal and political friends of Gov. Edwards?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And people who are interested in his cause, and not in some other cause?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; in his cause.

Senator REED. I am going about this bluntly.

Mr. VICK. That is what I want, Senator.

Senator REED. Have you got any arrangement with the liquor interests, or people representing the liquor interests, by which they are to finance Gov. Edwards's campaign, or any part of it?

Mr. VICK. Unequivocally not, Senator.

Senator REED. None at all?

Mr. VICK. Absolutely not.

Senator REED. He is simply running on a personal-liberty platform, as I understand you, not as a man whose candidacy is being promoted by the brewers or by the liquor men, or by any other particular interests?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; absolutely not, sir. He is running entirely on a platform of business administration, Senator Reed, and his record as State Senator, comptroller of the currency of the State of New Jersey, and what he has accomplished as a business man within the State of New Jersey. He is running on a platform of State sovereignty, and is running on a platform of personal liberty.

Chairman KENYON. Have you stated all of it? He is running on a wet platform, is he not; that is, on a platform with a wet plank?

Mr. VICK. His attitude with relation to the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act is absolutely a matter of record throughout the country, Senator Kenyon.

Chairman KENYON. But you did not include that.

Senator REED. I think he meant to include that in personal liberty.

Mr. VICK. That is what I am trying to convey, that Gov. Edwards, under no condition or circumstance, will allow his candidacy to be known as a wet candidacy. His position and his entire campaign is based entirely upon conviction and principle, and the principle of personal liberty. As you gentlemen probably are aware, Gov. Edwards is a man who has not had a drink of anything with alcohol in it for 30 years.

Chairman KENYON. That is not the fault of New Jersey?

Mr. VICK. Oh, no, sir.

Senator REED. Let me ask you this. It is not, perhaps, a part of our investigation, yet in a way it is hard to draw the line. What was Gov. Edwards's business in private life, or what is his business?

Mr. VICK. In private life?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. VICK. You mean at the present time?

Senator REED. If he has any business in private life now, what is it, and if he was in business before he got into public life, what was it?

Mr. VICK. Gov. Edwards is the president of the First National Bank of Jersey City. As a boy, he started out on a farm with his father. He entered this bank as a messenger under Mr. E. F. Young. His health broke down and he went into the contracting business with his brother for a short while. He studied law for a short while. Then, at the instance of Mr. Young he came back to the bank as assistant to the president, and succeeded Mr. Young upon the latter's death, as president.

Chairman KENYON. Do you know of any presidential candidates who did not start on a farm?

Mr. VICK. No, I do not know of any, Senator, but I know this, the fact that Governor Edwards did start on a farm in Jersey City.

Chairman KENYON. That qualifies him for the race.

Senator REED. Well, I was interested in knowing what his business relations were. He has never been in any way connected with the liquor interests or the liquor business?

Mr. VICK. Absolutely not, Senator.

Senator REED. He has been a banker and contractor, and then he has held these several public offices?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir; and he has held a number of trust positions, in cleaning up receiverships and matters of that type.

Chairman KENYON. Did you take any part in the Nebraska campaign?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Did you send any money into Nebraska?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Did you have any organization in Nebraska against Mr. Bryan as a delegate to the convention?

Mr. VICK. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. You took no part in that?

Mr. VICK. Absolutely none.

Chairman KENYON. Did you send any literature into Nebraska?

Mr. VICK. No, sir, we have had no literature out, Senator Keynon, except within the last week. I might say that Governor Edwards's name was filed in Nebraska against his consent, and was withdrawn in February. He did not allow it to be used.

Chairman KENYON. I would like to ask you this. Your delegation has been selected in New Jersey?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Do you know if any of the delegates are Federal officeholders?

Mr. VICK. I do not know of any of them who are Federal officeholders, Senator. I will check over the delegation and correct that statement.

Chairman KENYON. I wish you would do that, and if you find any Federal officeholders—can you do it right now?

Mr. VICK. That is down at the office.

Chairman KENYON. Do that and let us have it to-day.

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir; I will.

Chairman KENYON. I think I will include in that, too, State officeholders. I want to ascertain, if we can, how many of these delegates are Federal officeholders.

Mr. VICK. Of course, the governor is on the delegation himself.

Senator REED. I am going to ask this question, and then I am going to ask some of the others. Has there been any pledge, promise, agreement, express or implied, direct or indirect, to appoint any person or persons to any offices or any positions, in case Gov. Edwards should become President of the United States?

Mr. VICK. No, sir; absolutely not.

Senator EDGE. To the best of your knowledge?

Mr. VICK. To the best of my knowledge, of course, Senator.

Senator REED. You would know if it had been done, would you not?

Mr. VICK. Yes, sir.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. F. LUCEY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

(The witness was duly sworn by Chairman Kenyon.)

Chairman KENYON. Will you state your name?

Mr. LUCEY. J. F. Lucey.

Chairman KENYON. Where is your home, Mr. Lucey?

Mr. LUCEY. New York.

Chairman KENYON. What is your business?

Mr. LUCEY. I am a manufacturer and distributor of oil-well drilling equipment.

Chairman KENYON. Were you connected with the Food Administration here at Washington at one time?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; I was connected with the business organization.

Chairman KENYON. With Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Were you with Mr. Hoover abroad?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; I organized the transportation and distributing system in Belgium and in Holland.

Chairman KENYON. How long were you there?

Mr. LUCEY. Five months.

Chairman KENYON. That was before your connection here with the Food Administration?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir. I was the first American into Belgium with relief. I was one of the five men that helped organize the commission, with Mr. Hoover.

Chairman KENYON. Where were you living at that time?

Mr. LUCEY. In New York. I had been in Roumania in connection with the business of my company and the Roumanian oil situation.

Chairman KENYON. Had you been associated with Mr. Hoover before that in business enterprises?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; but I had known him for a great many years previous to that.

Chairman KENYON. Where?

Mr. LUCEY. In California; and I had met him in London on a number of occasions. I had also met him in New York.

Senator REED. How much of your time had you spent abroad prior to getting into the Belgium relief business?

Mr. LUCEY. I should say on an average perhaps of three occasions, from one to two months, over a period of five years.

Senator REED. You had not been living in London?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. My company has a sales office in London.

Senator REED. You sometimes went over to look after it, apparently; but you always kept your residence in the United States, and lived here most all of the time?

Mr. LUCEY. Always; yes, sir.

Senator REED. When had you known Mr. Hoover in California—before he had gone away to England, and Australia, was it not?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; I did not know Mr. Hoover during his college days in California. I got acquainted with him on some of his trips on business to California.

Senator REED. He was not here very often?

Mr. LUCEY. He was trustee of Stamford University—just what year I do not know. He has been identified with California enterprises, with which I was familiar.

Senator REED. What companies?

Mr. LUCEY. The General Petroleum Co., for instance.

Senator REED. When did he get into that?

Mr. LUCEY. I should say 1911 or 1912.

Senator REED. So your meeting Mr. Hoover, then, was confined to the time he came over here to attend the meeting of the board of curators or trustees of Stamford University, and then in 1912 he became connected with this petroleum company?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you meet him often after he became connected with the petroleum company?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. How often did you meet him in California?

Mr. LUCEY. I should say that possibly I have only met Mr. Hoover twice in California. I have no distinct recollection.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, instead of living in this country he was living abroad all those years, was he not, until 1915, when he came over here?

Mr. LUCEY. I am not qualified, Senator, to state exactly where his residence was.

Senator REED. You know where his residence was in London, do you not?

Mr. LUCEY. I have never been to his house there.

Senator REED. You know it was Red House, was it not, in London?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You know that his business enterprises were principally British and other foreign syndicates, generally speaking, having their headquarters in England?

Mr. LUCEY. His activities were not necessarily confined to British, Senator.

Senator REED. I said generally.

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir. I could not answer that.

Senator REED. Well, he was at the head of a syndicate that was doing some business in Russia, and one that was doing some business in China, and one that was doing some business in Australia, and perhaps one or two more, all of them having their headquarters in London, or composed largely of Britishers. That is the truth about it, is it not?

Mr. LUCEY. I could not say it is. I think Mr. Hoover's——

Senator REED. Can you say it is not?

Mr. LUCEY. I would not say it is not; no, sir. I am not in a position to state, or to answer that question accurately.

Senator REED. If you do not know, I will not ask you.

Senator EDGE. I am particularly concerned, as a member of this committee, to learn something of the expenditures of Mr. Hoover, or his expenses in connection with his candidacy for the presidency. Can you give us any information about that?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; I can give the complete details in reference to that. That is what I came here for, I understand from the chairman. I want to apologize to the chairman, if I may, that I was not here Monday morning. I have been absent from New York for about six weeks in the West on personal affairs, and asked permission from you if I might come this morning.

Chairman KENYON. No apology. We are glad to have you at any time.

Mr. LUCEY. I had two reasons for doing that. First, when I started this work I employed the firm of Thompson & Black to take charge of our books——

Chairman KENYON. What firm is that?

Mr. LUCEY. Thompson & Black, auditors, engineers, and systematizers.

Senator SPENCER. When did you start the work?

Mr. LUCEY. Shortly after the 1st of March.

Senator SPENCER. Of this year?

Mr. LUCEY. Of this year; yes, sir. All of our work has been done—that is, the auditing of our receipts and expenditures—subject to their supervision and control. Col. Thompson was the head of the War Credits Board during the war, and is a certified public accountant, and is here with all of our books and records. Anything that I might not be able to answer in reference to the receipts and disbursements during the six weeks I have been absent, particularly in reference perhaps to political matters, Mr. Hepburn, who has been in charge as much as I have been, could tell you about those things, and he is also here.

Senator EDGE. Were you in charge of the campaign between Mr. Hoover and Mr. Johnson in California?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. We would not have anything to do with it. That was conducted by Mr. Warren Gregory, who was president of the Hoover club in California.

Chairman KENYON. Do you have a Hoover headquarters in California?

Mr. LUCEY. The California Hoover club had headquarters in San Francisco and in Los Angeles.

Senator EDGE. You have no knowledge as to what was spent on the California campaign?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; I have no knowledge.

Chairman KENYON. Who could give us that?

Mr. LUCEY. Mr. Warren Gregory. He is in the Exchange Bank Building. I think that is correct, but I will be glad to get the correct address for you.

Chairman KENYON. Where, San Francisco?

Mr. LUCEY. San Francisco; yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Do you know of your own knowledge whether much money was spent on either side or both sides in the California campaign?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not; no, sir.

Chairman KENTON. There have been a good many charges on both sides.

Mr. LUCEY. There was a great deal of discussion. I was in California the last two days of the campaign.

Chairman KENTON. Did you go there on campaign matters?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; I went out to get my daughter, who was just finishing a term at the University of California.

Senator EDGE. Do you know who was in charge of that campaign, so that we can get both sides of the Johnson campaign in California?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; I do not.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Chairman. I wish we could make sure and find that out.

Chairman KENTON. We have found it out and sent for him, Mr. McKabe.

Senator REED. Is there an organization to promote Mr. Hoover's candidacy for the presidency?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; I should say that there was.

Senator REED. What is your relation to that organization?

Mr. LUCEY. I am the chairman of the Hoover National Republican Club, which I would like to state was organized without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Hoover.

Senator REED. How long did you manage to keep that secret from Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. We did not keep it a secret from him at all, Senator. We endeavored to get him to approve of our action, but he never became identified with us.

Senator REED. There is such an organization? That is what I want to get at.

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The Hoover National Republican Club?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You are a Republican in politics?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; and always have been.

Senator REED. Where are the headquarters of this club?

Mr. LUCEY. It is at the corner of Forty-sixth Street and Lexington Avenue, New York.

Senator REED. When was it organized?

Mr. LUCEY. It was organized shortly after the 1st of March.

Senator REED. What is the plan of organization?

Mr. LUCEY. The plan of organization of the National Republican Club is to create a medium of exchange, a clearing house for the various Hoover clubs throughout the United States, and to coordinate the efforts of these various organizations.

Senator REED. Who organized these clubs?

Mr. LUCEY. They were organized by various people throughout the States. I could not tell offhand who the people were.

Senator REED. Is the central organization you just spoke of engaged in organizing branch clubs?

Mr. LUCEY. Sir?

Senator REED. Is that organization that you are president of engaged in organizing branch clubs?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. You are not engaged in organizing Hoover clubs anywhere?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. What do you do, then?

Mr. LUCEY. We coordinate the clubs already in existence, and where there are no clubs, and where there is Hoover sentiment and people who are supporting him for the presidency, we stimulate and advise them just what has been done in other States.

Senator REED. You advise them to organize, do you not?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; we urge them to do so.

Senator REED. That is what I meant by my question a moment ago. So, now, generally speaking, you are engaged in coordinating the energies of the clubs already organized, and in promoting the organization of other clubs?

Mr. LUCEY. We are stimulating them to organize.

Senator REED. You may use "stimulating" and I use "promoting" and I think they are synonymous. Is that the scope of your activities?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How do you undertake to stimulate these organizations, by word of mouth, by literature, or both?

Mr. LUCEY. By both, and generally by telegraphic communication. Our time was very short, and it was impossible for us to communicate with the various——

Chairman KENYON. Do you stimulate any of them by cash contributions?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Where are your headquarters, in New York?

Mr. LUCEY. The National Republican Club?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. LUCEY. Forty-sixth Street and Lexington Avenue.

Senator REED. How many employees have you there?

Mr. LUCEY. I could not answer that at the present moment, but I think the records are there.

Senator REED. Approximately?

Mr. LUCEY. Col. Thompson will be able to answer that.

Senator REED. Can you tell about?

Mr. LUCEY. May I refer to Col. Thompson?

Senator REED. Yes, ask Col. Thompson.

Mr. LUCEY. Colonel, have we a record here of our employees? I might state, Mr. Chairman, that we have here with us all our records and the pay rolls of our employees every week since we started the organization.

Chairman KENYON. Well, show the number?

Mr. LUCEY. I thought you might ask for that.

Senator REED. I would be glad to see it now before I ask any more questions.

Senator EDGE. Have you got the total receipts and expenditures?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir. There are two copies here, Mr. Chairman, that are signed, certified, and sworn to. I have additional copies.

(The statement referred to is here printed in full, as follows)

Hoover National Republican Club—Statement of receipts and disbursements March 12, 1920, to May 22, 1920, exhibiting all of the Hoover National Committee's financial affairs covering the entire 48 States of the Union.

I. Receipts:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Contributions from individuals..... | \$62,084.00 |
| Note.—(a) No contribution received above \$1,000; (b) No contributions whatsoever from corporations. | |
| 2. Receipts from sale of pamphlets, etc..... | 98.10 |
| 3. Interest on bank deposits..... | 3.66 |

A. Total receipts..... \$62,185.76

II. Disbursements:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 4. Contribution to Republican national convention committee..... | 2,000.00 |
| 5. Contribution to State of Washington Hoover Club.... | 2,000.00 |
| 6. Preparation of copy, printing, and mailing circulars and reprints..... | 30,033.76 |
| 7. Salaries..... | 14,803.45 |
| 8. Office stationery and supplies..... | 1,714.78 |
| 9. Traveling expense, vouchered..... | 1,796.35 |
| 10. Traveling expenses advanced, not yet vouchered... | 1,200.00 |
| 11. Telephone and telegraph..... | 6,528.13 |
| 12. Postage and express, other than included in item 6.. | 267.06 |
| 13. Rent of office..... | 4,799.00 |
| 14. Rent of equipment..... | 965.50 |
| 15. Miscellaneous expense..... | 224.84 |

B. Total disbursements..... 66,332.87

C. Deficit..... 4,147.11

16. Money borrowed to meet current bills..... 14,000.00

D. Cash balance..... 9,852.89

17. Memo.: Unpaid bills, per list attached, \$3,353.95.

Certified correct, May 24, 1920.

M. W. THOMPSON,
Certified Public Accountant.

Hoover National Republican Club—Summary of accounts payable May 22, 1920.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Printing and general publicity..... | \$1,241.75 |
| Telephone and telegraph..... | 1,063.11 |
| Rent of offices..... | 211.19 |
| Rent of equipment..... | 481.50 |
| Auditing..... | 247.00 |
| Stationery and office supplies..... | 64.65 |
| Traveling..... | 44.75 |
| Total..... | 3,353.95 |

Senator EDGE. The recapitulation of your activities shows the receipt of approximately \$62,000 and expenditures of \$66,000, showing a deficit of \$4,000?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. By money borrowed, showing a cash balance of \$9,000?

Mr. LUCEY. For the week ending May 22, Senator, we had 20 employees, and the total pay roll—is that the total amount, Colonel, of the pay roll?

Mr. THOMPSON. I think so; yes, sir.

Mr. LUCEY. Is \$890.

Senator REED. Do you have agents or representatives employed that you send out into the various States?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. There are one or two men, two at different times that I personally know of, who have gone out, as represented here in the statement of disbursements for traveling expenses, vouchered, and the traveling expense advances, not yet vouchered. Those men are not employees, but were men who wanted to work with Mr. Hoover in a way, and were willing to give their time, but did not feel they could afford to pay their own expenses.

Senator REED. How many men were there?

Mr. LUCEY. Two.

Senator REED. Who are they?

Mr. LUCEY. There was Mr. Ward Smith, of New York, and Capt. Carry, who, after serving in France, worked under Mr. Hoover in the European Food Commission. There may have been one other or two others that I do not know about, but I do know about them.

Senator REED. What other organizations are there promoting Mr. Hoover's candidacy?

Mr. LUCEY. I think in practically every State in the Union there is a Hoover club or clubs.

Senator REED. Can you give us the names of the heads of these clubs?

Mr. LUCEY. I have not that at hand, and the telegram from Senator Kenyon did not state that you wanted that, but I will be glad to compile and bring that to you.

Senator REED. Do these clubs raise money?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And expend it?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do they send an account of their moneys into this central organization?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know of any campaign committee that is being organized or has been organized? I am asking now if you know of anything like a campaign headquarters outside of this club?

Mr. LUCEY. There was no organization, as I understand your question, of a campaign committee. The Hoover effort is confined entirely to clubs in the various States coordinating in a general way through this national club.

Senator REED. Do you know how much money any of these clubs that have been organized in the various States have raised?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know how much has been expended?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who can give us a list of these clubs so that we can find that out?

Mr. LUCEY. I will be glad to do that for you, Senator. I will be glad to give you a list, and I am sure that any of the Hoover clubs will be glad to either send a representative here to testify or send you a statement of their receipts and expenditures.

Senator REED. In how many States have you conducted active campaigns?

Mr. LUCEY. The National Republican Club has not conducted an active campaign in any State.

Senator REED. Well, somebody has been on behalf of Mr. Hoover conducting the campaigns in these various States. You say there are State organizations?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I take it that, as chairman of the central organization, you must certainly know something about what is being done to promote Mr. Hoover's candidacy in the various States, and that is what I want to get at.

Mr. LUCEY. I have a general idea only, but as to the details, as I have explained, I have been absent for six weeks, and I have only been in the office long enough to have this statement compiled and brought up to date by the auditor since my return.

Senator REED. Where have you been?

Mr. LUCEY. I have been in Indiana. My wife was ill, and I took her to French Lick.

Senator REED. I do not mean in detail.

Mr. LUCEY. I have been in the Western States.

Senator REED. Have you been working for Mr. Hoover in these various States?

Mr. LUCEY. I spoke at Stockton and Sacramento in California, as I lived there for a great many years, in behalf of Mr. Hoover during the primaries; but I did not go out for that purpose.

Senator REED. During the last six weeks, as I understand, you have not been at the headquarters much, and you are unfamiliar with what has been going on in the country?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; except in a general way.

Senator REED. Who has been in charge of the headquarters during these six weeks of your absence?

Mr. LUCEY. Mr. Hepburn, who is here. While he has not been actually in charge, he is probably as familiar as anyone with what has been going on.

Senator REED. Who was in charge?

Mr. LUCEY. Mr. Halliwell was directly in charge. There really was not anyone actively in charge.

Senator REED. Someone ran the office with these employees?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes; Mr. Halliwell ran the office.

Senator REED. You do not know how much money any one of these State clubs has collected, and who the contributors were?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Nor what they have done with the money?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; but I have, if I might submit it, this statement of instructions or requests, rather, of the principles that we adopted at the formation of our club, which we sent out to all Hoover clubs.

Chairman KENYON. How many Hoover clubs are there in the country, Mr. Lucey?

Mr. LUCEY. I have not any idea, Senator. I tried to run that over in my mind on the way over. I thought perhaps you might ask me that question. I understood that in the State of California alone there were 165.

Senator REED. Now, let us take the State of California. There was a hot campaign there, was there not?

Mr. LUCEY. I think there was; yes, sir.

Chairman KENYON. I did not want to slight anybody, so I wrote to Senator France and Senator Hitchcock, and Senator Franco is here

now and wants to leave, and if it makes no difference to you, we will let the Senator make any statement that he may desire.

Senator REED. You took part in the California campaign to the extent of making a couple of speeches?

Mr. LUCEY. You flatter me when you say they were speeches, but I did talk.

Senator REED. Well, I apprehend they could well rank with speeches. You have given us the name of the manager of Mr. Hoover's battle in California?

Mr. LUCEY. I have given you the name of the man who is at the head of the whole California organization.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the moneys that were collected there and disbursed?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Will Mr. Warren Gregory know? We do not want to get him here if he does not know.

Mr. LUCEY. I will wire him, if you will tell me just exactly what you want, and he will come prepared with every detail.

Chairman KENYON. We want to know the contributions and expenditures in detail. Will you wire him to bring that?

Mr. LUCEY. If your secretary will give me a list of just exactly what you would like to have, I will wire him to that effect, or address a telegram and submit it to you.

Chairman KENYON. We want full information of the campaign in California, the contributions and the source of the contributions, and how the money was expended.

Mr. LUCEY. The information I have here, as I have explained to you, is a statement of our receipts and disbursements, detailed per vouchers, and I delivered that statement to our chartered public accountants. Does that cover everything that you asked of me?

Chairman KENYON. If he is the manager, he can give us everything, and the correspondence relative to the contributions.

Senator REED. In addition, or in enlargement of that, we want the entire expenditures for the State, whether they were made by the central organization, or whether they were made by the local clubs.

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Organizations or individuals.

Mr. LUCEY. Yes; I think I understood that.

Senator REED. I take it from your statement that in California there was a central organization that probably had some finances, but there were also, I take it, local organizations that raised money and expended that money. We want to get the whole of the expenses for California, who contributed the money, and what was done with the money.

Mr. LUCEY. I will draft a telegram to Mr. Gregory and submit it to Senator Kenyon, and if it does not meet with your approval I will add anything you think should be added.

Senator REED. Have you had any publicity agent or agents?

Mr. LUCEY. Do you mean by that a regular publicity employment bureau?

Senator REED. No; have you had anybody writing articles for publication?

Mr. LUCEY. We have a man employed for that specific purpose.

Senator REED. Who is he?

Mr. LUCEY. His name is Vivian.

Senator REED. Is he a former newspaper man?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What is his first name?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that.

Senator REED. Where is he?

Mr. LUCEY. He is at the National Republican Club in New York; the Hoover National Republican Club.

Senator REED. Have any of his articles been reproduced?

Mr. LUCEY. He does not write articles for publication in the newspapers. His business was to write articles to be distributed among the Hoover clubs throughout the States, and they in turn could make such use of them for publicity purposes as they saw fit.

Senator REED. Were they reproduced in the publications?

Mr. LUCEY. I take it some of them were. This man did not originate the articles himself. He simply distributed, as a rule, information of the activities of the various clubs, and sent out copies of Mr. Hoover's speeches and papers on different subjects.

Senator REED. Who is it that has written the articles, laudatory of Mr. Hoover, that have appeared in the various magazines, periodicals, and newspapers?

Mr. LUCEY. Can you mention some specific one, Senator? Perhaps I can answer that particular question definitely.

Senator REED. Have you not got somebody in your organization, an individual or some organization, that sends out matter to go into the press on behalf of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. No one connected with the National Club, except as I have explained to you.

Senator REED. I have seen these articles printed in a sort of box form in the newspapers, praising Mr. Hoover. I am not saying that it is not proper, but I want to get at the source of it. Somebody did that. Now, who was it?

Mr. LUCEY. I have explained to you, Senator, all that I am familiar with.

Senator REED. You do not know about any effort to get particular articles printed on behalf of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. Not beyond what I have explained to you—the activities.

Senator REED. I did not quite understand what you did explain, although you meant to explain it. I did not grasp it.

Mr. LUCEY. I explained that in the Hoover National Club we have not written any special articles about Mr. Hoover that might appear in the magazines at all. We have simply distributed to other Hoover Republican clubs Mr. Hoover's speeches on various subjects. We have received the clippings of articles appearing in the various magazines. I take it you are asking me who originated the articles in the magazines. That I do not know.

Senator REED. Has Mr. Hoover an office somewhere?

Mr. LUCEY. The American Relief Association in New York. Mr. Hoover is there a great deal of the time. I think he divides his time between there and Washington.

Senator SPENCER. Where is that American Relief Association?

Mr. LUCEY. 115 Broadway.

Senator REED. There is an organization there of clerks, stenographers, etc.?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Where is the Washington office?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that Mr. Hoover has a Washington office, Senator, but I do know he is here a great deal of the time. Whether he has an office here or residence here I do not know.

Senator REED. Did you have charge of publicity to some extent when you were connected with the governmental activities here under Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who did have charge of the publicity under Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. In the Food Administration Mr. Ben Allen had charge of publicity.

Senator REED. Somebody was unfortunately killed. Was that Mr. Allen?

Mr. LUCEY. That is not Mr. Allen. This Allen is very much alive, and is at the present moment the editor of the Sacramento Union, of Sacramento, Cal.

Senator REED. Is that one of Mr. Hoover's publications?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know. I saw a statement in the Union replying to a charge that Mr. Hoover had financed that paper, stating that there was no Hoover money in that paper.

Senator REED. So you can not tell us of anybody or any organization that is engaged in getting out literature on behalf of Mr. Hoover, except that your organization has got out some speeches of Mr. Hoover's?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And circulated in speeches?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir. There is a Hoover publicity league that has no connection with our organization.

Senator REED. Exactly; I thought there was something. Where is that Hoover publicity league located?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know where it is located, but we can find the man, Mr. Edward Eyre Hunt.

Chairman KENYON. Where is it located?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know where they are located, except that they communicated with me, Mr. Hunt did, with one or two of his associates—I do not know their names—and stated that they were coordinating writers, and calling it the Hoover Republican league, and were distributing a certain amount of information in reference to Mr. Hoover.

Chairman KENYON. Can you not give us his address so that if we want to subpoena him here, we can do so?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know his address, but I can get in touch with him upon my return to New York.

Senator SPENCER. Is he in New York?

Mr. LUCEY. I think he is.

Senator REED. What do you mean by coordinating writers?

Mr. LUCEY. I might submit to you here a pamphlet they have gotten out about how to form a Hoover club and how to take a straw vote.

Chairman KENYON. Have you the pamphlet on the straw vote?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. I would like to know how they do that.

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir, I haven't that.

Senator REED. Do you know anybody else connected with the Hoover Publicity League, except Mr. Allen?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know where their headquarters are?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir, I do not. I met one or two other men who were with Mr. Hunt when they called upon me.

Senator REED. Who were they?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not remember their names, but Mr. Hunt I knew because he had charge of the Province of Antwerp under me in Belgium.

Chairman KENYON. Were these instructions as to how to take a straw vote sent to all the Hoover clubs throughout the country?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir, they were sent out generally. They said they would send them to any Hoover club we would give them the address of.

Senator REED. Was Mr. Hunt employed in Washington under Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir, Mr. Hunt served in France all during the war with the Red Cross.

Senator REED. Were these other two gentlemen with Mr. Hunt, whose names you can not recall, present in Mr. Hoover's organization in the Food Administration or some kindred organizations?

Mr. LUCEY. I would not know that, but I do not think so; I am quite sure they were not.

Senator REED. Are any of the people who are now in your office, or connected with your organization, individuals who formerly were connected with Mr. Hoover in any way?

Mr. LUCEY. The main support of the organization comes from people who have worked either directly or indirectly with Mr. Hoover's organization.

Senator REED. How many of them drew salaries under Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. None of them that I know of.

Senator REED. Will you give us a list of them, and their names?

Mr. LUCEY. Of the people who are identified with the National Republican Club?

Senator REED. Well, or any of the Hoover organizations. Now, we have found the Hoover Publicity League. Now, what other organization is there, in addition to that?

Mr. LUCEY. For publicity purposes?

Senator REED. For any purpose?

Mr. LUCEY. None beyond what I have outlined to you.

Senator REED. Do you know of any for publicity purposes?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know of Mr. Hoover's being interested in any publications?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Don't you know he is interested in the Washington Herald?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that directly, but I read at the time that he purchased an interest in it. Beyond that I do not know.

Senator REED. I asked whether you knew of his being interested in any other publications. That is one. Do you know of any other?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the plan of Mr. Hoover to print a publication at the Chicago convention?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. That plan I simply read about in the press. I would like to add, Senator, that I have not been in close touch with Mr. Hoover since I left the Food Administration, after the business organization. I have not seen Mr. Hoover, or have not been identified with him until I started to work in connection with the National Republican Club.

Senator REED. And the last six weeks of that period you have not been here?

Mr. LUCEY. I have not been here. I am not associated with Mr. Hoover in business directly or indirectly.

Senator REED. No, I did not suppose you were.

Mr. LUCEY. I personally have never drawn a salary, and have paid my own expenses in connection with all of my activities.

Senator REED. For the Government or otherwise?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; and in connection with the organization for the relief of Belgium I contributed two men to Mr. Hoover's organization, and paid their salaries and expenses.

Senator REED. Have you told all that you know about the Hoover campaign?

Mr. LUCEY. I have told you all that I think of, and I have told you everything that I think would be of value to you. I have told you all I know in reference to these activities. Our position is a very peculiar one in the National Republican Club. We are representing a man who is not an avowed candidate, and therefore we feel that we have no control over the various States or their activities. We coordinate with them in so far as they will permit us to do so, but we do not issue them any instructions, and we have no right to dictate to them, or even outline a policy for them.

Senator REED. For whom?

Mr. LUCEY. For the various Hoover clubs in the States.

Senator REED. Well, Mr. Hoover knows about these organizations?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; he must know.

Senator REED. You have told him about them, have you not?

Mr. LUCEY. Well, I did not see Mr. Hoover for some time after we organized, and when Senator Johnson, in his New Jersey speech, you know, said that Mr. Hoover's National Republican Club had great sums of money to spend at that time we had spent less than \$5,000, and Mr. Hoover sent for me and asked me to make a statement, which I did, stating the facts as I am outlining them to you now.

Senator REED. Is that the only conference you have had with him about the Hoover Republican Club, or anything it was doing?

Mr. LUCEY. Up to that time; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Since then you have not seen or talked to him, have you?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; I have seen Mr. Hoover, and met him at mutual friends' houses a number of times, and I have gone to see him on a number of occasions.

Senator REED. You have talked to him about what your club was doing?

Mr. LUCEY. In a general way; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, in a general way he knows what your plan of operation is, does he not?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. He has not commanded you to cease?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; and we would not if he had.

Senator REED. You would just go on and make him take it?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; that was our attitude.

Senator REED. Well, I hope the revenge will not be too severe, that is all.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know anything about the connection of Mr. Hoover with a Chicago newspaper, except what you saw in the public press?

Mr. LUCEY. That is all, sir, I understood from one of the members of the club in New York that it was——

Senator SPENCER. You mean one of the members of your club?

Mr. LUCEY. Of the Hoover National Republican Club, that it was suggested by some one, but I do not know except what I have read, and that they proposed to get out a paper at the convention in Chicago and that the expenditures were not to exceed \$5,000 which were to be contributed by sources entirely outside of our club, but I believe that it has been discontinued, or it was agreed not to go on with it. The publicity through that, I do not think came through the Hoover Club, but I can not say positively as to that.

Chairman KENYON. Now, Mr. Hoover's contributions from individuals amounts to \$62,084. Have you the names of the contributors?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Will you read them to us, please?

Mr. LUCEY. May I ask Col. Thompson to read those? He has the books here.

Senator REED. I see here in this condensed statement that you render an item, "Preparation of copy, printing, and mailing circulars, and reprints, \$30,033.76." Don't you think that is likely to cover the class of articles I have spoken of as having been inserted in the papers and periodicals throughout the country?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. We will be glad to submit to you vouchers showing the receipts for printing such as circulars of Mr. Hoover's speeches, etc.

Senator REED. Now, we were speaking about the financing of these clubs, and I understood you to say they organized and financed themselves, but rendered no account, but I notice here in item 5 of this same paper, "Contributions to State of Washington Hoover Club, \$2,000."

Mr. LUCEY. That is the only thing we have not received a voucher for, or the details of. That money was advanced by the San Francisco Hoover Club, and they asked us to reimburse them, and just what the circumstances are we have not got the details of yet.

Senator REED. But it would appear that at least in that instance your club, through the San Francisco club, did help to finance the Washington club?

Mr. LUCEY. I can not explain the circumstances, but those are the facts in that particular instance. We did not organize the expenditure, but did reimburse San Francisco for having advanced it.

Chairman KENYON. What is the contribution to the Republican National Convention Committee?

Mr. LUCEY. That is to defray the convention expenses in Chicago.

Chairman KENYON. Which of the activities, if you know, contributed to that?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Was that solicited from you, or was that voluntary?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that either. That money has been contributed since I left. I think that is in a measure a contribution for tickets.

Chairman KENYON. How many tickets did you get for \$2,000?

Mr. LUCEY. I have understood that while there was no price for the tickets, that generally it was expected that you were supposed to make a contribution of approximately \$100 a ticket.

Chairman KENYON. Did you take any part in the Hoover Club in the New Jersey campaign primary?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. None at all?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; none; in the primary?

Chairman KENYON. Yes.

Mr. LUCEY. None that I know of. There is a New Jersey State Hoover Club, and there are various local clubs, but I do not think they participated in any way. Our request from the National Hoover Club to all the States is not to participate in any primaries.

Senator KENYON. That was not true in California?

Mr. LUCEY. It was disregarded in California. They were already in when we organized the National Club.

Chairman KENYON. Did you take any part in the Oregon primaries?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. They were also in, but finally Mr. Hoover asked them to withdraw.

Chairman KENYON. But Mr. Hoover did advise the club out there not to vote?

Mr. LUCEY. I did not understand that.

Chairman KENYON. I thought there was something in that paper as to the advice given by Mr. Hoover to the Oregon voters?

Mr. LUCEY. I did not see that statement. I read something about that. I was on the train coming East at the time that letter was sent out. I have not seen the full statement.

Chairman KENYON. Mr. Lucey, there have been more or less statements here and there that there were very powerful financial interests in New York City back of the Hoover candidacy?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Can you tell us anything about that?

Mr. LUCEY. I can state absolutely that is not true, in so far as I am concerned, and the Hoover National Republican Club.

Chairman KENYON. Do you know whether there have been any contributions from international bankers in New York to the Hoover campaign?

Mr. LUCEY. I am well acquainted with every contribution, and I might state that the limit of the contributions was made by myself. I realized that we were doing this without Mr. Hoover's sanction or approval, and having a true regard for his reputation as well as my own, I requested our people that no contribution be received in

excess of \$1,000 from anyone, and I felt that anyone who desired to contribute that amount, regardless of who they were, had a right to do so.

Chairman KENYON. Are there any people in New York or anywhere else whom you expect to take care of any unpaid bills in this campaign?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. What we call underwriting contributors?

Mr. LUCEY. We have no underwriting. We have no unpaid expenses, or expenses beyond what are shown in this statement.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any information, Mr. Lucey, of any contribution that in the aggregate may have exceeded \$1,000 that has been divided up among different individuals of \$1,000 each?

Mr. LUCEY. There are, I think, a few instances where a man gave \$1,000 and his wife gave \$1,000, and where our ruling was that that was quite legitimate.

Senator SPENCER. Is that the only instance?

Mr. LUCEY. That is the only instance; yes. We have approached no corporation or no individual for any large sums of money.

Senator REED. Don't you know that there are a lot of large interests in New York that are actively promoting the fortunes of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; I do not. I think quite the reverse is the case. Practically all the financial people that I know of are not for Mr. Hoover.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Lucey, were you familiar with the general plan for taking a straw vote given in that pamphlet?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. I remember looking at the pamphlet, but it came at a time when I was busy in this organization in trying to establish contact with various States.

Senator SPENCER. Did it have anything to do with the securing of votes like the Literary Digest is conducting?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. It had nothing to do with that?

Mr. LUCEY. Nothing whatever to do with the Literary Digest. We have not anything to do with the Literary Digest in any way whatever. My first knowledge of that was when I saw the announcement in the Literary Digest.

Senator SPENCER. Who else are conducting general popular vote campaigns?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know of any others outside of the Literary Digest.

Chairman KENYON. Why were they sending out these instructions about taking straw votes, if there were none being taken?

Mr. LUCEY. A great many straw votes were being taken in houses and a great many newspapers were taking straw votes. For instance, in Tennessee, where I am a great deal of the time, having business interests there, the Chattanooga Times was constantly taking straw votes, and that is one way of stimulating an interest in any candidate or any campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there have also been conventions held in these colleges, and I think Mr. Hoover was nominated, was he not, for President, in some of these conventions? Did you stimulate that work?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not think so. I was West at that time and read about it, but there is actively connected with it the Hoover National Republican Club, Mr. Henry James; and Mr. Henry James volunteered to take charge of the college work and get in touch with the Hoover clubs at the various colleges.

Chairman KENYON. Then was that a part of your arrangement for publicity, to induce the colleges to have these mock conventions?

Mr. LUCEY. I could not answer that question, but I do not think so.

Senator REED. Do you know Mr. James?

Mr. LUCEY. Mr. James I know; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I notice that you made this contribution to the Republican national convention committee, and I see by some of these ballots that a great many democrats voted for Mr. Hoover. Don't you think they were showing a little partiality by not contributing to the Democratic national committee?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not see how, being a Republican organization, they could very well contribute to the Democratic organization.

Chairman KENYON. That is merely a premonition of what is apt to happen in November, is it not, as to Democrats voting for a Republican?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. I do not know. That possibly may be reversed.

Senator REED. These two statements by Mr. Lucey, one the financial statement, and the other the instructions sent out to the various clubs, ought to be put in the record as a part of his testimony.

(The instructions referred to are here printed in full, as follows:)

PRINCIPLES.

First. The objects of the clubs are to show by enrollment the extent of public interest in national issues as emphasized by Mr. Hoover, and to convince delegates to the Chicago convention of the support of this movement from all elements in the community, rather than, at this late date and with unequal organization, to formulate new contests in the primaries.

Second. This effort should be directed to accent those national measures and the qualifications of Mr. Hoover for their administration and not in disparagement of other candidates.

Third. There should be the strictest economy in necessary expenditures, and records kept available for full publicity of receipts and expenditures.

Fourth. As far as possible, this effort should be conducted by the service of volunteers.

Senator REED. I believe you said you had a list of the contributions?

Mr. LACEY. Yes, sir; the auditor has them here, and he will read them. He has all the books and records. Are you ready for that?

Senator REED. Yes; we can take that now. I want to ask you another question or two later. We will just ask you then to resume the stand.

TESTIMONY OF SENATOR JOSEPH IRWIN FRANCE, OF MARYLAND.

(The witness was duly sworn by Chairman Kenyon.)

Chairman KENYON. You know the purpose of this committee, and you can go ahead in your own way.

Senator FRANCE. Well, Senator, I have not been an active candidate for the presidency in the sense in which these other candidates

have been candidates. I have had no manager, I have had no campaign fund, and I have incurred no expenses in connection with it, with the exception of traveling expenses back and forth to New York City and other cities, which were incurred not solely in that connection.

TESTIMONY OF MR. M. W. THOMPSON, OF THOMPSON & BLACK, CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS AND ENGINEERS, NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. THOMPSON. My firm, Thompson & Black, which is a firm of accountants and engineers, with offices at New York, Kansas City, and Detroit, was called in by Mr. Lucey, the chairman of the Hoover National Republican Club, early in March, and asked to take charge of its financial accounts and records. Mr. Hoover stated to me—or Mr. Lucey stated to me, I did not meet Mr. Hoover—that in all of Mr. Hoover's affairs in Europe he had been most punctilious about having all of his accounts audited by firms of public accountants in the United States and in France, and that he, Mr. Lucey, felt obligated to follow a similar method for anything that used Mr. Hoover's name in this country, and our firm was asked if we would serve, and we agreed to do so. In response we made out a system of accounting and bookkeeping, and supervised the keeping of the accounts, auditing the books weekly, and I have before me the sheets of cash receipts that form the detailed facts from the cash book, and they show all of the financial contributions listed item by item.

Chairman KENYON. Read them to us.

Mr. THOMPSON. The first one is March 8, 1920, C. C. Thomas, care Reynolds, 2 Wall Street, New York, \$50; March 11, J. F. Lucey, 815 Park Avenue, New York, \$1,000; March 12, J. E. Reynolds, No. 10 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York, \$1,000.

Chairman KENYON. Who is Mr. Reynolds? Give us these people as you go along.

Mr. LUCEY. Mr. Reynolds, if he is the one I have in mind, is a Stanford graduate, a classmate of Mr. Hoover.

Chairman KENYON. Take the \$1,000 subscriptions and go along with them?

Mr. THOMPSON. The next one is M. L. Requa, that is Mark Requa, who was connected with the Fuel Administration, in charge of the Oil Division, \$1,000; W. H. Boyteaux—I do not know him. W. R. Macey, \$1,000; Mrs. Julia A. Macey, \$1,000.

Chairman KENYON. Who is Mr. Macey?

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not know. J. M. Switzer, \$1,000; F. Everett Macey; R. J. Caldwell; George A. Zabriskie; A. P. Barnes——

Chairman KENYON. Of the Grain Administration?

Mr. THOMPSON. I think he is a brother of the next man, who is J. H. Barnes, who I know is Julius H. Barnes, of the Grain Administration, each \$1,000. E. M. Flesh; J. W. McGarrah. Mr. McGarrah was connected with some of the Belgium affairs, and is a banker in New York. I know him. Scott F. Evans; John McE. Bowman, Biltmore Hotel. He is a well-known hotel man. Theodore F. Whitmarsh; Florence C. Pratt. I think that is Mrs. Pratt who is the chairman of the National Woman's Republican—something of that sort. She is a prominent woman who has given much attention, I believe,

to Republican politics. W. O. Thompson. I think he is a Chicago man. It is marked here "N. Y. C.," but I think that is merely a temporary residence. Royall Victor, New York, \$1,000; R. D. Lapham, \$1,000. He is a steamship man. I do not know him. Manuel Rionda.

Chairman KENYON. Who is he?

Mr. THOMPSON. I do not know him; 141 West Ninety-third Street, New York City. I asked Capt. Lucey on the train coming down if he knew who he was, being an unusual name, and he told me he did not know. J. S. Cullinan, Houston, Tex. I think he is an oil operator, or a man interested in the oil business. Capt. Lucey sells oil well supplies, and I think he is one of his personal friends. P. H. Ginder, Duluth; Bert H. Lang, St. Louis; P. N. Gray; George D. Pratt, and Mrs. George D. Pratt, collectively, \$1,000, in total between them. I think he is a brother-in-law of the Mrs. Pratt I spoke of. E. H. Hartman I do not know. Herbert L. Pratt. I think that is another brother-in-law, \$1,000; George H. Warrington, Cincinnati, \$1,000; T. A. Gillespie. I know him; he is a contractor in New York. I have a recollection that there were two others who gave \$500 at a time, in two separate contributions, making \$1,000. I would not be quite frank if I did not state that. One of them was Mr. Hemphill, Alexander J. Hemphill, of New York. The other one I do not remember. I would have to hunt through and find it.

Chairman KENYON. Did you bring this down to the present time?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir; that is brought down to and including the last date here; that is May 22, 1920, that is last Saturday.

Chairman KENYON. What is the total?

Mr. THOMPSON. That is complete to Saturday night. The total is \$62,084.

Chairman KENYON. That does not show any amount received by the various clubs throughout the country?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir; this is purely the National Hoover Republican Club.

Chairman KENYON. Have you any figures at all to show that?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir; I have not. At the time when our firm was first called in I submitted suggestions to Capt. Lucey and his associates to suggest to any other Hoover clubs that they keep careful track of their finances, and to agree in advance to submit them to audit. I understand that was done. Our firm was asked on Saturday if we would audit another organization of this type, and we said we would.

Chairman KENYON. You have no connection with the matter except in your business capacity?

Mr. THOMPSON. None, whatsoever. I am merely acting in my professional capacity as an accountant. I might say that I have a little interest in the business as a matter of civic duty. I would like to see all of them do it.

Chairman KENYON. You would like to see them all keep accounts and submit them to audit?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes; and that is the reason I was glad to do this kind of work. Of course, there is no money in it professionally. We do it for small fees.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you have knowledge of the fact that there are other organizations in a large number of the States?

Mr. THOMPSON. I have no more knowledge of that, Senator, than any other person who reads the new papers, except that I have heard a few remarks about it, and as I recommended in the first conference I had that these other Hoover organizations be tied into an agreement at the start that they would submit themselves to audit.

Senator POMERENE. Among the disbursements have you seen any funds paid to any of these clubs or organizations?

Mr. THOMPSON. There is a record of the \$1,000 that I am familiar with, advanced or reimbursed, rather, to the Hoover club in San Francisco or Sacramento.

Senator POMERENE. Is not that the Washington item?

Mr. THOMPSON. That was the Washington item that was spoken of in the hearing. Also, there were disbursements for printing, where the printing could not be done in New York and gotten out in time by reason of the freight blockade, where the printing was done locally and it was paid for by the New York organization.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any record of any amounts which have been contributed to these various States and other local organizations?

Mr. THOMPSON. So far as we know, there are no other amounts except of the kind I have spoken of—reimbursements for printing that I have just described. If there were any others, Mr. Hepburn, who is here, would know. There is nothing in the way of advertising in newspapers, to my knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. So far as you are concerned, no statement of an account has been rendered by any of these State or local organizations to the central organization in New York, with which you are familiar, and no account of any disbursements by these various organizations?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir; there has been none, except the vouchers for printing in the case I spoke of.

Senator POMERENE. So you have no knowledge whatsoever of any funds which have been collected or disbursed by the State or local organizations, except as you have indicated in your answers heretofore?

Mr. THOMPSON. That is correct. May I complete an answer that I started to make? No money has been spent whatsoever for newspaper advertising. There is one item for advertising, of \$400, on the records, but that is for advertising in the program of the Republican national convention at Chicago.

Chairman KENYON. Where there is an organization of this kind, a separate organization in all States, raising money and spending money, this does not give a very accurate idea of the entire amount of money that might be spent in any campaign, does it?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir. I think that is something that might be said of all the statements, however, that I have heard have come before your committee, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Yes; that is true; but I am wondering, in the case of a national law, if you have anything in mind as to how to connect up the State organizations by compelling them to make statements to some central national organization?

Mr. THOMPSON. I think that would be very wise, sir.

Chairman KENYON. Otherwise it would not be effective at all as throwing any publicity on the amount expended?

Mr. THOMPSON. I think if the desire were for a full disclosure, it could be done very readily along the lines you speak of. I myself,

having that in mind, have submitted written recommendations to the Hoover Club that they send out instructions or literature, whatever you call it, or a letter of advice to any other Hoover Club, requesting them to keep their accounts in shape for audit, and to agree in advance that they would submit themselves to audit. I understand that was complied with and our firm will probably audit them all.

Chairman KENYON. You have given some thought evidently to this question. Have you anything in your mind as to the kind of a national law that might give full publicity before conventions, before elections, or all expenditures of candidates, and do you think it is feasible to limit the expenditures of candidates?

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, sir, I think the English laws have worked out and made some progress along those lines. I myself believe that they should be limited, although I think sometimes the amounts that are spoken of by individuals as a limit would not cover the normal expenditures for a great many small items in a national campaign. One hundred thousand dollars sounds like a good deal of money to a man who has never been around a headquarters, but it is not such an awful amount of money to pay postage.

Chairman KENYON. The expense of carrying on any campaign, of necessity, is rather large?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

Chairman KENYON. For the legitimate things?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir; that is true. The sending out of a circular to every voter in the State of New York, for instance, would undoubtedly exceed the entire contribution received by the Hoover National Republican Club, one circular.

Chairman KENYON. You could not very well limit campaign expenditures equally as to States?

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir.

Chairman KENYON. For instance, the State of Nevada and the State of New York would be quite different?

Mr. THOMPSON. The population possibly would be a factor.

Chairman KENYON. The difficulty I see is the question of truthful publicity.

Mr. THOMPSON. Well, I do not want to be in a position of seeming to talk of my profession too much, or talk up business, but I think that the growth of the practice during the past 20 or 30 years in the United States of calling in public accountants to certify to the accounts of business people has been most salutary in its effect on the honesty of the conduct of business. If considerable expenditures were required to be certified by men whose business it is to understand those things, the effect would be salutary and the expense not great.

Chairman KENYON. There is no way of auditing the statements put out by the candidates and their friends as to the truthfulness of the claims.

Mr. THOMPSON. No, sir; but such a law, to be effective, should provide in advance, just as we find Mr. Lucey's committee got out, forms on which expenditures should be kept, and any expenditures made other than on such forms should be illegal.

Chairman KENYON. We are very glad for your suggestions, Mr. Thompson, and we are very much obliged to you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES J. HEPBURN, ATTORNEY AT LAW, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Chairman KENYON. You are the gentleman referred to by Capt. Lucey?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes.

Chairman KENYON. What is your business?

Mr. HEPBURN. Attorney at law.

Chairman KENYON. You had charge of the Hoover headquarters in New York when Mr. Lucey was absent?

Mr. HEPBURN. No, that is not quite correct, Senator. About four weeks ago I was requested by the Hoover Club of Pennsylvania to take the chairmanship, which I did, and I can give you perhaps a little information on State expenditures, at least so far as we go. About the month of April I became actively identified with the work in New York, and I have been there quite a good part of my time. I have not been in charge except to the extent that I have had full charge of the activities of the Hoover National Republican Club, and have been consulted, so far as its activities go. The specific details I have not very clearly in my head, but I do not think there is a specific activity that I can not answer about.

Chairman KENYON. So, in a general way, you are as qualified to speak of that as any other person?

Mr. HEPBURN. I think so.

Chairman KENYON. You have a Hoover club at Philadelphia?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes.

Chairman KENYON. How many members?

Mr. HEPBURN. It is awfully hard to estimate it. The last estimate was several hundred thousand; but, you see, that club had been started by a number of gentlemen in Philadelphia, and started entirely spontaneously, and had communicated with Mr. Lucey with regard to molding themselves into a State Republican Club. They were at work three or four weeks before they came to me and asked me to take the permanent chairmanship, and I finally agreed. That work was limited strictly to the dissemination of information about Mr Hoover. All over the State would come in requests, "Can you tell us how Mr. Hoover stands on this, that, or the other thing? Can you give us some information as to Mr. Hoover's career, as to his activities?" And the volume of the work of the club has been directed to the reprinting of matter coming from New York. We found that in Philadelphia we could print for about half of the cost of the printing in New York, the New York Club sending out those small articles, pamphlets, and things of that sort throughout the States where they were required.

Chairman KENYON. You have local clubs in different parts of the State?

Mr. HEPBURN. When this club was formed in Philadelphia there were any number of local clubs all over the State, and they were looking for some sort of contact, and the club has directed its activities to the coordination of them, and to the stimulation of the formation of new clubs in communities where they had a number of Hoover supporters. We will say a few men would write in from a certain county, "Can you help us get the organization together; can you help this movement?" We would send them literature and a plan of organiza-

tion sent from New York, and they would form their club and go ahead. We never receive a dollar from New York, or have we taken their literature, because we find, as I have stated, that we can get it at about half the cost if we reprint. I was in New York when this summons came, and did not know it until noon, so I can not give you the exact figures, but I can give them to you approximately, within \$2,000.

Chairman KENYON. In a general way, how much money have you collected?

Mr. HEPBURN. These gentlemen who chartered the club before I came in had contributed and had their friends contribute, in sums not exceeding \$1,000; I think it was about \$4,200, somewhere around there.

Senator POMERENE. That is the Philadelphia club?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes, for State purposes, Pennsylvania State, I imagine.

Chairman KENYON. How much money have you collected in the whole State?

Mr. HEPBURN. \$15,000 or \$16,000, Senator. I could not give that exactly; I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. Is it under \$20,000?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes. With the addition of the \$4,000 these gentlemen put up, it is pretty near \$20,000, total collected. There was a balance of several thousand dollars when I was last in Philadelphia, unexpended.

Chairman KENYON. Do they make any report to the New York headquarters?

Mr. HEPBURN. At the end it is our idea, and I think it is the instruction of every club that I have come in contact with, that in finally closing up their business they file a full report with the New York headquarters. That is our intention.

Chairman KENYON. That has not been done?

Mr. HEPBURN. No; because we are still going on. We will not close until June 6.

Chairman KENYON. You are not admitting that you will close then, are you?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes; those clubs have had no political activity in the real sense at all, Senator.

Chairman KENYON. You have done nothing to get delegates?

Mr. HEPBURN. No; it is simply for the stimulation of sentiment and a dissemination of publicity of that sort.

Chairman KENYON. Of this \$20,000 how much have you spent?

Mr. HEPBURN. I think they have \$2,500 or \$3,000 available. You will take that as a guess; that is roughly true.

Chairman KENYON. That is between \$17,000 and \$18,000 that you have spent?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes.

Chairman KENYON. What has been the general nature of your expenditures?

Mr. HEPBURN. First, headquarters. The club has two rooms in a residence building, unoccupied otherwise, on Walnut Street in Philadelphia.

Senator SPENCER. What number?

Mr. HEPBURN. 1317, I think is the number, Walnut and — Streets. You can not miss it if you happen to be on Walnut. Then there is the employment of stenographers. We have a limited force. There is one secretary who is paid \$75 per week, who is on the job all the time, and half a dozen girls. There are two stenographers, I think, and one copyist, and outside of them two or three girls to address, and one young man whose duty it is to bundle up the literature and send it out as required. All the rest of the force are volunteers.

Chairman KENYON. Do you prepare your literature yourself?

Mr. HEPBURN. In some instances we use what comes from New York and recopy. Others we prepare. That will give you an idea of the sort of stuff we are doing [exhibiting pamphlet.] I happened to have my book with me in New York in the form of a pamphlet in this nature. There is the pamphlet. It is nothing more than a collection of some of Mr. Hoover's speeches and writings indexed. We get a lot of requests for information as to where he stands on this, that, or the other thing.

Chairman KENYON. You print them?

Mr. HEPBURN. We print them ourselves. For a first edition of 10,000 of a pamphlet of that size, the cost is \$2,600, printing expense alone. Money does not go very far in printing now.

Chairman KENYON. Let us go to the New York situation. Are you familiar with these other clubs throughout the country?

Mr. HEPBURN. Generally.

Chairman KENYON. Are they similar to your Pennsylvania club?

Mr. HEPBURN. In every instance in which I have looked into them, yes. Many of them—I guess all of them are formed on exactly the same basis.

Chairman KENYON. Existing in what States?

Mr. HEPBURN. I doubt if there is a single State without some such organization. A bunch of people will get together in a State and write in to New York. They get literature and they form a club, and generally the first one that comes into New York from a State is denominated the chief club, and the others spread out under it.

Chairman KENYON. What can you say as to the method of procedure in the headquarters in New York?

Mr. HEPBURN. That has been fine, I can say, absolutely, for the last two months. When I speak of my personal knowledge, that is two-thirds of the time, solely of the activities that Capt. Lucy refers to. They have been conducted just along those lines, and nothing else.

Chairman KENYON. Do you have anything to do with the soliciting of funds in New York?

Mr. HEPBURN. I am well acquainted with that. There has been very little solicitation. The bulk of the funds received have come from men that worked with or under Mr. Hoover in connection with his various activities, have an admiration for him, and write in and ask if they may contribute. I understand in a number of instances it has been very difficult to limit contributions to the sum the club has fixed.

Chairman KENYON. Mr. Hoover himself did not contribute?

Mr. HEPBURN. No. In fact, until within the last two months he would not even consult or advise with us.

Chairman KENYON. Do you know anything about the Hoover publicity bureau?

Mr. HEPBURN. I know all about any publicity that is going on, I think. I do not think anything of that sort would be going on that I do not know about, and I can say positively that there is no publicity bureau at all, except such as is conducted by Capt. Lucey's organization.

Chairman KENYON. I think Capt. Lucey told us of a Hoover publicity league. Do you know anything of such a thing as that?

Mr. HEPBURN. A Hoover publicity league?

Chairman KENYON. Yes; with Mr. Edward Eyer Hunt at the head of it.

Mr. HEPBURN. You were speaking of the writers' league?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes.

Mr. HEPBURN. There were a number of writers. The Republican committee held at Atlantic City, as I recall, some time ago a conference or congress of newspaper writers throughout the country. I think most of them who were represented at that meeting have formed themselves into a Hoover Republican League.

Chairman KENYON. Since that meeting at Atlantic City?

Mr. HEPBURN. No; I think they were in that before that time. There were representatives of the various candidates, who formed themselves into some kind of an alliance. That, of course, we had nothing to do with. We knew of their existence.

Chairman KENYON. But you do not know about their activities?

Mr. HEPBURN. No. That was formed without consulting in any way with the Hoover interests. That is entirely independent.

Chairman KENYON. Do you know Mr. Hunt?

Mr. HEPBURN. No.

Chairman KENYON. The meeting of these writers at Atlantic City was a Republican meeting, and it was not in the interest of any candidate?

Mr. HEPBURN. No; the writers who were there were the writers who were interested in one or more of the candidates that were to come before the Republican convention. There were Wood men, Johnson men, Hoover men, and all the different Republican elements were represented, as I understand. They were men who will write for the ticket after it is nominated, no matter who it is.

Chairman KENYON. And women too?

Mr. HEPBURN. Women too.

Senator REED. I did not hear all of your testimony, as I was called out. Did you say that you got your printing done in Philadelphia?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You got it cheaper there?

Mr. HEPBURN. Our publicity committee tells me that they get it at about half of what it would cost in New York. New York has this system. It will furnish to a club that can finance itself, and I know very few instances where it has been the contrary, a limited amount of literature, or in any amount, at cost price, but the cost of printing in New York, we found was very much greater than it was in Philadelphia.

Senator REED. Who is it that is willing to furnish printing at cost?

Mr. HEPBURN. The Hoover National Republican Club furnishes the printing of circulars, etc., to the state and local clubs at its cost to them.

Senator REED. In Philadelphia who did your printing?

Mr. HEPBURN. I really have forgotten his name. It bears the label. All official literature does mostly. It is a regular public printer there. It is a competitive bid.

Senator REED. Have you any literature here?

Mr. HEPBURN. That was just one item that I happened to have in my bag at New York, and I brought it along, thinking you might want some information as to the character of printing we were doing.

Senator REED. Were you connected with the Hoover movement as early as January?

Mr. HEPBURN. No, I came in connection with it the day or day before, maybe two days before the California letter for Mr. Hoover went out.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. HEPBURN. That was some time in April, I think shortly before April 10th, if I recall.

Senator REED. Your residence is in New York?

Mr. HEPBURN. No, Philadelphia.

Senator REED. Were you at a dinner or luncheon held in the month of January, or before that, in the interest of Mr. Hoover's candidacy?

Mr. HEPBURN. No; I was at no dinner or luncheon prior to, as I told you, in April. What luncheon do you refer to?

Senator REED. If you had nothing to do with the movement——

Mr. HEPBURN. I know a great deal of what was going on, I think, Senator.

Senator REED. There was a luncheon held, was there not, in New York, at which Cleveland Dodge and some others were present?

Mr. HEPBURN. I never heard of it.

Senator REED. Did you never read about it in the Philadelphia North American?

Mr. HEPBURN. I read a statement about a luncheon at which it was stated that Mr. Curtiss and a number of others, and Mr. Hoover were present, but I happen to know that Mr. Hoover never even met Mr. Curtiss personally until the evening of the Eastern relief meeting in Philadelphia on April 10.

Senator REED. Did you say that this luncheon did not take place, then?

Mr. HEPBURN. I can't say that. I never heard of any such luncheon but the one I am just referring to, which I knew could not possibly be true.

Senator REED. You knew of Mr. Hoover meeting Mr. Curtiss when?

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Hoover came to Philadelphia, I think it was, the night of April 10, which was Saturday evening—it is easy to fix the date—for this Eastern relief meeting, a large meeting for the purpose of raising funds for Eastern relief, and that night he took dinner at the house of Mr. George Lorimer, who is the editor of the Saturday Evening Post, and whom he had met for the first time, or about a week before, and at that dinner Mr. Curtiss was present and was introduced. That was just before the Eastern relief meeting.

Senator REED. Were you at that meeting?

Mr. HEPBURN. At that dinner?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HEPBURN. No.

Senator REED. Who else was there?

Mr. HEPBURN. It was a family dinner. I am not quite certain whether Mr. Cook was there. There were half a dozen people that Mr. Lorimer invited in to meet Mr. Hoover, but there was no political or other significance to it at all.

Senator REED. Do you know the business connections of these subscribers to the Hoover fund, or any of them?

Mr. HEPBURN. Generally. I made the statement, when you may have been out at the moment, in answer to an inquiry from Senator Kenyon, that a large number of the subscribers, the larger subscribers of \$1,000, are, I believe, men who have been associated with or worked with Mr. Hoover in his various activities before, and who have come forward voluntarily and asked permission to subscribe. There was very little solicitation.

Senator SPENCER. You mean in his governmental activities, or in his philanthropic activities?

Mr. HEPBURN. Both; but largely, a great many of them, I think the most enthusiastic supporters of him, were men who worked under him in Belgium, in the C. R. B. Of course, there is hardly a man among the volunteers who was associated with him in the Food Administration who is not a very enthusiastic supporter of his to-day.

Senator REED. Some of them drew pretty heavy salaries under him, did they not?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know a single one, sir. As far as I know, the force, both at Washington and certainly in the States, was composed of volunteers, and in our Pennsylvania division there was never at any time a salary-drawing man.

Senator REED. I mean who drew salaries under Mr. Hoover when he was in these governmental activities?

Mr. HEPBURN. I am speaking of that. I do not know of a single one; certainly, none of those who were in a responsible position drew any salary. The records will show that. I think they are here in Washington.

Senator REED. Yes; I wanted to call your attention, however, to the fact that one of the \$1,000 subscribers here is Mr. Pizzeck.

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know him.

Senator REED. Of Kansas City. He is drawing \$25,000 a year salary.

Mr. HEPBURN. You mean in the Grain Corporation?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HEPBURN. Those salaries were not started until after the dissolution of the Food Administration, as I think you know, sir.

Senator REED. But the Grain Corporation was organized by Mr. Hoover, and was one of his agencies?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes; and those men all worked as volunteers, and I understand it was some time after the armistice when the Grain Corporation was continued, and they had to be retained in office at salaries. The war was over, and they were not working as volunteers any longer. That was after Mr. Hoover's connection had ceased.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, a considerable number of these men were drawing salaries, very heavy salaries, at the time they made these subscriptions, were they not?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know how many Grain Corporation men there are in the list; a few, probably.

Senator REED. Mr. George A. Zabriskie is the sugar man, is he not?

Mr. HEPBURN. He was the sugar man.

Senator REED. He gave \$1,000. Mr. A. P. Barns, of Duluth, and Mr. J. H. Barns, each gave \$1,000. They are two of the Grain Corporation men?

Mr. HEPBURN. I think Mr. Julius H. Barns is the head of the Grain Corporation. I do not know whether the other had any connection with it.

Senator REED. Mr. Barns drew a heavy salary in the Grain Corporation, did he not?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know whether Mr. Barns drew any salary as the head of the Grain Corporation, but certainly did not until long after the armistice.

Senator REED. There is a Mr. Flesh. What was his connection with this?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know what Mr. Flesh's connection was. I never met him in the organization. I did not know he had any connection with it.

Senator REED. I see Mr. Zabriskie, the man you think is the sugar man, is down for \$4,000, under the heading here of "Other receipts."

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes. I happen to know—at least I was not present when it was done, but Capt. Lucey, being very short of funds, made a personal loan, I think largely on his own personal responsibility, to be paid back out of the subscriptions; otherwise, I suppose Capt. Lucey will have to foot it, but that was a personal loan from the one to the other.

Senator REED. I am not speaking about Capt. Lucey.

Mr. HEPBURN. That is not a contribution; it is a loan.

Senator REED. A loan is money coming in. Here is Edward Quaker.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Quaker is a San Francisco business man, who was connected with the Food Administration after Mr. Hoover got out, a very good friend of Mr. Hoover and Capt. Lucey, I understand.

Senator REED. He was with Mr. Hoover?

Mr. HEPBURN. He has been with him since the first of May. They served in Belgium days.

Senator REED. Then there is R. D. Lapham, of the American-Hawaiian S. S. Co. What is that company?

Mr. HEPBURN. A steamship company of some sort, I think. Is not that correct?

Mr. LUCEY. I think so; yes, sir.

Senator REED. \$1,000.

Mr. HEPBURN. That was not a contribution by the steamship company, was it, Senator?

Senator REED. It says R. D. Lapham, American-Hawaiian Steamship Co., 10 Bridge Street, New York City.

Mr. HEPBURN. That is Mr. Lapham's contribution.

Senator REED. H. B. Jackson gave \$500. He is one of the men that was drawing \$25,000 out of his governmental activities, was he not?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know, sir.

Senator REED. H. B. Jackson, \$500.

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know Mr. Jackson.

Senator REED. Howard B. Jackson. He is drawing \$25,000, is he not?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know him, sir. If he is one of the Grain corporation men, I understand they had quite a number of those men throughout the country who were paid for their services since the armistice.

Senator REED. J. G. Stream, \$500. What was his connection with the former activities——

Mr. HEPBURN. May I refer to Capt. Lucey, because I am not clear as to that, and can not answer that, sir.

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know him.

Senator REED. Manuel Rionda. He is the Cuban sugar man, is he not?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know anything about him, sir. I tried to find that out coming over in the train last night, but no one in our party knew him. We got this list from the accountant yesterday afternoon, and, in fact, trying to get the stuff together for your committee this morning.

Senator REED. J. S. Cullinan. Who is he?

Mr. HEPBURN. He is a business associate of Mr. Lucey, and a close personal friend.

Senator REED. Is he in the oil business?

Mr. HEPBURN. I think he is. I believe that contribution was solicited by Mr. Lucey himself.

Mr. LUCEY. He is the president of the State Chamber of Commerce of Texas.

Senator EDGE. What are his politics?

Mr. HEPBURN. I understand he is a Democrat, but was held up by his friends.

Senator REED. P. H. Hinder, \$1,000, of Duluth Board of Trade. Was he one of the Grain Corporation agents?

Mr. HEPBURN. I think not. I think he is a personal friend of Mr. Hoover, and asked permission to contribute. I am not certain of that, though he is quite a personal friend.

Senator REED. Frank L. Carey, 1100 Flour Exchange, Minneapolis, \$500. He is one of the \$25,000 men, is he not?

Mr. HEPBURN. I do not know, sir.

Senator REED. He is listed here in this newspaper account.

Mr. HEPBURN. Well, I have not that before me.

Senator EDGE. What newspaper is that you are reading from?

Senator REED. This is the New York American.

Senator EDGE. I wanted to get it in the record.

Mr. HEPBURN. What is that, a list of the employees of the Grain Corporation?

Senator REED. A list of the \$25,000 a year men. I think you will find it accurate.

Senator EDGE. The New York American has been particularly interested in Mr. Hoover's candidacy, has it not?

Mr. HEPBURN. Apparently so.

Senator EDGE. Who is the publisher of the New York American?

Mr. HEPBURN. Is it not a man by the name of Hearst? I think that is so.

Senator REED. That may be very amusing, but does anybody challenge the accuracy of this statement?

Mr. HEPBURN. I have not seen the statement, Senator; so I could not possibly do so.

Senator EDGE. I was simply supplementing the examination so the full facts will go in the record.

Senator REED. Everybody knows Mr. Hearst is the publisher of it.

Senator EDGE. You might say that everybody knows that Mr. Hoover was the Food Administrator, and had many associates in that activity.

Senator REED. That is true; but I am interested in knowing how many of them are drawing \$25,000 salaries, who have contributed to the Hoover campaign.

Howard B. Jackson, I think I called attention to, but he appears here again for \$500.

Mr. HEPBURN. The accountant called attention to the fact that there were two men who made \$1,000 contributions in two different payments at \$500 each. I think he must be one.

Senator REED. He is another \$25,000 man. What is the connection of Mr. Max H. Houser, of Portland, Oreg., with the Hoover campaign?

Mr. HEPBURN. May I refer that to Mr. Lucey? [Mr. Hepburn to Mr. Lucey:] Is he connected with the club?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not think he has any connection.

Senator REED. I thought his name was mentioned in this list of names; I may have been confused about it. Do you know who Mr. Henschill is?

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Henschill was treasurer of one of the war activities, I think. I am not quite certain.

Mr. LUCEY. He is one of the men appointed by the President.

Mr. HEPBURN. Capt. Lucey states that he is one of the Commission for Relief in Belgium appointed by the President. He is connected, I think, with the Guaranty Trust of New York.

Senator REED. Well, there are a number more of these, but I shall not take the time to call attention to them. I will put in the list of salaried officers.

(The list referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

Senator REED. It says [reading]:

He (Mr. Barnes) selected as the 14 vice presidents at \$25,000 a year the following men:

George S. Jackson, Baltimore; Howard B. Jackson, Chicago; E. F. Newing, Galveston; F. L. Carey, Minneapolis; C. B. Fox, New Orleans; D. F. Pizek, Kansas City, Mo.; Charles D. Neal, Omaha; H. D. Irwin, Philadelphia; Max H. Houser, Portland, Oreg.; B. H. Lang, St. Louis; Charles Kennedy, Buffalo; P. H. Gimber, Duluth; W. A. Starr, San Francisco; Arthur Williams, New York.

Mr. HEPBURN. Senator, that is our book or original entry. If the committee desires a copy, I will be very glad to file it with you. That is our loose leaf taken out of the ledger, and I would not like to let it go.

Chairman KENYON. Can you not give us a copy of it?

Mr. HEPBURN. Yes.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. M. W. THOMPSON—Resumed.

Senator REED. Mr. Thompson, I would like an explanation from you in regard to this column which bears the legend above it, "Other receipts." There is a column which reads "Contributions," and then there is another column that states, "Other receipts."

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What is the distinction between the two?

Mr. THOMPSON. The column that is headed, "Contributions" contains all political contributions, all contributions of money made to the committee. The column, "Other receipts" has been used for the purpose of setting forth the receipts of moneys temporarily received, to be returned. You will notice there in a number of cases, that Capt. J. F. Lucey is referred to as having advanced \$100 for some expense. That was a case where they ran out of money, and he put up \$100, but it does not belong in the contribution column.

Senator EDGE. May I ask Mr. Thompson have you any governmental position, any Federal position?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir; I got a check the other day for my salary for three months for 25 cents. I am president of the War Credits Board, which was an arm of the War Department, that advanced Federal moneys to the contractors or makers of munitions during the war. I held that position here.

Senator REED. You kept the accounts there, or overlooked the keeping of them?

Mr. THOMPSON. I made the loans. I loaned about \$250,000,000 of Government money.

Senator EDGE. You may be one of the gentlemen receiving \$25,000 a year who is interested in Mr. Hoover's candidacy.

Mr. THOMPSON. No; I do not appear in this matter as in any way interested in Mr. Hoover's candidacy. I am merely employed as a professional man, as an accountant.

Senator REED. And being paid as a regular accountant?

Mr. THOMPSON. I think our bills are shown among the unpaid bills put in. I think they amount to \$242.

Senator REED. This is purely a business matter with you?

Mr. THOMPSON. Yes, sir; except that our firm does not ordinarily accept the payments that run in such a small amount as \$250, but we do this as a matter of civic duty, because we think that such things ought to be audited.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. J. F. LUCEY—Resumed.

Senator REED. Capt. Lucey, can you give us the business in which you stated that \$1,000 was contributed?

Mr. LUCEY. Only some of them.

Senator REED. Well, will you take them now and go through them, taking the \$500 subscriptions—well, the \$250 and up. I will not go into the smaller ones—and tell us what the business is of these different men.

Mr. LUCEY. I will answer in so far as I know the men, but it would perhaps be more satisfactory if I could send for the treasurer. I would have had him here, but he was in Pittsburgh trying a lawsuit, and could not leave, but will be glad to come later. He is familiar with every contribution.

Senator REED. It is not perhaps important enough to bring him, if in a general way you could indicate the business of these various contributors of \$250 and up.

Mr. LUCEY. I will start in with myself. I think I explained my business.

Senator REED. Yes; you need not review that.

Mr. LUCEY. J. E. Reynolds. I do not know Mr. Reynolds's business. I think he is employed in a bank.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. LUCEY. New York.

Senator REED. What bank.

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know the bank. I never met him until the preliminary meetings of the Hoover Club. He is a Stanford classmate of Mr. Hoover's. Mr. E. H. Clark I do not know, but I think he is an engineer, \$500. Mr. H. H. Heisbecker I do not know at all. Mr. Requa is a mining engineer from San Francisco, and was head of the fuel-oil division of the Fuel Administration.

Mr. Yeatman, 111 Broadway, \$500, I do not know.

W. H. Boyteaux. I think that name is spelled imperfectly. I think it is Le Boyeau, and if he is the man I have in mind, he is an insurance man from San Francisco, who is now located in New York.

W. R. Macey and Mrs. Julia A. Macey. I know Mr. Macey, but do not know his business. I think he has a chain—this is only a surmise on my part—of retail stores through New Jersey. He was identified with the War Trade Board during the war. I knew him in connection with that work.

Fred Grenbaum, \$250, I do not know.

John M. Switzer, 200 West Fifty-ninth Street. That is a temporary residence. He is a business man from San Francisco and was at college with Mr. Hoover, and is a member of the National Republican platform committee.

F. Everett Macey, as was explained here before, was the Mr. Macey who had charge of the various shipping labor activities, and was, I think, the head of the various Macey awards. I do not know this Mr. Macey. I think that is correct, however.

H. J. Patten, Western Union Building, Chicago. Mr. Patten gave me that contribution personally. He came into the office in New York and gave it to me. I do not know his business. I think he has a brother who was prominent in the grain business; but I do not know his personal business.

R. J. Caldwell. I do not know his business. He called at the Hoover headquarters in New York, and enrolled as one of the Hoover active workers, and contributed \$1,000. His residence is 85 Riverside Drive.

Senator REED. As you go through them, just give their connection, if you know it, with governmental activities, or State activities.

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir. I do not think any of the men I have mentioned so far, with the exception of Mr. Macey, were connected with the Government. Mr. Macey and Mr. Requa were connected with the Government.

James H. Post, \$250; I do not know.

Senator REED. The National Civil Refining Co.?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know him. I have never met him, and I do not know his business or connections.

Mr. R. Golden Cutting served with me as one of the directors appointed by the President on the Commission for Relief in Belgium. That is a committee entirely outside of Mr. Hoover's.

Senator REED. What is his business?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know his business. He has been connected with nearly all the public enterprises and charitable enterprises that I have had anything to do with in New York. I have served with him on several organizations of that character.

Senator REED. But you do not know his business?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know his private business. I was under the impression he was an engineer. I understood his firm had something to do with the opening up of the Ambrose Channel, or deepening it.

John H. Love, 236 Fifth Avenue, I do not know; \$500.

Charles P. Howland, I know. He is a lawyer and called at the Hoover Club and gave that contribution. He is also the head of the Westchester Hoover Club.

George A. Zabriskie. I know Mr. Zabriskie, but I do not know his business. I only know what was stated. I do know he was the head of the Sugar Equalization Board; \$1,000.

Senator EDGE. He is the one who suggested, did he not, that we buy the Cuban crop in order to lower the price of American sugar, about which there was quite a little discussion a few months ago?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that story.

A. P. Barnes, Duluth, \$1,000, I do not know. J. H. Barnes is Julius Barnes, the head of the United States Grain Corporation. I know him very well. I served with him at the Food Administration. \$1,000.

Senator REED. He was what?

Mr. LUCEY. He is the head of the Grain Corporation now. He came in originally to take charge of the Grain Division of the Food Administration. During the war he discontinued his activities and gave up his business completely.

A. C. Thomas, 99 Johns Street, \$500, I do not know.

E. P. Shattuck, I think, is a lawyer. If it is the same Shattuck, I think he is a lawyer associated with Mr. Barnes, and one of his advisors.

A. J. Hemphill. That is Mr. Alexander J. Hemphill, the chairman of the board of directors of the Guaranty Trust, and was chairman of the commission for relief in Belgium, appointed by the President.

J. G. White is an engineer and the head of the J. G. White Engineering Co. I am assuming it is the same White.

E. M. Flesh, \$1,000; I do not know.

Senator REED. Was not Mr. Flesh connected with the Food Administration in some way? Was he not brought here?

Mr. LUCEY. That may be.

Senator REED. Did he not come and establish himself in Washington as a part of the Food Administration?

Mr. LUCEY. Not during my time. If he did, I do not recollect meeting him.

Senator REED. This is Mr. Flesh, of St. Louis, is it not?

Mr. LUCEY. The address given here is 14 East Sixtieth Street. Your statement may be correct, Senator.

Senator REED. I am not sure. I am asking the question for information. I do not say that is the fact. I am asking a question.

Mr. LUCEY. E. J. Broenniman, \$500, was vice president of a produce exchange, and was selected to supervise the purchase for the commission for relief in Belgium. He was also identified with the Food Administration and supervised the purchases for the Red Cross, in addition to those for the commission for relief in Belgium.

Bogert & Greenbank, \$250; I do not know.

J. W. McGarrah was connected with the Food Administration, and I think was treasurer of the Grain Corporation. He is either president or chairman of the board of directors of the Mechanics and Metals Bank of New York.

Scott F. Evans, of Biltmore, \$1,000; I do not know.

John McE. Bowman, Biltmore Hotel, is the head of the Biltmore and several other hotels, and had charge of the hotel division of the Food Administration during the war.

Theodore F. Whitmarsh is the manager of Frank H. Leggett & Co., wholesale grocers, and Mr. Whitmarsh was one of the codirectors with Mr. Hoover, after Mr. Hoover gave up the Food Administration work.

Senator REED. Was he not connected with it before Mr. Hoover went there?

Mr. LUCEY. All during it. He was with the Food Administration virtually from the beginning.

Florence G. Pratt, \$1,000, has been mentioned. She is in the Hoover headquarters.

Senator REED. In what capacity?

Mr. LUCEY. In connection with the distributing of literature and assimilating the women's activities in the Hoover organizations throughout the United States.

Senator REED. She was head of the publicity bureau that had to do with the women, was she not?

Mr. LUCEY. No; she is the vice chairman of the Hoover National Republican Club, and really codirector with myself, and was selected—

Senator REED. I am speaking about her connection with the business Mr. Hoover was conducting here when he was acting for the Government.

Mr. LUCEY. I do not think she was identified with the Food Administration.

Senator REED. Well, I misunderstood you.

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; I do not think she had any connection—

Senator REED. Did she draw any salary under him?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. She has contributed \$1,000 here.

Senator REED. She is a lady of means, evidently?

Mr. LUCEY. I think so, yes, sir; although I do not know. I never met Mrs. Pratt until she was selected to head that part of the work.

Senator REED. There is a woman's club, is there, promoting Mr. Hoover's candidacy?

Mr. LUCEY. There is, or was started, but just how far they have gone, or what their activities are, I do not know. There was started a Hoover woman's nonpartisan league.

Senator REED. And this lady is the head of it?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; she has no connection with it, as far as I know.

Senator REED. Who did start the Hoover Non-Partisan League, then?

Mr. LUCEY. It was started by a woman named Mrs. Scott, but I do not know who Mrs. Scott is, and in view of the fact that it was not a straight Republican movement, we refused to affiliate or cooperate with them.

Senator REED. Then that non-partisan league is somewhere in existence now, is it?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know whether it is or not, or whether it is discontinued. I have not heard of their activities. They started out with the idea of delivering to the Republican national convention at Chicago a signed petition from 2,000 men and women, who would support Mr. Hoover. They did not confine it necessarily to women.

Senator REED. Two thousand?

Mr. LUCEY. Two million. They expected to have a petition signed by 2,000,000 men and women.

Senator REED. Where does Mrs. Scott live?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know.

Senator REED. How can we find out?

Mr. LUCEY. I could get that for you through New York.

Senator REED. Did you not have communication with that organization?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; we refused to cooperate with them, because it was not a straight Republican movement.

Senator REED. Do you know anything more about its activities than you have told us?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; not a thing. I have told you everything I know. I know they had a number of preliminary meetings. How far they have gone with their organization I could not answer.

Senator REED. Do you know who financed it?

Mr. LUCEY. At the time they were discussing the matter with me they had no finances, and they had no headquarters, and had not really organized.

Senator REED. Have you followed them since they discussed the matter with you?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; I have not.

Senator REED. You do not know anything more about it than you have told us?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Very well.

Mr. LUCEY. R. M. Catlin, \$500. I do not know Mr. Catlin.

Senator REED. Of course, when you say you do not know a man, you mean you do not know about him; you are not referring to a personal acquaintance?

Mr. LUCEY. I either do not know him personally, or do not know about him. If I know about him I will state that fact.

J. Park Channing, \$900; I do not know.

W. O. Thompson, \$1,000. I do not know him or his connections. The suggestion was that he is connected with a university in Ohio, but I do not know that.

Senator POMERENE. There is a W. O. Thompson, who is president of the Ohio State University, but I do not know whether this is the man.

Senator REED. Where does this gentleman reside?

Mr. LUCEY. It is stated here New York City. He may possibly have given that contribution while in New York. There is no residence stated here. It just says N. Y. C. after his name.

Royall Victor is a lawyer.

Senator POMERENE. I will say that Dr. W. O. Thompson is one of the leading educators of the country. I am inclined to think that is Dr. Thompson, because I know he served on the Second Industrial Board with Mr. Hoover.

Mr. LUCEY. If there are any of those names, Senator, that I do not give you a full explanation of, and that is the desire of the committee, we will be very glad to furnish it.

Senator EDGE. It seems that the greater number of these men, whether connected directly or indirectly with the Government or otherwise, have been men who have been associated with Mr. Hoover in his governmental work or in his private business activities.

Mr. LUCEY. That is so.

Senator EDGE. Or in his public activities in the last two or three years.

Mr. LUCEY. That is so, sir. We find that practically every man who has ever been associated with Mr. Hoover, who went to school with him, and who has been associated with him in public or private affairs, is supporting him for President.

Senator EDGE. Have these contributions been sought by direct appeal, or have they been most voluntary?

Mr. LUCEY. A great many of those that I have referred to were voluntary. A great many others have been solicited. I have the form of letter that we have sent out.

Senator EDGE. You have solicited the funds, then?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. How did you get your lists?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know how the lists were obtained. The contributions for the first six weeks or so were from people that I or some of my associates in connection with the Hoover Club knew, and we either called them on the 'phone, or in many instances they gave their subscriptions voluntarily.

Senator EDGE. What proportion, if you feel like putting it in the record, would you say, offhand, giving it as nearly as it is possible, had been contributed voluntarily, 10 per cent, 20 per cent, 50 per cent, or what?

Mr. LUCEY. I would not like to make a statement about that, Senator, but I should say easily 50 per cent.

Senator EDGE. You feel that one-half of the contributions have come in voluntarily?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir; I would say perhaps even more than that.

Senator REED. Without anybody even writing to these gentlemen?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir. In many instances, as soon as they read about the Hoover Republican Club, they either wrote in offering us their services, or offering to contribute, and in each instance we replied that we would like to have a contribution not exceeding \$1,000.

W. O. Thompson, we discussed.

Royal Victor is an attorney and is also a Stanford man. I am not sure that he was a classmate of Mr. Hoover's. He is a New York attorney now.

R. D. Latham, of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co., I do not know.

Alfred Jaretzki, I do not know, \$500.

H. B. Jackson, 234 South La Salle Street, \$500, I do not know, or his connection.

J. G. Stream, I do not know.

Senator REED. Is that H. B. Jackson?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That is the man I called attention to, is it not?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know all the men connected with the Grain Corporation. I know some. I know Mr. Julius Barnes very well.

J. G. Stream, Chicago, Ill., \$500, I do not know.

Allan Fox, \$300. Mr. Fox is a New York lawyer, and is treasurer of the Hoover National Republican Club. He would have been here had he not been away trying a lawsuit in Pittsburgh when your telegram was received.

Manuel Rionda. I do not know anything about him.

J. S. Cullinan, of Houston, Tex., \$1,000. Mr. Cullinan is president of the Houston Chamber of Commerce, and the Texas State Chamber of Commerce. He is a friend of mine, and I solicited that \$1,000 personally.

Chairman KENYON. He is a Democrat, is he not?

Mr. LUCEY. He is a Democrat; yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. What proportion of these men whose names you have given us you say were Democrats in national politics?

Mr. LUCEY. As far as I know, Senator, Mr. Cullinan is the only one I know of personally. We were not soliciting really the support of the Democrats; that is, in the organization. If Mr. Hoover is fortunate enough to be nominated, we think we will get a big Democratic vote.

Senator EDGE. You would not object to taking their money would you?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir; we want honest men to contribute \$1,000 without fear.

Chairman KENYON. Even a Democrat?

Mr. LUCEY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Mighty few can contribute.

Mr. LUCEY. Thomas J. Edison, Orange, N. J., \$250. I think we all know him by reputation.

Frank L. Carey, of Minneapolis, \$500. I do not know Mr. Carey.

Senator REED. That is one of the men drawing \$25,000 a year?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that, Senator. That may be, but I do not know that.

C. B. Vaughan, Hibernian Bank Building, New Orleans. I do not know who he is. I take it from his address there that he is a banker.

P. H. Kinder, Duluth, Minn., \$1,000. I do not know Mr. Kinder.

I might say, Senator, that I am giving now subscriptions that were solicited and received during my absence.

Senator REED. Just glance them over, and if there is anyone you can tell us anything about, do so, and those that you can not omit. That will shorten this up.

Mr. LUCEY. The next one that I know is Mr. Alexander J. Hemphill. This, I think, is his second contribution of \$500. I have ex-

plained who he was. I do not know any of the other men, either personally or by business reputation.

Senator REED. One further question about this matter. Do you know anything about Mr. Hoover being interested with Mr. Barnes in a paper company?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir.

Senator REED. And with Mr. Parsons?

Mr. LUCEY. No sir; I do not know anything about Mr. Hoover's private affairs, except what everybody knows in a general way. I know his reputation generally.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about a luncheon having been given at which Mr. Hoover was present, some time in the month of January, in New York or Philadelphia?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir. If I should know as to that, it would be simply from what I had read in the press.

Senator REED. You have never heard of that?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know that I have. I may have. If you could describe it to me, perhaps——

Senator REED. A luncheon which was written up in the Philadelphia North American, in which it was stated that there were present Mr. Pulitsji, Mr. Cobb, Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge, and Mr. Curtis, and some others.

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know anything about that luncheon other than what I have read. During that period I was out in Texas and Louisiana.

Senator REED. Who was managing Mr. Hoover's political affairs then?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not think that Hoover has a political manager, Senator.

Senator REED. Well, of course, in a technical sense, as you put it, no; but I am speaking of it in the sense that you are managing a campaign in his interest, or perhaps you would prefer to say in the country's interest. Who was running that part of the campaign, looking after the public interests in that respect, last January?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know. I do not think there was anyone. I would suggest that Mr. Hoover would be glad to answer those questions if he were called.

Senator REED. I was speaking to you about a matter that had been sent to the papers by somebody. I think that you, if I recall aright, expressed some doubt about that having gone out from your headquarters. I hand you an article here from the Macon News of February 17, 1920, Macon, Ga., with Hoover's picture and William Penn's picture printed side by side, and will ask if that is not propaganda that was sent out?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know whether that is propaganda or not, Senator, but I feel quite sure that has not been sent out by the Hoover National Republican Club.

Senator REED. Who would send that out? Mr. Hoover has not sent it out himself, has he?

Mr. LUCEY. I do not know. I would not think so.

Senator REED. Now, the country has had a whole lot of that sort of thing, and I am just anxious to find out its origin. Do you think the Non-Partisan League sent it out?

Mr. LUCEY. No, sir, I do not think they had an organization that would send out that kind of information.

Senator REED. Do you not think it was responsible for that?

Mr. LUCEY. I have not the slightest doubt how it might have originated.

Senator REED. I have no further questions about that. I will show you one thing further before we quit. I call your attention to what is called the Third News Section of the New York World issued Sunday, January 25, with an elaborate picture of Mr. Hoover in it, under the heading, "World's choice for 1920." Is that some publicity sent out or prepared?

Mr. LUCEY. The Hoover National Republic Club was not organized at this time, Senator, and I would not know anything about it. I was in the west during this particular period. As to just how the Hoover campaign was launched or started by the World I have no knowledge, nor do I know any of the editors or officials of the New York World.

(Whereupon, the committee took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

At 3 o'clock p. m. the committee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess.

TESTIMONY OF BERNARD M. BARUCH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may give your name to the committee.

Mr. BARUCH. Bernard M. Baruch.

The CHAIRMAN. It was suggested by Senator Pomerene this morning that there were no Democrats that could contribute \$1,000 to a campaign fund, so we thought we would see if he was correct in that statement.

You know the general purpose of this investigation, do you not? Have you seen the resolution of the Senate?

Mr. BARUCH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you first your business.

Mr. BARUCH. I have hardly got back into business yet. I am a private citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. You are assisting in the governmental affairs, are you not?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir. That is incorrect, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is incorrect?

Mr. BARUCH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no business at this time?

Mr. BARUCH. I have no business at this time. I am engaged in the writing of a book on economical and industrial problems. I spend most of my time on that.

The CHAIRMAN. You were connected during the war in some capacity with the governmental work, were you not?

Mr. BARUCH. Yes, sir; I was chairman of the War Industries Board.

The CHAIRMAN. An article was placed in the Congressional Record a few days ago, that I wish to call your attention to. You have probably seen it. It is dated New York, May 19.

Senator POMERENE. What is that article taken from?

The CHAIRMAN. The Washington Times. Have you seen the article, Mr. Baruch?

Mr. BARUCH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think perhaps we should put the article in the record. I will read it to you:

\$5,000,000 FUND BEING RAISED TO BACK McADOO—"BIG BUSINESS" HAS CANDIDATE—MONEYED INTERESTS BEHIND WILSON'S SON-IN-LAW, SAYS EDWARDS'S MANAGER—PLACE HOLDERS ENLISTED—DODGE, MORGANTHAU, CRANE, HURLEY, AND BARUCH GIVE ACTIVE SUPPORT.

New York, May 19.

"A big 'business' syndicate has been formed to underwrite William G. McAdoo's presidential campaign. At least \$5,000,000 has been collected or pledged."

This allegation was made last night by one of the most influential of Gov. Edwards's campaign managers.

BARUCH AMONG BACKERS.

Pioneers in the movement to finance the preconvention expenses of President Wilson's son-in-law, as named by the Edwards manager, are Bernard M. Baruch, Thomas L. Chadbourne, Cleveland H. Dodge, and Henry Morganthau, of New York, and Charles R. Crane and Edward M. Hurley, of Illinois.

Appointees of McAdoo as Secretary of the Treasury or Director General of Railroads are said to have been enlisted to aid him.

Appointees of Hurley while chairman of the United States Shipping Board are also on the list of McAdoo workers.

The New York American's informant continued:

"When the agreement was made between managers for Gov. Cox, of Ohio, and Gov. Edwards, of New Jersey, to make common cause against Wilson for a third term or McAdoo as his heir, we satisfied ourselves that a great fund was being raised to put over either Wilson or McAdoo.

"Barney Baruch began the McAdoo finance project immediately after the President physically collapsed last August. Thomas L. Chadbourne soon joined Baruch. Within a few months Cleveland H. Dodge, the most generous contributor to the Wilson campaign funds of 1912 and 1916, associated himself with Baruch and Chadbourne.

"Henry Morganthau waited until he assured himself that the President might not run again. Then Charles R. Crane and Edward M. Hurley came in. All these men are multimillionaires.

"COMBS FOUND EVIDENCE.

"Former National Chairman William F. Combs, during his recent western tour, found plenty of evidence of how the pro-McAdoo clique was working to secretly pledge national delegates to the President's son-in-law. Its members advised McAdoo to keep out of the primaries, as did President Wilson himself—even out of his home (New Jersey) primaries. They knew neither could carry these primaries.

"These financiers count on Federal patronage and loyalty to the administration to put McAdoo over.

"Attorney General Palmer, who is all but 'done' as a rival to McAdoo, has promised to throw his following to him. Vance McCormick, member of the war board and former national chairman, is also a party to the compact.

"The battle for the presidential nomination is this minute between the Wilson-McAdoo and the Cox-Edwards wings of the party. William J. Bryan may be a determining factor, as he was when at the last moment in 1912 he swung his followers to Wilson."

I think the committee has called you here as the result of that article as to the \$5,000,000 fund. What enlightenment can you give us?

Mr. BARUCH. I would like to make a statement which I think will cover that.

I am not, nor have I been, in any sense whatsoever, the manager for any candidate for the nomination for the Presidency. Nor have I

been the manager for any person who may be a candidate for such office. Neither have I collected, given, promised, or disbursed any money or moneys in the interest of any candidate, directly or indirectly, for this nomination, or for any person who may be a candidate for such position. Nor do I know of anybody else who has given, directly or indirectly, or promised to give any sum whatsoever in the interest of the candidacy of anyone for the Democratic nomination for President.

I think that answers that question.

The CHAIRMAN. The language used here is, "A syndicate being formed to underwrite."

Mr. BARUCH. I thought that covered it.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that covers that, too, do you? But if it does not, it is intended to cover it?

Mr. BARUCH. There is not a scintilla of truth in that, and I do not understand that statement has been made by anybody, but it's something that somebody told somebody else and somebody else told somebody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it may be like the usual newspaper article.

Senator EDGE. We were illuminated this morning, Mr. Baruch, by reference to newspaper articles in connection with some of the other candidates, or representatives of candidates, which formed quite a large portion of the morning's testimony, so perhaps the Chairman had the same thought in mind, I do not know.

I notice in your statement you emphasize that you are not a contributor in the interest of any one candidate, and make that very clear. Have you any connection with the Democratic national committee, or whatever it might be termed, who would be in charge of the candidacy of whoever was finally nominated by the convention?

Mr. BARUCH. I have no connection, but I am a contributor to the national campaign committee.

Senator EDGE. You have no connection with it?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir.

Senator EDGE. You are not an officer of the finance committee, or in any way connected with it?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir; nor have I ever been.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a mere contributor?

Mr. BARUCH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any plan to raise large sums of money for any of the democratic candidates?

Mr. BARUCH. Absolutely none, whatsoever, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know whether our jurisdiction goes beyond the nominations, but I will ask you, do you know of any plan to raise large sums of money for the Democratic campaign?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir; I do not.

Senator EDGE. These various articles that have appeared, as I recall reading them in the metropolitan press, referring to a meeting some three or four months ago of leading Democrats, practically reciting something similiar to that, are entirely incorrect, are they?

Mr. BARUCH. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. You remember such articles appearing, do you not?

Mr. BARUCH. With which I was connected?

Senator EDGE. You were prominently mentioned in them.

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any organization of any kind backing the McAdoo candidacy for president?

Mr. BARUCH. None that I know of, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. He is one of these candidates who does not yet really know whether he is a candidate or not, is he?

Mr. BARUCH. I do not know. He has made his own statement.

The CHAIRMAN. His statements have all been that he is not a candidate.

Mr. BARUCH. That is my understanding of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is doing the work of getting delegates through the country?

Mr. BARUCH. I do not know. I do not know that they are getting any delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the newspapers, he is getting most of them.

Mr. BARUCH. That is not my authority. I could not enlighten you upon that, Senator. In my own belief, I do not think anybody is.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not think anybody is?

Mr. BARUCH. I do not think anybody is. I do not say that I would necessarily be in a position to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the managers in the different States?

Mr. BARUCH. None that I know of, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is merely a spontaneous movement, is it?

Mr. BARUCH. I have never seen one, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the number of Federal officeholders who are delegates to the San Francisco convention?

Mr. BARUCH. I do not know the delegates to that convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell us how we could get a list of the delegates who were Federal officeholders?

Mr. BARUCH. I presume, if you would take a list of all the delegates and examine it from that, you might ascertain. I do not know of any other way.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean Republican Federal officeholders or Democrat Federal officeholders?

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know there were any Republican Federal officeholders left.

Senator POMERENE. There are more Republicans here in Washington than Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true everywhere.

Senator EDGE. That is true all over the country, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. That remains to be seen.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baruch, we have had some testimony here about the Republican campaign fund. We would like to find out something about the Democratic campaign fund. It is hard to find out.

Mr. BARUCH. I would be glad to give you any information, if I had any, but I do not like to go into the realm of romance.

The CHAIRMAN. You think this article is romance, do you?

Mr. BARUCH. So far as I know anything about it, there is not a scintilla of truth in it.

Senator POMERENE. Who is the writer of that article?

The CHAIRMAN. It is from the Washington Times. It does not say.

Is Mr. Chadbourne active in the McAdoo campaign?

Mr. BARUCH. So far as I know, he is not. I saw him last night and asked him if he had done anything. He said, "Not a cent, not a pulgged nickel."

Senator EDGE. To what do you assign this apparent lack of interest on the part of Democrats in the matter of nominations for such a high office?

Mr. BARUCH. I have not heard of any lack of interest.

Senator EDGE. We are unable to find much interest.

Mr. BARUCH. I am not actively engaged in politics, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Chadbourne actively engaged in politics?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir; he is a lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some lawyers who are engaged in politics.

Mr. BARUCH. Are they lawyers or politicians?

The CHAIRMAN. Both, I think.

Senator EDGE. They cease to become lawyers after they become politicians.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Dodge, mentioned in this article, prominent in the McAdoo group?

Mr. BARUCH. I have not seen or heard of Mr. Dodge for a long time. I see him once in a while at a distance. I think he is probably spending most of his time in the interest of charitable and civic work. I have had no communication with him, directly or indirectly, for months.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Morgenthau prominent in the McAdoo campaign?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crane?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hurley?

Mr. BARUCH. No, sir; not to my knowledge, as to any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Those men were very heavy contributors to the last Democratic campaign fund, were they not?

Mr. BARUCH. That I could not tell you. I do not know. I think Mr. Dodge was reputed to be. I can not give you that from memory. That is a matter of record.

Senator POMERENE. This \$5,000,000 fund died aborning, did it?

Mr. BARUCH. I presume so.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us how we can find out anything about this fund?

Mr. BARUCH. I could not.

Senator EDGE. Can you suggest any man whom we could summon here, who would perhaps have sufficient interest in seeing a Democratic nominee, that we could assume he represented his interest, or that could give us any information in regard to this fund?

Mr. BARUCH. The writers of these articles, Senator, I presume must have some basis, either in fact or fiction, for their statements. I am a private citizen, Senator. I am trying to be. I am not engaged in politics. I would be delighted to enlighten you in any way, but I am afraid I can not assist you.

Senator EDGE. Then, as far as you know, Mr. McAdoo has no one sufficiently interested in his candidacy, or is not a candidate, so that we can find any one that represents him?

Mr. BARUCH. As far as my own personal knowledge goes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Baruch, we may call you back after the convention. We will not call you any more now. We thank you very much.

The committee will adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

(Thereupon, at 3.20 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned, to meet at 10 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, May 26, 1920.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 1 o'clock a. m., 422 Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, Edge, Reed, and Pomerene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

I requested Mr. Vick, manager of Gov. Edwards's campaign, to furnish us a list of officeholders in New Jersey who were delegates to the national convention. I have received this letter from him, containing such information, which I will ask to be inserted in the record at this point.

(The document referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

GOVERNOR EDWARDS HEADQUARTERS,
Washington, D. C., May 25, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON,
*Chairman Privileges and Elections,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SENATOR: The following is the information with respect to office holders among the New Jersey delegation, which you requested that I file with the committee during our appearances to-day:

Frederick W. Donnelly, mayor Trenton, N. J.

Edward I. Edwards, governor New Jersey.

Frank Hague, mayor Jersey City, N. J.

John J. Eagan, Congressman eleventh district N. J.

Thomas Brown, State senator, Perth Amboy, N. J.

B. M. Gannon, county official, Perth Amboy, N. J.

George F. Martens, jr., State senator, Oldwick, N. J.

Charles V. Duffy, collector internal revenue, fifth district, Paterson, N. J.

Hugh C. Barrett, member Assembly of New Jersey, East Orange, N. J.

Pat R. Griffir, mayor Hoboken, N. J.

John F. Boyle, interstate tunnel commissioner, Jersey City, N. J.

Chas. F. X. O'Brien, public safety board, Jersey City, N. J.

So far as I am able to state no other members of the delegation hold Federal or State office.

Sincerely, yours,

WALKER W. VICK, *Campaign manager.*

TESTIMONY OF C. C. CARLIN, ATTORNEY AT LAW, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your name to the committee.

Mr. CARLIN. C. C. Carlin.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. CARLIN. Attorney at law.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. CARLIN. Washington and Virginia. I have an office in Washington, D. C., and in Alexandria, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you formerly a member of Congress?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are manager of the Palmer campaign for the Presidency?

Mr. CARLIN. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. And as such manager, can you tell us the expenditures and the receipts and the parties contributing?

Mr. CARLIN. I can.

Senator EDGE. Are you holding any public office now under the Federal Government?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; I am not holding one, and do not want to hold one.

Here is a statement, Mr. Chairman, of all money received, and from whom received, and all expenditures, which I have prepared from the books which we keep.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read the list of contributions and contributors?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What date is that up to?

Mr. CARLIN. May 24.

Senator SPENCER. And from the beginning?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. When did it begin?

Mr. CARLIN. I think we began probably a couple of months ago, maybe a little earlier than that.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you know, there were no activities prior to the 1st of March?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; except that I myself was interested. None that I am aware of, and I think I would have been if there had been any.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed and read the list.

Mr. CARLIN. Palmer primary campaign.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Anthony, A. W., New York City..... | \$10 |
| Bosak, Michael, Scranton, Pa..... | 1,500 |
| Bragdon, H. K., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 50 |
| Bright, Robert S., Philadelphia, Pa..... | 200 |
| Covington, J. Harry, Easton, Md..... | 2,000 |

Senator EDGE. Is that Judge Covington, who is now presiding judge of the court?

Mr. CARLIN. No; he is not judge now.

The CHAIRMAN. He resigned to be connected with the Alien Property Custodian's office, did he not?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not think so. He has no position.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he not resign to take some position under Mr. Palmer at a very large salary?

Mr. CARLIN. No; I think not. I think he resigned some time before Mr. Palmer had a public office.

Senator REED. Did he have a position under Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he not appointed to some position or employed in some of these Alien Property Custodian matters at a very large fee? There is nothing wrong about it, but we would like to know about it.

Mr. CARLIN. Maj. Newman advised me that he was employed by the President on some of the labor boards and subsequently had some connection with the office of the Alien Property Custodian. I do not know what it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he one of the managers of the Palmer campaign?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; he is treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. He gave \$2,000?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. He was connected with the Alien Property Custodian activities, was he not?

Mr. CARLIN. Just what his connection is or was I do not know. Mr. Newman probably will know about that.

Mr. NEWMAN. No; I do not. I was away at the time, Senator.

Mr. CARLIN. My recollection, from the public press—I know very little about other people's business; I have plenty of my own to attend to—is that he did represent one of the corporations taken over by the Alien Property Custodian's office, and represented the Alien Property Custodian in that manner.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much money he received?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a matter of public comment, in regard to the size of it, was it not?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And he gave \$2,000 to the Palmer campaign?

Mr. CARLIN. So our books show.

The CHAIRMAN. That position he occupied was due to Mr. Palmer, was it not?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know. I presume so, but I know nothing whatever about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; you may proceed.

Mr. CARLIN. "Frank L. Crocker, New York City, \$2,500."

Senator EDGE. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know; he lives in New York City.

Senator EDGE. Has that any significance to you, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Crocker?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. He is a friend of Mr. Palmer's, in New York, I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what business he is in?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he is a lawyer. I never saw him or heard of him.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he connected with the Alien Property Custodian matters?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can tell us about Mr. Crocker?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. I know nothing about him, except he sent me \$2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed with the list. Just give us the large amounts. You need not bother to read the small amounts, but read the large ones, and the entire list may be inserted in the record when you get through.

Mr. CARLIN. John F. Crosby, Hartford, Conn., \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Crosby?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Go on.

Mr. CARLIN. (reading):

| | |
|--|-------|
| Davis, H. L., Washington, D. C. | \$100 |
| Denegre, W. D., Washington, D. C. | 500 |

Senator EDGE. Who is Denegre?

Mr. CARLIN. He is in Washington.

Senator EDGE. He was connected with the Alien Property Custodian activities, was he not?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of. I never heard of any such connection. He only gave \$500.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| William P. Devitt, Ashland, Pa. | \$1,000 |
|--------------------------------------|---------|

Senator REED. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. A friend of Mr. Palmer's from his home State, is all I know about him.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| Robert J. Dodds, Pittsburgh, Pa. | \$100 |
| Frank J. Farrell, New York City. | 500 |

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. New York City. I don't know him.

| | |
|---|-------|
| Wm. G. Fitzpatrick, Detroit, Mich. | \$250 |
| W. H. Folwell, New York City. | 500 |
| Francis P. Garvan, New York City. | 1,000 |

Senator REED. Who is Garvan?

Mr. CARLIN. Assistant Attorney General.

Senator EDGE. He succeeded Mr. Palmer as Alien Property Custodian, did he not?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

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|--|----------|
| Joseph F. Guffey, Pittsburgh, Pa. | \$10,000 |
|--|----------|

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. One of Mr. Palmer's personal friends.

Senator EDGE. What is his business?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he is connected with the Guffey Oil Co.

Senator REED. Is he the son of the Guffey who used to be national committeeman?

Mr. CARLIN. He is his nephew. He is a very rich man. He is a nephew of the Guffey who used to be a leader of the Pennsylvania Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. What oil company was that?

Mr. CARLIN. I think it is the Guffey Oil Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do they operate?

Mr. CARLIN. I think their principal office is in Pennsylvania. They have oil wells all over the world, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a corporation, of course.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is antagonistic?

Mr. CARLIN. It is antagonistic.

Senator REED. Is he a nephew of the Guffey who was national committeeman, and they had a great battle at the convention in 1908 at Denver and threw Guffey and his delegates out?

Mr. CARLIN. He is a nephew of that Guffey.

Senator REED. Do you know whether he was engaged in the reform movement that threw out his uncle?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir; he was one of the leaders in the movement that threw his uncle out of power.

Senator EDGE. You say the Guffey interests are antagonistic to the Standard Oil interests?

Mr. CARLIN. So I understand.

Senator EDGE. Has it greatly interfered with the prosperity of the Guffey interests, so far as any success is concerned?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the rivalry very intense?

Mr. CARLIN. I really don't know anything about it.

Senator EDGE. It apparently did not deter him from having a \$10,000 balance.

Mr. CARLIN. I only know he is a very rich man; a young man.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any prosecutions at all by the Department of Justice against any oil companies that you know of?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know anything about the Department of Justice. Perhaps there ought to be, but I don't know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. Proceed.

Mr. CARLIN (reading):

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| W. W. Hindman, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | \$100 |
| Asher R. Johnson, Bradford, Pa..... | 100 |
| Horace E. Jones, New York City..... | 500 |

Senator REED. Who is Jones?

Mr. CARLIN. New York City.

Senator REED. What is his business connection?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Robert Law, jr., New York City | \$1, 000 |
|--------------------------------------|----------|

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can tell us about him?

Mr. CARLIN. I suppose you could get that information from Mr. Covington.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there not anyone who can tell us about these contributors, what connections they have and who they are?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know that anyone can.

The CHAIRMAN. If money comes in from somebody, do you not find out who it is, whether you want to take it or not?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. I think Judge Covington can tell you about that, but what his connections are I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. If a man who was under indictment in the Federal court would contribute money, you would not take it, would you?

Mr. CARLIN. Certainly not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not investigate to find out who they are?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. The treasurer does that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the treasurer?

Mr. CARLIN. Judge Covington.

Senator REED. Is Judge Covington in town?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. He is in court this morning.

Senator SPENCER. What is his address?

Mr. CARLIN. In the Union Trust Building. He will be up here a little later, I think.

Senator EDGE. Have these contributions been solicited, or have they come in voluntarily?

Mr. CARLIN. Most of them came in voluntarily, at least I have done no soliciting, and Mr. Covington, practically none—some little, I believe. They are voluntary contributions from friends of Mr. Palmer, most of them from his home State of Pennsylvania.

Fred B. Lynch, New York City, \$250.

Senator REED. That is the former national committeeman from Minnesota, or perhaps he is yet, is he not?

Mr. CARLIN. He is at present national committeeman from Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his business or anything about him?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not.

Senator REED. What position does he hold now, or what position did he hold?

Mr. CARLIN. Who with, Senator?

Senator REED. Did he not have some connection with governmental activities during the war, either the Alien Property Custodian's office, or elsewhere?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he had a good many. He was down here during the war serving the Government.

Senator REED. But you do not know what it was?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. I know him very pleasantly; a very fine man, but I do not know what his business is.

James MacCloskey, jr., Pittsburgh, Pa., \$500.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what his business is?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any of his connections?

Mr. CARLIN. I presume he is a member of the committee there in Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. The State committee?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the Pennsylvania manager for Mr. Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. Bruce Sterling.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. CARLIN. Uniontown, Pa.

Senator EDGE. Have they got a separate organization in Pennsylvania, collecting funds, in addition to yours?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know what they have done. I have had no relation with the Pennsylvania matter.

Senator EDGE. You knew there was quite a primary fight on Palmer a few weeks ago, did you not?

Mr. CARLIN. I know some thought so, but the result didn't seem to indicate there was very much of a fight. They had a row there. They had their own committee.

Senator EDGE. Those fights usually cost money, do they not?

Mr. CARLIN. I should think so. That is my experience.

Senator REED. Mr. Carlin, let me say to you frankly, and just pleasantly, because it is not personal, that this committee has been confronted by the astonishing fact that managers of campaigns know nothing about the campaigns they are managing.

Mr. CARLIN. I know all about the campaign I am managing.

Senator REED. If I was managing a campaign, and I do not think I am much different from most men, and there was a primary fight for delegates in my candidate's own State, I think I would know about it.

Mr. CARLIN. I know there was a fight there, but I have been told to keep away.

Senator REED. Who told you to let it alone?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Sterling and his committee, who had charge of it, expressly stated that I had nothing to do with it.

Senator REED. Mr. Hitchcock testified here as the manager of one candidate, and if he does not know anything more about the campaign than he told us about, and if a manager was worth a million dollars a year, he ought to get about two dollars and a half. I am getting pretty tired of managers who do not know anything about the business.

Mr. CARLIN. I know all about the Palmer campaign, except in his home State, where they had a row for national committeeman with a man named Bonniwell, and a row in some districts over delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not know anything about the money raised in Pennsylvania?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator EDGE. You can tell us something about the Georgia campaign; can you?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But Mr. Sterling can tell us about Pennsylvania?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. He should be able to.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a lawyer; is he not?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed.

Mr. CARLIN (reading):

| | |
|--|----------|
| John A. Manget, Atlanta, Ga..... | \$2, 500 |
| Gilbert S. McClintock, Wilkes-Barre, Pa..... | 500 |
| Vance McCormick, Harrisburg, Pa..... | 1, 000 |
| B. F. Nelson, Minneapolis, Minn..... | 500 |
| Rembrandt Peale, Clearfield, Pa..... | 1, 000 |
| Joseph F. Qualey, New York City..... | 500 |
| H. A. Sawyer, Milwaukee..... | 100 |
| Robert T. Scott, Washington, D. C..... | 500 |

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. He is private secretary of the Attorney General.

Senator REED. What is his business outside of that?

Mr. CARLIN. He has no business that I know of.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Joe Silverstein, Brevard, N. C..... | \$300 |
|-------------------------------------|-------|

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. He is a friend of the Attorney General in North Carolina.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------|
| M. E. Stone, New York City..... | \$100 |
|---------------------------------|-------|

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who he is?

Mr. CARLIN. He is a friend of Mr. Palmer's, I understand.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Richard Stockton, Trenton, N. J..... | \$100 |
| M. F. Wainright, New York City..... | 100 |
| George C. Wilson, Tyrone, Pa..... | 300 |

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. CARLIN. Tyrone, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know his business?

Mr. CARLIN. No; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. CARLIN. That represents the contributors.

Senator POMERENE. What is the total of it?

Mr. CARLIN. The total contributions are \$59,610.

Senator POMERENE. How was that money spent?

The CHAIRMAN. Before you get away from the other, have you any more promises of money?

Mr. CARLIN. I am sorry to say, Senator, that I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not expect to get any more money?

Mr. CARLIN. I hope to, but I have nothing in sight.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anybody who has underwritten in any way the campaign, as that term is being used?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Or agreed to pay any of the bills?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of.

Senator EDGE. In addition to this money that came into the central headquarters, do you mean to say that none has been expended in any State campaign? For instance, Georgia; was any money raised in Georgia, outside of this, that you did not get an account of?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Can you give us any idea about that?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. I can explain the Georgia situation to you.

Senator EDGE. All right.

Mr. CARLIN. The Georgia situation was handled very much like Pennsylvania, except that I had consultations with the Georgia people when my advice was asked or sought. Pennsylvania not only did not ask it, but said it was not desired. The Georgia campaign, as far as my knowledge goes, had about \$10,000: \$5,000 was required as an entrance fee. You could not run in Georgia until you put up \$5,000.

Senator POMERENE. Is that under the law?

Mr. CARLIN. Under the rules of the committee, the candidate has to pay the expenses, and they had to put up \$5,000 to enter. A portion of that will be returned, I think probably \$1,500 or \$1,600. That was the requirement to enter the contest there.

Senator EDGE. It is expensive to even be a candidate in Georgia.

Mr. CARLIN. It is, indeed, Senator, if you have any contest.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that why no Republicans enter the contest there?

Mr. CARLIN. I am not an expert in Republican politics.

The CHAIRMAN. There were three Democratic candidates in Georgia, were there not?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. At the time we entered there were not any.

The CHAIRMAN. Eventually there were three?

Mr. CARLIN. Eventually there were three that concluded the race.

The CHAIRMAN. They had to put up \$5,000 each?

Mr. CARLIN. They had to pay the whole expense, and had to post the money. If there is anything left, it will be returned to them.

Senator SPENCER. When did you first start in, in connection with Mr. Palmer's campaign? When was your first interest in it?

Mr. CARLIN. I have been interested in Mr. Palmer as a friend for years. He and I served together as Members of the House. He had no campaign, in that sense, until he entered in Michigan and in Georgia.

Senator SPENCER. That was about when?

Mr. CARLIN. It was about the same time, I think some time in March.

Senator SPENCER. You said that before that time in March, when you commenced rather formally with the campaign, that you had personally been interested in his campaign?

Mr. CARLIN. I have been interested in him always, and in his ambitions, but there was no campaign until we entered in Michigan.

Senator SPENCER. When did you first talk over with Mr. Palmer the question of the presidential possibility with regard to himself?

Mr. CARLIN. The first time I ever heard of Mr. Palmer in connection with the presidential possibility was at a dinner of the Swarthmore College in Philadelphia, of which college Mr. Palmer was formerly a student. At that banquet his name was mentioned as a possible presidential candidate, along with Gov. Sproul, of Pennsylvania, who was his roommate at college, and was the Republican governor of Pennsylvania. The boys boosted both of them for the presidency that night.

Senator SPENCER. When was that?

Mr. CARLIN. Last winter some time.

Senator SPENCER. When did you first talk it over with Mr. Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. I never had any talk with Mr. Palmer alone about the matter of his candidacy before that period. That night I happened to be at that banquet was my first talk with him about it.

Senator SPENCER. When was the first money that was spent by you or anybody else in connection with the matter before March?

Mr. CARLIN. I think some time prior to the Michigan contest, whenever that was—not the contest, but the time we had to enter the name, which was some time before the contest.

Senator SPENCER. Some time in March of this year?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so, maybe a little earlier.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you know, neither yourself nor anybody else had advanced any money or spent any money in connection with Mr. Palmer's candidacy before the Michigan campaign, which was some time in March, 1920?

Mr. CARLIN. That is my idea. I know that no one did.

Senator SPENCER. In talking over the matter with Mr. Palmer, from time to time, did he give you the benefit of the names of men that might perhaps render help to the campaign?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. I have had very little help from Mr. Palmer in that respect. Indeed, I have complained of it many times, of his unwillingness to give help. He has recently, at my request, I think, referred me to some people in various States, whom he thought might be friendly to him.

Senator SPENCER. Can you give us any of those names?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir; I remember when we went into Michigan, and into Georgia, he gave us some names. He gave us in Georgia the name of Mr. Clark Howell, and in Michigan a Mr. Doremus and Judge Connelly. Mr. Palmer's candidacy has been practically

forced upon him by an overwhelming sentiment of the people, Senator, which demanded his nomination.

Senator SPENCER. Are those three the names of the only men about whom you talked to Mr. Palmer, either with regard to help or financial contributions?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that sentiment manifested, in Michigan?

Mr. CARLIN. It was manifested in Georgia. It was manifested to the tune of about 500 delegates at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not need many more, do you?

Mr. CARLIN. Not a great many more. Our convention requires two-thirds majority. We have to have about 700 delegates.

Senator SPENCER. Is the Georgia situation indicative of an overwhelming sentiment?

Mr. CARLIN. I think everything considered, it was quite a victory. How did you consider it?

Senator SPENCER. About thirty-three and one-third, I thought.

Mr. CARLIN. We looked upon it as quite a victory.

The CHAIRMAN. A few more victories like that, and you will be lost, will you not?

Mr. CARLIN. I think not.

Senator SPENCER. With the exception of Mr. Howell and Mr. Connelly and Mr. Doremus, were there any other names of individuals or corporations that were talked over by you and Mr. Palmer, or in your presence or in Mr. Palmer's presence when you were there, in regard to financial contributions or in regard to any help?

Mr. CARLIN. He has never mentioned the name of any corporations to me, or of any individual with reference to financial help. Mr. Palmer has talked of his campaign to me, I do not suppose a half a dozen times all told. I suppose he has confidence in me to look after that end of it, and he is attending to his own business as Attorney General.

Senator SPENCER. Am I right in understanding that those three are the only names that were ever talked over about either possible sources of money or help in behalf of Mr. Palmer at any time when you and Mr. Palmer were both present?

Mr. CARLIN. I did not say they were the only names. You asked me for some names.

Senator SPENCER. I asked you for all, as I remember.

Mr. CARLIN. Just give me an opportunity, and I will tell you. It may be I can think of some others.

Senator SPENCER. I will gladly do it.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes; in South Carolina he said that Congressman Byrnes had indicated quite a friendship for him. I do not recall any others just now, Senator, but there were some others that he gave me from time to time.

Senator POMERENE. Did he give you the names of national committeemen?

Mr. CARLIN. He gave me the names of some of his friends on the national committee from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through with the matter of contributions now?

Senator EDGE. I wanted to ask a few questions about that.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator EDGE. I want to summarize the statement a little. I understand your total receipts to the central office were approximately \$59,000.

Mr. CARLIN. From all sources.

Senator EDGE. Then, as I follow your testimony, you have no record of the expense of the Pennsylvania campaign?

Mr. CARLIN. I have no record and no knowledge of it.

Senator EDGE. I presume there was some money expended there, but if you have no knowledge of it, you can not answer as to that?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator EDGE. In Georgia you estimate that the expenditure was in the neighborhood of \$10,000.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. We only had one other contest.

Senator EDGE. As I follow your testimony, you have really had no other contests except Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. What happened in Michigan?

Mr. CARLIN. What happened in Michigan?

Senator EDGE. In the way of expenditures.

Mr. CARLIN. It was not so pleasant as what happened elsewhere.

Senator EDGE. We are not so much concerned as to who got the delegates, as to how they were obtained and what the expense was.

Mr. CARLIN. We did not get them at that time. Mr. Hoover carried Michigan in the Democratic primary.

Senator EDGE. And what were the expenditures in Mr. Palmer's behalf in Michigan?

Mr. CARLIN. I authorized \$1,000 for advertising purposes in Michigan.

Senator EDGE. Were there any local funds raised there in Mr. Palmer's interest?

Mr. CARLIN. None whatever.

Senator EDGE. Then, as we have the testimony summarized, you have expended \$59,000, and \$1,000, and whatever the expense in Pennsylvania was, and \$1,000 authorized in Michigan. You have really made a fight in but three States—Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Georgia?

Mr. CARLIN. Well, we had our primary contests in only those States.

Senator EDGE. In the same proportion, if you had had Democratic contests, as shown in the evidence in regard to some of the Republican contests, you would have spent considerably over half a million dollars, would you not?

Mr. CARLIN. No; we didn't have it.

Senator EDGE. That is quite another matter.

Mr. CARLIN. It is quite an important matter. You can't spend what you haven't got.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not show what has been raised in the various States by the State organizations?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you acquaint us with the amounts raised by the various State organizations?

Mr. CARLIN. We have no State organizations. The only place I know of was Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not give us the amount there?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was raised in Michigan by local interests?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't think there was a cent. That is, for Mr. Palmer. I don't know what the others did. I can say this to you, Senator, being more or less familiar in 48 States with the Democratic Party, we are having a love feast and not a money feast. There are practically no contests going on.

Senator EDGE. Let us follow that a moment.

Senator POMERENE. I suggest that he be allowed to finish his answer.

Senator EDGE. I did not mean to interrupt him.

Mr. CARLIN. We are having no special contests in the Democratic Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that because you thought it was not worth while?

Mr. CARLIN. I think there is a better feeling among us. Those contests that have taken place have been accidental. For instance, the Georgia contest. When Mr. Palmer entered Georgia, there were no names connected with the primary there at that time, except that of Mr. Hoover, and Mr. Hoover had been declared ineligible by the committee, and the contest that took place came afterwards and was a surprise to us.

In Michigan, the contest there was practically no contest, of the kind we usually call a contest. The candidates names were put on the ballot, and that was about all that took place. There was some newspaper advertising and some literature sent in and some correspondence. That is about what took place there.

In Pennsylvania, in the last week of the campaign, there was a contest that developed, but that was also unexpected. I do not know of any real contest in any other State among candidates for the President. There was one in Kentucky, I believe, between Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Cox, and Mr. Cox won it.

Senator EDGE. Do you not think that if there was a possibility of carrying off the prize, if the possibility was encouraging, that the Democrats would have made more of a contest in some of these States? Eight years ago there were more or less contests.

Mr. CARLIN. To answer your question: In the Democratic Party there have been some contests, but as a rule I think we have felt that the office should seek the man and not the man the office.

Senator EDGE. Did you do that eight years ago?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not recall eight years ago just now, but perhaps they were contesting more or less.

Senator POMERENE. We are pursuing the policy of boasting after we take the armor off, instead of before we put it on.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Going into Democratic methods, you never knew of a man running for a nomination for an office who took \$400,000 of his own money, and spent it to promote his own candidacy, did you?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know of any Democratic candidate that ever had that much money.

Senator REED. That may be outside the field of our inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is. Let us get down to the issues.

I want to ask you a question or two, Mr. Carlin: Are any Federal officers, employees of the Department of Justice, a large number of men over the country, putting in any part of their time working for Mr. Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I am aware of. A good many of them are Republicans, and I think would be interested in other candidates. Many of them are civil-service men.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you now about your own affairs.

Senator SPENCER. Can you give us a list of those contributors who either now are, or have been, receiving compensation, either from the Department of Justice, or from any agency, directly or indirectly connected with the Department of Justice, at your leisure?

Mr. CARLIN. There is only one that I know of, of my own knowledge, and that is Robert T. Scott.

Senator REED. And Mr. Garvan?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, Mr. Garvan.

Senator SPENCER. Your attention has already been called to some in connection with the Alien Property Custodian.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. It is those to which I am now directing your attention.

Mr. CARLIN. I can get that for you.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us how many delegates you claim for Mr. Palmer who are Federal employees?

Mr. CARLIN. I only know of two.

The CHAIRMAN. In the 500?

Mr. CARLIN. I hope there are more, but I only know of two.

The CHAIRMAN. Only two out of the 500?

Mr. CARLIN. Only two that I know of. They are from my own State. One of those has since resigned.

The CHAIRMAN. There are two Federal office holders from your State?

Mr. CARLIN. One has since resigned.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did he hold?

Mr. CARLIN. He did hold the office of District Attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the other?

Mr. CARLIN. He is a district attorney. He has one half of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many district attorneys in the United States are delegates to San Francisco?

Mr. CARLIN. That is the only one I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many postmasters or internal revenue collectors are delegates?

Mr. CARLIN. I couldn't tell you. If they are interested at all, they are not interested in Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you a little about your own connections, as you are the manager of the Palmer campaign. You are an attorney at law here and at Alexandria?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you counsel for the packers?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been?

Mr. CARLIN. Never in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never been employed by any of them?

Mr. CARLIN. Never in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you counsel for any of the officers of the Crucible Steel Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir, I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or for the company itself?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; I never represented that company in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the counsel for Mr. Du Puy?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the president of the Crucible Steel Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. He was at one time; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you still counsel for him?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Sterling counsel for any of the officers of the Crucible Steel Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know, sir, who Mr. Sterling represents.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say you do not know that Mr. Sterling is counsel for some of them?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not. I know that Mr. Higbee, of Mr. Sterling's firm, has been counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been counsel for Mr. Du Puy, who was president of the Crucible Steel Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. I was employed by Mr. Ewing, I think, some time in March.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Ewing?

Mr. CARLIN. The president of one of the corporations owned by Mr. Du Puy, a real estate corporation in New York. It was a matter in which Mr. Du Puy was interested in the office of the Internal Revenue.

The CHAIRMAN. The Crucible Steel Co. had defrauded the Government out of \$10,000,000, had it not?

Mr. CARLIN. So I understood.

The CHAIRMAN. They violated the Federal statute in return of income and excess profits tax.

Mr. CARLIN. So I understood.

The CHAIRMAN. To the amount of \$10,000,000?

Mr. CARLIN. So I understood.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was the business of the Attorney General to prosecute the gentlemen who had defrauded the Government out of \$10,000,000?

Mr. CARLIN. I had no interest in that.

The CHAIRMAN. You are defending them?

Mr. CARLIN. No; not in that matter. I am simply looking after another matter. I represented Mr. DuPuy in his personal income tax matter before the Internal Revenue Department here, and I have no relations or retainer nor am I employed in any way by the Crucible Steel Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. DuPuy was president of the Crucible Steel Co. at the time they robbed the Government of \$10,000,000, was he not?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know what time they robbed the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know that the Crucible Steel Co. made a false return to the Government?

Mr. CARLIN. No; I don't. I know they were charged with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps I should have said that. Do you not know they paid \$10,000,000 back to the Government?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know that?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. I knew they paid nearly \$9,000,000 back.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. DuPuy was the president of the Crucible Steel Co. at the time that defrauding was going on, was he not?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not?

Mr. CARLIN. He was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he president at the time they paid the \$9,000,000 back?

Mr. CARLIN. He was not.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he retire as president?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Then how do you know he was not president at that time?

Mr. CARLIN. Because I think a man named Horton was president.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when Mr. DuPuy was president?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't think he was ever president.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not say a while ago that he was president?

Mr. CARLIN. He was president of the board.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the board?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know a thing in the world about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he president of the board of directors at the time these things went on with the Government?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

Senator REED. When you say "at the time these things went on with the Government," that is at the time when the false returns were made to the Government, which resulted in the Government being defrauded of approximately \$10,000,000 and he was also president of the board at the time that the Government compelled restitution?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. No; he was not president at the time restitution was compelled.

Senator REED. Only at the time the fraud was perpetrated?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time the fraud was perpetrated?

Mr. CARLIN. He was the president of the board.

Senator POMERENE. Who made the return about which complaint was made?

Mr. CARLIN. That was made by the officers of the company, and not by the president of the board, Mr. Du Puy.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Du Puy had gotten out of the company after that fraud was discovered, had he not?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know whether he was out when it was discovered or not. I know he retired very ill.

The CHAIRMAN. He was taken ill when it was discovered?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. He was operated on two or three times, and sold his stock and got out of the company.

The CHAIRMAN. But the Federal Government was endeavoring to prosecute him?

Mr. CARLIN. I think they are now. I think a prosecution is pending.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are counsel for Mr. Du Puy?

Mr. CARLIN. Not in the Crucible Steel matter.

The CHAIRMAN. In what?

Mr. CARLIN. In his own personal income-tax matter—just that one matter. Let us get that straight.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get it straight.

Mr. CARLIN. You are not getting it straight.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, we are.

Mr. CARLIN. It is a claim the Internal Revenue Department has made against him personally for matters relating to his own personal tax and that of his wife, Mrs. Du Puy.

The CHAIRMAN. His income-tax return?

Mr. CARLIN. His own income-tax return and that of Mrs. Du Puy. It has no relation whatever to the Crucible Steel Co. or Mr. Du Puy's connection with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he not get his income somewhat from that company?

Mr. CARLIN. He did when he was drawing a salary there.

The CHAIRMAN. And you make the line of demarcation very clear that you only represent him in that matter?

Mr. CARLIN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Who represents him in this matter the Government is after him on?

Mr. CARLIN. The Government is after him in that matter.

The CHAIRMAN. They claim he made a false return?

Mr. CARLIN. They have not claimed that yet. They have furnished him a statement, as they do everybody else—the amount of income they claim he has failed to pay, that he should have paid, and they furnished his wife the same.

Senator EDGE. Who represents the Government?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Kelliher, Senator Kenyon's partner, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. No he is not. He is a former partner of mine. He is a very good lawyer.

Mr. CARLIN. I think so—and a very good man.

The matter, as I understand it, is that it was a demand from the Government for the payment of that sum of money, and what I am engaged in trying to do, and expect to do, is to have that question thrashed out in the office of the Internal Revenue Commissioner or in the courts as to whether he owes that sum of money or not.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know whether one of the issues in that case is with reference to his income from the Crucible Steel Co. when he was president of that company?

Mr. CARLIN. I have not read the figures, but as I understand it, it involves his whole private income.

Senator SPENCER. Including what he got from that company.

Mr. CARLIN. He is interested in a rubber company and a real estate company, and various other companies, and his wife is interested in some of them. She was a Miss Hostetter. Her private income is involved, as well as his.

Senator REED. How much is involved in that?

Mr. CARLIN. I think there is \$36,000 involved. The Government claims a million and a half, and a penalty of a million and a half.

Senator REED. That is to say, the Government claims that the deficiency in the tax paid was a million and a half?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And they also claim a penalty for a like amount?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The contention on your part is that he only owes about \$36,000?

Mr. CARLIN. That is practically it.

Senator REED. Has the Government begun any prosecution?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of. I have not heard of it.

Senator REED. Have they threatened any?

Mr. CARLIN. Well, I think there was a threat of prosecution. The statute provides they may be prosecuted, in the discretion of the Internal Revenue Commissioner. There has been none instituted yet.

Senator REED. Has there been any threatened?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know of any threat, except the general impression is that there will likely be.

Senator REED. Has not the Internal Revenue Department notified Mr. Du Puy and his representatives that a prosecution is impending, and that if he does not pay they will prosecute him?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. I understand the reverse to be true, that they will not prosecute until they have been given full opportunity to determine whether there is a criminal liability. That is their custom in the office, to hear you first and indict you afterwards.

Senator EDGE. The Department of Justice, presided over by your candidate for President, as Attorney General, had been in that Crucible Steel Co. case, had been representing the Government in connection with the refund of the \$9,000,000?

Mr. CARLIN. There is a special counsel, Mr. Kelliher.

The CHAIRMAN. Special assistant to the Attorney General?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. He is attached to the Attorney General's Department, is he not?

Mr. CARLIN. He is attached to the pay roll, but he is under the supervision of the Internal Revenue Department.

The CHAIRMAN. He is officially special assistant to the Attorney General?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And is engaged in investigating that matter?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know what he is engaged in doing. I know he has charge of it.

The CHAIRMAN. He has charge of it for the Attorney General, and you have charge of it for Mr. Du Puy.

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; I only have charge of the civil end of it. There is no criminal end of it yet.

The CHAIRMAN. You are his attorney in the civil matter?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And even though he is threatened with criminal prosecution, you have nothing to do with that?

Mr. CARLIN. I have not; and if he was indicted I would not represent him.

The CHAIRMAN. Who represents him in the criminal prosecution?

Mr. CARLIN. There is no criminal prosecution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, who represents him in the threatened prosecution?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know. That is his business. I certainly would not.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. I don't expect to. I have not been retained by him.

The CHAIRMAN. And you probably will not be until after election?

Mr. CARLIN. I probably will not be at all.

The CHAIRMAN. As the matter stands now, here is a situation where the Government has collected about \$9,000,000 from the Crucible Steel Co.—

Mr. CARLIN. That matter is settled, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the criminal part of it settled? Can men defraud the Government out of \$9,000,000 and get away with it with no prosecution?

Mr. CARLIN. Are you familiar with that statute?

The CHAIRMAN. Slightly.

Mr. CARLIN. Then, if you are, you know that statute provides that a criminal matter may be compromised by the payment of money. The Crucible Steel Co. paid \$9,000,000. Whether that compromise involves the whole matter I am not certain. I don't think it does. I think the Government would have the same right the Internal Revenue office would to prosecute those people who were guilty of that offense.

Senator REED. Who in the Internal Revenue Office conducted the business of the collection of the \$9,000,000?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Callan, I think. He was the deputy commissioner at that time.

Senator REED. He is still in the office, is he?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. No; he is in the employ of Mr. Wilkinson, who is the present head of the Crucible Steel Co.

Senator REED. Mr. Callan, who is in the Internal Revenue Office, and who collected from the Crucible Steel Co. approximately \$10,000,000, has left the Government employ and gone into the employ of the Crucible Steel Co? Is that the situation?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Wilkinson, who succeeded Mr. Du Puy, I think, in the control of the stock, perhaps as chairman of the board. I I don't know, but I understand Mr. Callan is in his employ.

Senator REED. When did he leave the Government and go into the employ of the Crucible Steel Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. He left the Government about the 1st of April. I don't know when he went into their employ.

Senator REED. It is not possible that he was in their employ before he left the Government, do you think?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not, Senator.

Senator REED. When did you learn of his going into the employ of the steel company?

Mr. CARLIN. I learned of it in connection with the investigation I was making of that personal income-tax matter.

Senator REED. I did not want to interrupt the line of your examination.

The CHAIRMAN. I have some more questions I want to ask, but go ahead with yours.

Senator REED. Mr. Carlin, when was it that you were first consulted by Mr. Du Puy?

Mr. CARLIN. I think some time in February.

Senator REED. Of this year?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You had resigned from Congress some time before that?

Mr. CARLIN. I resigned from Congress a year before that.

Senator REED. And you had opened an office in Washington about the time you resigned?

Mr. CARLIN. Shortly afterwards.

Senator REED. And you kept an office here and one in Alexandria, and ran both places?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You were first consulted in February of this year, 1920, by Mr. Du Puy. What were you consulted about?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Ewing, who is a representative of Mr. Du Puy—I was not consulted by Mr. Du Puy—came to my office and said that the Internal Revenue Office's agent had a finding against the Norwood Real Estate Co., of which Mr. Du Puy was the principal stockholder, which would need adjustment in the department, and a controversy was arising, and he would like for me to represent him in the Internal Revenue Bureau and get a hearing or get a trial of the case before the regular tribunal there to determine whether there was a civil liability.

Senator REED. Who was Mr. Ewing?

Mr. CARLIN. President of the Norwood Real Estate Co., of which Mr. Du Puy is the principal stockholder, or his children are.

Senator REED. Had you known Mr. Ewing before that?

Mr. CARLIN. I had known of him. I don't know whether I had met him or not.

Senator REED. You do not know how he came to consult you?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he said some attorney in New York sent him to me.

Senator REED. Do you remember who that attorney was?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not.

Senator REED. Was it the attorney that he had consulted with reference to this same matter?

Mr. CARLIN. He has a New York attorney, but I don't recall. Somebody in New York sent him to me.

Senator REED. You were simply employed in the first instance to look after the matter of the adjustments of the disputed tax proposition growing out of this real estate proposition?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was that the company's tax return, or was it Mr. Du Puy's?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Du Puy's and Mrs. Du Puy's.

Senator REED. I do not want to go into details, but I take it it was claimed that Mr. and Mrs. Du Puy had received certain sums of money in the way of income through this real estate company, and that it had not been fully returned.

Mr. CARLIN. Well, Senator, it was a question of construction and application of the income tax law to certain items, as to what constituted income. That was a part of it, and there were other items that they claimed should be returned that were not returned.

Senator REED. Were the items in dispute items of income alleged or claimed to have come to Mr. and Mr. Du Puy through the real estate company?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir, and through other companies, from all their private sources of income, and they were very numerous.

Senator REED. Here is what I am trying to get at: Mr. Ewing, who is connected with that company, came and retained you in behalf of Mr. Du Puy, instead of Mr. Du Puy coming himself. I suppose there was a reason for it?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Du Puy was ill in the hospital, and he subsequently went to Florida. I never saw him until he got out of the hospital. He stopped in the office on his way to Florida.

Senator REED. Had this dispute that has been placed in your hands arisen prior or subsequent to his leaving the Crucible Steel Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. Possibly, sir; it grew out of the examination that took place at the same time. I don't know just when the examinations were made, but it happened that in examining the Crucible Steel they went through the income tax of those who were connected with it, all of them.

Senator REED. In any event, the dispute about the Crucible Steel tax return was pending at the time you were retained in this particular matter?

Mr. CARLIN. No; that had been concluded and settled by the department.

The CHAIRMAN. Had the criminal end been concluded?

Mr. CARLIN. There has never been any criminal end.

The CHAIRMAN. Had it been determined there was to be no criminal end?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I heard of.

The CHAIRMAN. That question was still left open, was it?

Mr. CARLIN. If there is such a question, it is still open.

Senator REED. Do you know who represented the Crucible Steel Co. in that controversy between it and the Government?

Mr. CARLIN. I have heard they had a local counsel, Mr. Baker.

Senator REED. What Mr. Baker?

Mr. CARLIN. It is the firm of Baker & Baker, I think, here in Washington City.

Senator REED. Who else represented them?

Mr. CARLIN. I think their Pittsburgh counsel was named Sharp.

Senator REED. While this controversy was going on—I will use the term “defendant,” purely as describing the Crucible Steel Co.—the defendant was represented by two attorneys. Was there any counsel that you know of for the Government, and if so, who was that counsel?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. I knew nothing of the Crucible Steel matters. I have never been consulted about it. No one connected with the company has ever discussed the matter with me, and the only way I have any knowledge of the Crucible Steel Co. matter is because of the fact that Mr. Du Puy was once connected with the Crucible Steel people, and in his personal matter I have been consulted and employed. I understood that the Government was represented by counsel at the time, and that counsel was Mr. Kelliher, formerly the partner of Senator Kenyon.

Senator REED. What was the amount involved in the dispute between the Government and Mr. Du Puy's wife over the tax return?

Mr. CARLIN. I think Mrs. Du Puy's involved about \$150,000. Mr. Du Puy's account, according to the contention of the Government, was a million and a half; according to his contention, about \$36,000.

Senator POMERENE. You mean according to Mr. Du Puy's contention?

Mr. CARLIN. According to Mr. Du Puy's contention. In other words, when he filed his petition in abatement, he filed his check for \$36,000, and claimed that was his indebtedness.

Senator REED. I want to know if this is the course of procedure: Mr. Du Puy and his wife made a return to the Government and paid their tax. Afterwards, the Government in going over the matter made a claim for a larger amount. That claim was a million and a half in his case, and \$150,000 in hers?

Mr. CARLIN. A million and a half, exclusive of penalty.

Senator REED. After going over the matter you, as his counsel, concluded that the claim was good for \$36,000, and you filed a paper stating that you would pay that amount, and the Government did not accept that?

Mr. CARLIN. No, I think it was filed by the Pittsburgh counsel, and by my advice as counsel, filed in the office of the internal revenue collector at Pittsburgh, and forwarded to the department here.

Senator REED. And so the matter rests, except there is to be a hearing, either before the Internal Revenue Collectors' board, or in court, or both, to settle the question whether it is \$36,000 or what sum it is that is due.

Mr. CARLIN. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the Government claim?

Mr. CARLIN. A million and a half. They claim a penalty in that amount in addition.

Senator REED. Who did represent the Crucible Steel Co. in its controversy with the Government? I believe you told us.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. I understood that Messrs. Baker & Baker, of Washington, and Mr. Sharp, of Pittsburgh, and probably others, I don't know.

Senator REED. When did Mr. Du Puy get ill?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. I never had any acquaintance with Mr. Du Puy until this employment, but he had been ill and had been operated on once when I was employed in the case. Then he was operated on again. He had two or three operations, and then was sent to Florida. He is now back in Pittsburgh, I believe.

Senator REED. Do you know in any way of Mr. Palmer's having been consulted, directly or indirectly, in these proceedings against Mr. Du Puy or against the Crucible Steel Co.?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. Mr. Palmer's Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Stewart, had charge of matters of that sort, and was requested to give us a hearing in the matter, and declined to do so.

Senator REED. A hearing on what?

Mr. CARLIN. On the disputed items in that account.

Senator REED. How did you come to go before Mr. Stewart?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know how it got there. Under the rules of the department we went to see Mr. Callan, and he said Mr. Stewart had it, and we went to see him, and he said Mr. Callan had it, or Mr. Roper had it. We were two or three days running around there running after who did have it. Finally, Mr. Roper gave us a partial hearing in the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that Mr. Callan the man who went with the Crucible Steel Co. afterwards?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know whether he is with the Crucible Steel Co. or not, but I think he is with the gentleman who occupied the same position with the Crucible Steel Co. that Mr. Du Puy did.

Senator REED. When you were interrupted, Mr. Carlin, you were telling about being sent to Mr. Stewart and Mr. Callan, and finally you got a partial hearing.

Mr. CARLIN. I went over and met Mr. Kelleher there. I first went to the department, and they told me Mr. Kelleher was acting as special Attorney General and had charge of that matter.

Senator REED. That was the Attorney General's department?

Mr. CARLIN. The Internal Revenue Department. I found Mr. Kelleher in the office of the Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Stewart, and I requested both those gentlemen to give us a hearing, and they said it was a matter for Mr. Roper.

Senator REED. You wanted a hearing on what?

Mr. CARLIN. On the Du Puy accounts. The other matter had been settled, the Crucible Steel matter, and was out of the way, unless the Government should decide to find a criminal indictment.

The CHAIRMAN. That was up to the Attorney General?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; it was largely up to the Internal Revenue Bureau. I think they pass on those questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they press an indictment without the Attorney General?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; but they would be the ones to determine whether there should be an indictment or not. That department has the right under the statute to compromise these cases on the payment of money, even though an indictment is found, even after they find an indictment.

The CHAIRMAN. We will grant that, but after it is found it is the business of the Attorney General to prosecute that?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir; unless the Internal Revenue Office compromises, which it has a right to do under the statute. It is a very remarkable statute, but it has that right.

Senator REED. Getting back to this other question, you gentlemen went on with this business you were just describing?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. I personally appeared before Mr. Roper, and I have personally appeared before Mr. Williams, and expect to personally appear until we get this hearing some where at some time.

Senator REED. Who is Mr. Williams?

Mr. CARLIN. The present Internal Revenue Commissioner.

Senator REED. Do you have a firm?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Who are the members?

Mr. CARLIN. M. Carter Hall and my son.

Senator REED. I did not think you were old enough to have a son practicing law.

Mr. CARLIN. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. Now, were either of your partners representing anyone in the affairs of the Crucible Steel Co. at any time?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did they ever represent the Crucible Steel Co. at any time?

Mr. CARLIN. Never at any time.

Senator REED. And your firm has never had anything whatever to do with the controversy between the Crucible Steel Co. and the Government?

Mr. CARLIN. Never at any time, and what is more, I think they never will. The Crucible Steel Co. is out of the hands of Mr. Du Puy, and they will in handling that doubtless have their own counsel.

Senator REED. Was Mr. Du Puy crowded out of the company on account of this false return, or mistaken return I will call it?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't think that had anything to do with it. I think the control, when he was taken sick, passed into the hands of his enemies, and in the usual way, when the officers were elected, they went along with the control.

Senator REED. I am through with that phase of the examination. I want to go into another matter.

You have spoken of Mr. Guffey. You say he is in the oil business?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was he sent to Mexico some time back on some mission for the Government?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I ever heard of. I understood he went to Mexico on a mission for himself.

Senator REED. When did he go?

Mr. CARLIN. Indeed, I don't know. I think he came back about a month ago.

Senator REED. Did he make a report to the Government when he came back?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of. He made one to the newspapers; that was published in the Washington papers.

Senator REED. Do you know whether, while he was in Mexico, he acquired some large oil territory through the Carranza government?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know, sir. I hope he did not, but I do not know what his acquisitions of property have been. My acquaintance with him has been limited to a few months past. I never knew him before that.

Senator REED. You do not know it to be a fact that he went to Mexico and obtained some large concessions from the Carranza government, and then came back and gave out this interview which you have spoken of, giving the Carranza government a pretty good send-off, if I may use the expression?

Mr. CARLIN. I never read the interview. I saw the headlines in the paper. I don't know whether he said he had received any concessions or not, and I don't know whether he did or not. I don't know what his business was there. I know he had quite a lengthy article in the newspapers after he arrived.

Senator REED. Praising the Carranza government?

Mr. CARLIN. I think it was complimentary to Carranza.

Senator REED. I want to get at the question of your organization, not with reference to the organization itself, but with reference to the manner of collecting and expending money. Did you have branches in different States?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. We have in Chicago a literary bureau, but no branches in any States anywhere.

Senator REED. Did you not have any managers in other States?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. You have not sent any money to any of the States?

Mr. CARLIN. None; except what I have referred to.

Senator REED. Have you given a full list of the disbursements that have been made?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Is it on a paper?

Mr. CARLIN. It is, except what I referred to.

Senator REED. Here is a salary account of \$15,212.49.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How many employees do you have?

Mr. CARLIN. I think probably 15 or 16.

Senator REED. Who draws a salary of any size? Are these merely stenographers and clerks who draw salaries?

Mr. CARLIN. I think I am the only one that does not draw a salary. The publicity people and the clerks and stenographers and secretaries all draw salaries.

Senator REED. Do you have men to write articles?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How many men and women?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. They are under Maj. Newman. He has charge of that. I think there are three or four.

Senator REED. I notice the salary account of \$15,212.49, and a publicity account of \$19,677.25.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Can you give us any of the details, or in a general way state how the publicity has been carried on?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes; I can.

Senator REED. How has it been done?

Mr. CARLIN. It has been carried on by the mailing of printed and written matter into the various States, principally to men connected officially with the Democratic Party, chairmen, members of committees, etc.

Senator REED. Have there been newspaper advertisements carried?

Mr. CARLIN. Some; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where were those chiefly carried?

Mr. CARLIN. In Georgia and in Michigan.

Senator REED. Do you know how much was expended for the newspapers in Georgia?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know; but I would suppose four or five thousand dollars.

Senator REED. How much in Michigan?

Mr. CARLIN. I authorized \$1,000 in Michigan.

Senator REED. Was there more than that spent?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't think there was that much. There may have been more. The bills have been coming in. I have not seen them all.

Senator REED. Have there been any articles printed or published in magazines or newspapers advocating Mr. Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. Not in magazines, that I know of. The only advertising in newspapers is always marked "advertising" matter.

Senator REED. I am not speaking of what would be strictly called advertising matter. I want to know if there have been articles written?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know as there have been any of our publication placed in any magazine. Many magazine articles have been published, which we have taken and republished in other ways.

Senator REED. But you did not originate the publication?

Mr. CARLIN. None that I know of.

Senator REED. Who would know all about that?

Mr. CARLIN. I suppose Maj. Newman would.

Senator REED. You had a large office at Atlanta, Ga., and headquarters down there, did you not?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator REED. What?

Mr. CARLIN. We didn't have a large office there. We had a headquarters.

Senator REED. The headquarters were in an expensive hotel, and were strung all over with banners. I saw that.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, but they were not large. I don't know, they may have had two. I think it was confined to one room.

Senator REED. Who was managing that?

Mr. CARLIN. I would suppose Mr. Clark Howell or Mr. Albert Howell.

Senator REED. Who was the man in the office, the person in charge?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Stovall.

Senator REED. What was his official connection?

Mr. CARLIN. He was the chairman of the campaign Palmer committee in that State.

Senator REED. What other position did he hold?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he was minister to Belgium at one time.

Senator REED. Did he hold a Government position at that time?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I heard of. He had been minister to Switzerland, it was, instead of Belgium, I believe.

Senator REED. What Government employees were down there in those headquarters in Georgia?

Mr. CARLIN. No Government employees. There was a former Government employee. I suppose you are referring to Mr. Dunbar. He had been an employee of the Government.

Senator REED. How long before?

Mr. CARLIN. He resigned to go there.

Senator REED. Resigned from what?

Mr. CARLIN. He had been one of the attorneys in the office of the Alien Property Custodian.

Senator REED. Did he resign before he went to Georgia?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was he a citizen of Georgia?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. His father was Democratic postmaster of the House of Representatives.

Senator REED. How long had he been in the Alien Property Custodian's office?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know, sir.

Senator REED. What was his connection with that office?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he was one of the numerous lawyers they have around there.

Senator REED. Do you know what compensation he had received?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not. Not a very large one. I don't think they pay any of them very large sums of money.

Senator REED. You do not know do you?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; I do not know.

Senator REED. Was there not somebody else down there who was a Government employee or held a Government office?

Mr. CARLIN. Not that I ever heard of. There may have been. There was nobody connected with it that I know of.

Senator REED. Are you very sure that Mr. Dunbar resigned before he went down there?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you have anything to do with sending him there?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How long before he went did he resign?

Mr. CARLIN. I think very shortly, just a few days.

Senator REED. He just resigned in order to go, did he?

Mr. CARLIN. When he decided to go into the campaign, he decided he should sever his connection with the Government, and he did so.

Senator REED. I notice here, "Men's Chicago office account, \$1,546.15; women's Chicago office account, \$2,730.70." It appears that the ladies, as usual, are a little more expensive than the men.

Mr. CARLIN. I think they had more typewriters, perhaps.

Senator REED. I have no more questions.

Senator SPENCER. What were the large salaries in connection with the headquarters here?

Mr. CARLIN. \$1,000 a month.

Senator SPENCER. You have been going a month?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

Senator REED. Who draws that \$1,000?

Mr. CARLIN. Maj. Newman.

The CHAIRMAN. \$1,000 a month?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You have been running about two months, and you have about 15 copyists and typists in the office?

Mr. CARLIN. We have all sorts of things in the office. We have some newspaper men, and five clerks and stenographers.

Senator EDGE. Are you terming newspaper men "all sorts of things?"

Mr. CARLIN. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. What newspaper men have you?

Mr. CARLIN. Well, they are under Maj. Newman. Mr. Stockwell is one.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they do?

Mr. CARLIN. They are supposed to write articles and advertisements.

The CHAIRMAN. To go direct to the public?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes; and to keep informed as to what is going on in a newspaper way, what is in the other papers.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know how many there are of those?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know that I can recall that just now.

Senator REED. They are really there to write articles, are they not, and not to clip newspapers?

Mr. CARLIN. Senator, sometimes I have thought the most of it was clipping. Sometimes they do write articles. They do as they please about it. Nobody ever says anything to them about it. Newspaper men run their own affairs.

Senator POMERENE. You have been a colleague of the Attorney General in the House, and a personal friend of his a good while before you were retained by Mr. DuPuy, have you not?

Mr. CARLIN. We have been friends all my life.

Senator POMERENE. Has Mr. DuPuy contributed anything to Mr. Palmer's campaign fund?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Has he promised anything?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Are you expecting anything from him?

Mr. CARLIN. Not a thing. We would not accept it, if he did.

Senator POMERENE. Have your professional relations with Mr. Du Puy influenced you in your political relations and personal relations with Mr. Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. I represented Mr. Du Puy before I had any connection with the Palmer campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Has the fact that you are Mr. Palmer's manager in any wise, so far as you know, influenced Mr. Palmer's relations favorably to Mr. Du Puy?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. Mr. Palmer has no relations with Mr. Du Puy, has not had any up to this time.

Senator SPENCER. The expenses for two months have been \$50,000 or a little over?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Are the bills all paid, that you have contracted?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know, Senator. I think so, mostly except some borrowed money.

Senator SPENCER. Are there other salaries of \$1,000 a month?

Mr. CARLIN. One other, I think.

Senator SPENCER. Two at \$1,000 a month?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Who was the other?

Mr. CARLIN. Mrs. Wilson.

Senator SPENCER. What is her connection?

Mr. CARLIN. She had charge in an advisory capacity and a publicity way of looking after the ladies or women's end of it.

Senator SPENCER. What were the next highest salaries?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't think there are any other high salaries.

Senator SPENCER. Two at \$1,000 a month, and the others under \$250?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so. Maj. Newman can tell you.

Senator REED. What is the full name of this lady?

Mr. CARLIN. Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson.

Senator REED. What is her residence?

Mr. CARLIN. Minnesota.

Senator REED. What was her occupation or connection before she came with you?

Mr. CARLIN. She is a very brilliant woman, and was connected with the suffrage movement with their headquarters in New York.

Senator REED. Is she one of your writers?

Mr. CARLIN. She was secretary of the Women's National Suffrage Association.

Senator REED. Is she one of your writers?

Mr. CARLIN. She writes at times. I don't know just what character of writing.

Senator REED. I suppose she receives \$1,000 a month salary because she is valuable?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. She was receiving a similar salary where she was, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Has she written any books, any romances, or anything of that kind, before she became connected with you?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know, Senator.

Senator REED. What town in Minnesota is she from?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

Senator REED. Do you know of anything she has ever done, outside of her connection with the women's organization, to make her worth \$1,000 a month?

Mr. CARLIN. Well, sir, in my opinion——

Senator REED. I am not asking you for your personal opinion of the lady's talents; I am asking you what she has ever done.

Mr. CARLIN. I am going to tell you what she has done, Senator, so far as I know.

Senator REED. Very well.

Mr. CARLIN. She has been conducting a wonderful educational work among the women, by way of speeches, making lectures, and has a reputation second to no woman in American for that sort of work. That is principally what she has done. I think she has written many articles that have attracted the attention of the women of the country.

Senator REED. Who made the arrangement with her to come here at \$1,000 a month salary?

Mr. CARLIN. I did.

Senator REED. You really wanted her because of her influence with the women, did you not?

Mr. CARLIN. Not because of her influence, but because of her knowledge of women.

Senator REED. You thought the influence would come along with the knowledge, did you not, Mr. Carlin?

Mr. CARLIN. To some extent. I don't know that she had any great influence. Women are not influenced; they are convinced as a rule.

Senator REED. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had a quite active contest for delegates with the McAdoo forces, have you not?

Mr. CARLIN. I have found many places where I thought McAdoo was a candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to hear something about that.

Mr. CARLIN. It has all the symptoms and earmarks of that. I see by the papers that Mr. McAdoo says he is not a candidate. Perhaps I am mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. Where have you found contests for delegates with the McAdoo forces?

Mr. CARLIN. Well, McAdoo was contesting in Michigan. His name was on the ticket, whether he is a candidate or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have an organization there?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. He got a good many votes. It was very bad weather, and somebody got them out.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there was anybody managing it?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know who was managing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they have a national manager or not? Let us not be camouflaging about it.

Mr. CARLIN. If I knew I would tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know?

Mr. CARLIN. I do not know. I have heard recently that perhaps Mr. Daniel Roper was; then I heard he was not. I have really been trying to find out.

Senator EDGE. I would suggest that we send for Mr. McAdoo himself. Nobody seems to be able to speak for him. He is getting delegates.

Mr. CARLIN. For a man who is not a candidate he is doing mighty well.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you found an active campaign going on for McAdoo delegates?

Mr. CARLIN. Take Texas as an illustration. The leader in that State, who led what they call the fight against ex-Senator Bailey, now announces his purpose of getting that delegation for McAdoo.

Senator POMERENE. Who is he?

Mr. CARLIN. Thomas Love. I don't know whether he is a self-constituted leader or not.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Love was a Treasury employee, was he not?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

Senator SPENCER. Was he not Assistant Treasurer, or the head of a department?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he was at one time, but I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think it may be a spontaneous uprising of the people?

Mr. CARLIN. It looks more to me like it has direction.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is directing it?

Mr. CARLIN. I have not been able to ascertain. Everybody denies giving it direction. The symptoms everywhere indicate that somebody is directing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see evidences of the expenditure of money?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. There is no evidence of the expenditure of money that I have seen in the Democratic contests except for the literature going out.

Senator SPENCER. There is literature going out?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. McAdoo literature?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where from?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen any of it?

Mr. CARLIN. I think we have some of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it not show where it was from?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; it doesn't have any stamp on it. Somebody sent it to us.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it purport to come from any headquarters at New York?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. They don't seem to have any headquarters, or any tail quarters. It just seems to be going on.

Senator EDGE. Could it be possible that there is a very general feeling throughout the country that Mr. McAdoo's candidacy is viewed with considerable approval from the headquarters of the Nation, and it is taken for granted by friends of those headquarters that such a nomination would meet with approval? Do you think that is a possible reason for the ground swell?

Mr. CARLIN. I haven't had any experience or knowledge of any man that was not a candidate for anything, where the people insisted on wanting him to be. I accept Mr. McAdoo's statement that he is not a candidate, and yet I am bound to say to you gentlemen in frankness, that it has all the earmarks of a candidacy.

Senator EDGE. But you can not find the propelling force back of it?

Mr. CARLIN. I have not found any directing force.

Senator EDGE. Then you do not think much of the suggestion I made a moment ago?

Mr. CARLIN. Senator, I would always have a good opinion of any suggestion you would make.

Senator EDGE. Not from the standpoint of any knowledge, but I thought perhaps you might have the same idea.

Mr. CARLIN. I just don't know, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you talked with the Attorney General about the Du Puy matter?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't think so. I have talked to the Assistant Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had a good many consultations with him?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; only one. That was in the presence of Mr. Kelliher.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Sterling there?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir,

The CHAIRMAN. You tell the committee that you do not know whether Mr. Sterling, of Uniontown, Pa., who was the Pennsylvania manager for Palmer, represented any of these people or had anything to do with it?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Sterling's firm did or does. Higbee is the man.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the firm?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. Higbee, Sterling, and somebody.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are in Uniontown, Pa.?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Du Puy lives at Pittsburgh?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a pretty strong bar in Pittsburgh, is there not?

Mr. CARLIN. Well, Senator, that is my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. How does it happen that these men go to Uniontown to get lawyers?

Mr. CARLIN. The firm of Higbee & Sterling practice all over the country, that part of it. They are a well-recognized law firm.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sterling does represent some of these people, or his firm does, and Mr. Sterling is the Pennsylvania manager for Mr. Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. Mr. Sterling is the chairman over there. We have no Palmer outfit there. There were three or four candidtates. Mr. Guffey himself was a candidate for national committeeman. That

was really the principal fight, and Mr. Sterling had that fight, which included the Palmer fight.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not Mr. Sterling recognized as the Palmer manager for Pennsylvania?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so. I would so recognize him.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you think he was employed by these Du Puy interests?

Mr. CARLIN. I think his firm was employed before he had any connection with Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they practice much in Pittsburgh?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have an office in Pittsburgh?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know; but they have a large practice over that end of Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. How far is Uniontown from Pittsburgh?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any reason why Mr. Sterling's firm was employed?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. I do know that in one branch of it they have been in for over a year, long before the Palmer movement started.

Senator REED. What branch is that?

Mr. CARLIN. Another steel company involved in tax matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Du Puy a member of that company?

Mr. CARLIN. He was a stockholder, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they steal as much as the other steel company?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know. I have not followed that.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it the same kind of a question as to false income and excess-profits tax returns?

Mr. CARLIN. I really don't know. I think it was a question as to what matters were taxable.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made a specialty of that line of work?

Mr. CARLIN. I have given it some considerable attention.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had other cases of that kind?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Mr. Sterling given it any special attention?

Mr. CARLIN. He will have to speak for himself.

The CHAIRMAN. There are experts that give that their entire attention, are there not?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Some in New York?

Mr. CARLIN. There are some in New York who do nothing else, and some here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why none of them were employed?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know Mr. Du Puy?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. I suppose I was employed largely on my reputation. I have a great number of clients that I do not know that come into my office.

The CHAIRMAN. You were recommended by a New York lawyer?

Mr. CARLIN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he?

Mr. CARLIN. I don't recall. Mr. Ewing told me.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Ewing?

Mr. CARLIN. The president of Mr. Du Puy's real estate company in New York. I was not employed by Mr. Du Puy; I was employed by Ewing.

The CHAIRMAN. To represent Du Puy?

Mr. CARLIN. To represent that particular chain of income tax controversies, which involved the real estate company, as well as Du Puy.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made a specialty of that kind of work? How did you happen to get a reputation that reached that far?

Mr. CARLIN. Well, Senator, you know how lawyers get reputations. It is usually based on ability. I thought I had a fairly good reputation as a lawyer before I came to Congress, before I entered politics. I have lived in this section all my life.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never been consulted by the packers?

Mr. CARLIN. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Nor your firm?

Mr. CARLIN. No member of my firm.

Senator REED. I have it not very clear in my mind, Mr. Carlin, whether this Pennsylvania firm, Mr. Sterling and his partners, were employed something over a year ago, I believe you said, to represent the Du Puy interests, or whether they represented the Crucible Steel Co. and the subsidiary companies?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir; they represented another steel company in which Du Puy was interested as a stockholder.

Senator REED. Was it also accused of making false income tax returns?

Mr. CARLIN. It was not accused. Many people have controversies over their income tax that do not run into a matter of accusation. There is hardly a citizen of the United States who can make out an income tax return correctly.

Senator REED. I do not mean to use the term in any improper sense.

The CHAIRMAN. They can get within \$9,000,000 of it, can they not?

Mr. CARLIN. They ought to.

Senator REED. I am getting at whether there was any controversy between this steel company that Mr. Du Puy was interested in other than the Crucible?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There was a controversy over taxes?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir; that took place before the Crucible controversy.

Senator REED. How much was involved in that?

Mr. CARLIN. I never heard.

Senator REED. You can not state that at all?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator REED. What was the name of that company?

Mr. CARLIN. I think the Colonial. I could get you the name.

Senator REED. I wish you would.

Mr. CARLIN. I will.

Senator REED. Do you know who its officers were?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir.

Senator REED. What was Mr. Du Puy's connection with that company?

Mr. CARLIN. I think he was a very large stockholder.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you state that you have not spent any money wastefully in the campaign?

Mr. CARLIN. Senator, I can not say that. I think a good deal of money is wasted in a campaign. I believe a large part of the money spent in political campaigns is wasted.

The CHAIRMAN. But in carrying on a campaign which you have regarded as legitimate and proper, and spending about \$25,000 a month, where you have not gone into a large number of States, if you had carried on the same kind of a campaign in all the States——

Mr. CARLIN. We have gone into all of them with literature and correspondence. We have not had contests in all those States.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had had contests in all the States, you would have spent a much larger sum of money, would you not?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. We would not have had it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it takes a good deal of money to run a campaign.

Mr. CARLIN. It does. If you are going to have a contest in a number of States, it takes a good deal of money. You have been a candidate for Senator, so you know what it costs. I don't know whether you spent anything or not, but if you had a contest you probably know something about it. Take the question of sending a letter out in a congressional district. Say you have a letter to 20,000 people. It costs 5 cents for every letter, including postage, and addressing, writing the letter, sealing, and all the necessary expense connected with it. The sums of money which are allowed by the statute to be expended by candidates for Congress and Senator are just simply foolish. If you do nothing but write letters to your constituents, and if you only send them one or two, it will exceed the amount which the statute allows.

Senator EDGE. In a State of approximately 500,000 voters, which is about the number in a State of about three and a half or four million people——

Senator POMERENE. More than that.

Senator EDGE. Yes; more than that, but taking the average of States like Massachusetts or New Jersey, 5 cents a letter, it would cost \$25,000 to send out a platform to the voters.

Mr. CARLIN. It would indeed. It can not be done for less. I estimate it costs 5 cents a letter.

Senator POMERENE. You gave the names of a number of contributors and the amounts of their contributions.

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. But I see in your schedule "Borrowed and loan account, \$27,000."

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is included in your total of \$50,610?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Who borrowed that money?

Mr. CARLIN. I borrowed some of it.

Senator REED. Is there not an understanding that you are not to be held personally responsible? Who is to make it up to you?

Mr. CARLIN. The understanding is that we will make it up from the contributions, if we can, but if we can not, we will get together and make it up ourselves.

Senator SPENCER. Who do you mean by "we?"

Mr. CARLIN. Some of Mr. Palmer's friends and myself, personal friends. We will call them together. It is not a large sum.

Senator SPENCER. Was that in consultation with Mr. Palmer?

Mr. CARLIN. No, sir. Mr. Palmer has not made any contribution to his own campaign, and I don't suppose he will.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Judge Covington's address?

Mr. CARLIN. J. Harry Covington, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

Senator EDGE. Is Mr. Palmer a man of means?

Mr. CARLIN. I understand he is a very poor man.

Senator EDGE. He could not contribute a large amount, then, could he?

Mr. CARLIN. He has not been asked to. He could not, and he has not been asked to.

Senator SPENCER. You will send us a list of contributors who have received or are now receiving compensation from the Department of Justice?

Mr. CARLIN. Yes, sir. I will send you a list of those that have any connection with the Government at all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, I believe, Mr. Carlin. We are very much obliged to you.

Mr. CARLIN. Do you want this statement left here?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. That may be inserted in the record, the statement of receipts and expenditures.

(The statement referred to, a list of receipts and expenditures in the Palmer campaign fund, is here printed in full, as follows:)

MAY 24, 1920.

PALMER PRIMARY CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Anthony, A. W., New York City..... | \$10. 00 |
| Bosak, Michael, Scranton, Pa..... | 1, 500. 00 |
| Bragdon, H. K., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 50. 00 |
| Bright, Robert S., Philadelphia, Pa..... | 200. 00 |
| Covington, J. Harry, Easton, Md..... | 2, 000. 00 |
| Crean, Thomas F., New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Crocker, Frank L., New York City..... | 2, 500. 00 |
| Crosby, John F., Hartford, Conn..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Davis, H. L., Washington, D. C..... | 100. 00 |
| Denegre, W. D., Washington, D. C..... | 500. 00 |
| Devitt, William C., Ashland, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Dodds, Robert J., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| Farrell, Frank J., New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Fitzpatrick, Wm. G., Detroit, Mich..... | 250. 00 |
| Folwell, W. H., New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Garvan, Francis P., New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Gregory, T. B., Emlenton, Pa..... | 50. 00 |
| Guffey, Joseph F., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 10, 000. 00 |
| Hindman, W. W., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| Horne, Frederick, J., New York City..... | 25. 00 |
| Johnson, Asher R., Bradford, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| Jones, Horace E., New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| LaBar, W. K., Stroudsburg, Pa..... | 50. 00 |
| Laucks, S. Florry, York, Pa..... | 25. 00 |
| Law, Robert, jr., New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Lynch, Fred B., New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| MacCloskey, James, jr., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| Manget, John A., Atlanta, Ga..... | 2, 500. 00 |
| Martin, M. J., Scranton, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| McClintock, Gilbert S., Wilkes-Barre, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| McCormick, Vance, Harrisburg, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Meenan, Daniel, New York City..... | \$500. 00 |
| Nelson, B. F., Minneapolis, Minn..... | 500. 00 |
| Peale, Rembrandt, Clearfield, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Qualey, Joseph F., New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Reese, Jenkin T., Scranton, Pa..... | 25. 00 |
| Ripy, Marion W., Washington, D. C..... | 25. 00 |
| Sawyer, H. A., Milwaukee, Wis..... | 100. 00 |
| Scott, Robert T., Washington, D. C..... | 500. 00 |
| Silverstein, Joe, Brevard, N. C..... | 300. 00 |
| Stone, M. E., New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Spangler, Col. J. L., Bellefonte, Pa..... | 50. 00 |
| Stockton, Richard, Trenton, N. J..... | 100. 00 |
| Verdery, Marion J., New York City..... | 50. 00 |
| Wainright, M. F., New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Wilson, George C., Tyrone, Pa..... | 300. 00 |
| Wolfe, Lee J., New York City..... | 50. 00 |

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Total..... | 32, 610. 00 |
| Borrowed and loan account (to be paid from contributions)..... | 27, 000. 00 |

Total receipts by treasurer..... 59, 610. 00

Disbursements to date:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| Equipment account..... | \$1, 765. 10 |
| Freight and express account..... | 37. 63 |
| Telephone and telegraph account..... | 963. 91 |
| Salary account..... | 15, 212. 49 |
| Rent account..... | 1, 778. 88 |
| Stationery and printing account..... | 803. 10 |
| Suspense account ¹ | 600. 00 |
| Postage account..... | 897. 58 |
| Publicity account..... | 19, 677. 25 |
| Travel expense account..... | 4, 631. 39 |
| Men's Chicago office account..... | 1, 546. 15 |
| Women's Chicago office account..... | 2, 730. 70 |
| Miscellaneous account..... | 38. 81 |

Total..... 50, 682. 99

Balance cash in bank..... 8, 927. 01

TESTIMONY OF MR. OLIVER P. NEWMAN.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. State your full name to the committee.

Mr. NEWMAN. Oliver P. Newman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are connected with the Palmer campaign.

Mr. NEWMAN. Secretary of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have charge of publicity matters?

Mr. NEWMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you employ in publicity matters?

Mr. NEWMAN. Sam W. Small, jr.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his salary?

Mr. NEWMAN. \$125 a week.

Senator REED. Is he a son of the evangelist?

Mr. NEWMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Wood has Sunday's son, and you have Small's son.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be even, then. Who else have you?

Mr. NEWMAN. D. R. Sartwell.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his salary?

Mr. NEWMAN. \$125 a week.

¹ Advance made for traveling expenses for which expense accounts have not as yet been received.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else?

Mr. NEWMAN. Frank B. Lord.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his salary?

Mr. NEWMAN. \$100 a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else?

Mr. NEWMAN. Rex Lampson.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his salary?

Mr. NEWMAN. \$80. Frank Conlin, \$80; Mrs. Ida M. Gibson, \$100. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. What do these people do?

Mr. NEWMAN. Broadly speaking, their duties are divided into two classes. One is to prepare literature to be mailed; the other is to prepare literature and articles to be sent to newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they prepare a large number of articles for the newspapers?

Mr. NEWMAN. Relatively small, considering the number of newspapers in the country and what we would like to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you pay for all that advertising?

Mr. NEWMAN. We only send to newspapers two classes of matter. One is very limited in amount, straight advertising matter, marked "advertising," or shows on its face that it is display advertising. The other is news matter, which we send them for use if they desire to use it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not paid for?

Mr. NEWMAN. No, sir. There never has been a line of anything in the way of news or that had the appearance of news for which we have paid the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of these writers employed on newspapers, or do they give their time exclusively to your bureau?

Mr. NEWMAN. They give all their time to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they writers who have come from newspapers?

Mr. NEWMAN. Yes, sir. When I started out to get an organization, I was surprised to find, in view of prewar conditions, with which I was familiar in Washington, that it was very difficult to get people. It was also very difficult to get reporters in Washington at the rates that used to prevail.

The CHAIRMAN. It is hard to get newspaper men at these figures?

Mr. NEWMAN. Yes, sir. Of course, on a job of this kind, which is a rush job, I could not take the time to train people to write. I could not take the time to rewrite or do very much editing. I have to have people who are experienced, capable writers, and who also have some knowledge of politics generally in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Do these articles go out under the name of the writer?

Mr. NEWMAN. Sometimes.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose it is true in these presidential campaigns that where articles appear in a paper laudatory of the candidate, with no name signed to it, the people who read that would know nothing about the amount that is paid the writer to enumerate the virtues of the candidate?

Mr. NEWMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true as to every candidate, of course.

Mr. NEWMAN. That is true as to everything published in the newspapers about anything.

The CHAIRMAN. When we see these articles in the magazines, laudatory of the candidate, or otherwise, we generally know they are paid for?

Mr. NEWMAN. I don't think you will find anything of that kind in the magazines. I think their idea in having the articles is that they must be the ideas of the editor.

Senator EDGE. Is it not a fact that a standard magazine would not publish such an article unless they paid for it, rather than asking you to pay for it?

Mr. NEWMAN. Yes, sir. That is also true of newspapers.

Senator EDGE. What proportion of this indiscriminate press matter which you send out to daily newspapers do you find inserted?

Mr. NEWMAN. Before I answer that, Senator, I would like to say that when I undertook this work, I had seen a good many campaigns conducted, and I have been in Washington a long time, and was familiar with publicity matters of every kind here and in New York; and I made up my mind I would not send out stuff indiscriminately. In the first place, we have not sufficient allowance for expenses to do it. I have sought to send it with discrimination. For instance, the ordinary publicity bureau, I think, wastes about nine-tenths of the stuff that they send out, more particularly since the war. The idea of propaganda has increased to such an extent that it is impossible for the city editor of a newspaper like the Omaha News, for instance, to read the stuff that comes to his desk every day, let alone print it. I have borne that in mind, and I have not flooded the country or any particular section of it.

Senator EDGE. What has been the result of that policy?

Mr. NEWMAN. The result has been less gratifying than I had hoped it would be. In this campaign, the situation we have to contend with in dealing with newspapers, is a shortage of paper. Newspapers are leaving out advertising. That being the case, the amount of propaganda they will print is very small. On that account, I have minimized the amount being sent to newspapers, and have been sending literature direct to people known to be interested in the Democratic party.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the connection of these large contributors?

Mr. NEWMAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You did not mention anything in your publicity bureau of Mrs. Wilson?

Mr. NEWMAN. No, sir. She is in that bureau.

Senator POMERENE. What is the nature of her activities?

Mr. NEWMAN. The publicity department furnishes her with literature and newspaper articles, which she sends to organizations and individuals she knows of.

Senator POMERENE. Then she is a part of the publicity bureau?

Mr. NEWMAN. No, sir. She is chairman of the women's department of the Palmer campaign committee.

Senator REED. Are these organizations that she sends literature to women's organizations that she has been in touch with in her former capacity?

Mr. NEWMAN. I think she sends to individuals in organizations, or who happen to be members of organizations that she knows about. Of course, the Democratic national committee has a complete list, as well as the Republican committee.

Senator EDGE. What were your connections before you took up this work?

Mr. NEWMAN. Immediately before?

Senator EDGE. Yes.

Mr. NEWMAN. I had been back in Washington about a year.

Senator EDGE. Have you ever been connected with the Government?

Mr. NEWMAN. I was formerly one of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. I resigned in 1917.

Senator REED. Frank B. Lord was one of the publicity agents of the Democratic committee four years ago, and eight years ago, was he not?

Mr. NEWMAN. In 1916.

Senator REED. And then went into Mr. Hurley's office, and was associated with him when he was connected with the Shipping Board?

Mr. NEWMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. When did he leave that employment?

Mr. NEWMAN. The 1st of last October.

Senator REED. What was he doing in the meantime? Was he in the Government service?

Mr. NEWMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. You had nothing to do with fixing the salaries that were paid?

Mr. NEWMAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who arranged that?

Mr. NEWMAN. Mr. Carlin.

Senator REED. You are a Democrat, are you, Mr. Newman?

Mr. NEWMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Newman. We are very much obliged to you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILLIAM COOPER PROCTER.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your full name to the committee.

Mr. PROCTER. William Cooper Procter.

The CHAIRMAN. I see you are called "Col." Procter. Are you a military man?

Mr. PROCTER. I was with the National Guard at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home?

Mr. PROCTER. Cincinnati.

The CHAIRMAN. And your business.

Mr. PROCTER. I am a manufacturer, president of Procter & Gamble Co.

The CHAIRMAN. You know in a general way the work of this committee, and the resolution that has been passed by the Senate providing for the appointment of this subcommittee, do you not?

Mr. PROCTER. In a general way.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have you explain to us the organization of the Wood campaign. Have you a national organization?

Mr. PROCTER. Can I begin at the beginning?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; do it in your own way.

Senator REED. If you will pardon me the suggestion, Mr. Chairman, I think it would be well if the witness would give us his first connection and the conditions when he took charge, if there was an organization at that time.

Mr. PROCTER. I will try to do that, if I can.

Senator EDGE. Particularly, you mean, do you not, Mr. Chairman, so far as it pertains to the raising of funds and expenditure of funds?

The CHAIRMAN. If that is involved in the general plan of organization.

Mr. PROCTER. I think it is. I was first approached in August in connection with the Leonard Wood League, which is an organization of younger men, who are interested in Gen. Wood, and asked if I would join it. I think it was in October that I was asked if I would take the chairmanship of the campaign committee. I declined to do so for a long time, mainly on the ground that I had had no experience in the line of such work. Pressure was brought upon me, and I myself realizing the importance of securing the proper man for the next President of the United States, took up the work as an obligation of service. I accepted the appointment, I think, early in December, but did not take hold until early in January. In the meantime I had consulted with some of my friends, outlined the situation as I saw it, that Leonard Wood was a man without any political associates; that he had no organization that was nation-wide in its scope; that being without political associations, he would necessarily have to put his own organization into every State and go into every primary. Under those circumstances, in my judgment, it was necessary to build a nation-wide organization, with a decentralized power. With that purpose in view, we established three headquarters, and appointed six vice chairmen, or assistant managers.

Senator REED. You might give us their names as you go along.

Mr. PROCTER. Senator Moses was vice chairman, having charge of the Washington headquarters, and certain States under his charge. Congressman Norman J. Gould was appointed vice chairman in charge of the East, with Col. Thomas W. Miller assisting him. At the Western headquarters, Frederick A. Joss, of Indianapolis, was vice president; the assistants being N. S. Walpole, of Pueblo, Colo., James A. McGraw, of Ponca, Okla., and Fred Stanley, of Wichita, Kans.

Senator REED. Do you mean that you had headquarters at each of these places?

Mr. PROCTER. We had the main headquarters in the three cities.

Senator REED. You had headquarters in Washington?

Mr. PROCTER. And New York and Chicago.

Senator REED. Did you have subheadquarters in Pueblo?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator REED. You have named these men in connection with those places.

Mr. PROCTER. I have just done that to show their location, where they came from. Each man was given charge of certain States, and on the same theory of organization as I applied in my own business, they were held responsible for those States and given full authority for the conduct of the campaign in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they raise money too?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir. When I entered the campaign, it was one of the stipulations that I should not have to solicit contributions, and I have not. I want to qualify that. I think I did solicit one contribution. Then, of course, each headquarters had its publicity department, had its women's department, and they organized the different States. In every State but one that we have entered, there were State representatives. In the primary States it was usual to establish State headquarters and build an organization to conduct the election.

Senator EDGE. How many States did you actually enter and make contests in?

Mr. PROCTER. Forty-seven, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Was California the one you did not make a protest in?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir; we recognized the conditions of the primary laws that demand that a candidate should make a campaign, in our judgment, if he complied with the spirit of the law, and we have carried it that way. Our theory of campaign was based primarily upon publicity, and the great bulk of our expenditures have been for that purpose. Perhaps I have placed undue stress upon publicity, from my business experience.

Senator EDGE. It has been rather a successful policy, has it not?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; it has. But that is the general plan of organization, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through with your statement as to the general plan of organization?

Mr. PROCTER. In a general way; yes, sir. I may go on a little further and explain some things, and possibly simplify your questions.

My function in the organization was, in the first place, to create it; in the second place, to keep it working harmoniously and effectively. I have not kept in touch with the details of the organization work, any more than I have kept in touch with the details of the organization work in my own business. I do not think it is good management for the head to interfere. I think in organization you must place the responsibility, and you must place authority and power to justify the responsibility you place. That is a general statement of my position.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us the amount of money that has been collected for the Wood campaign, and the amount of money that has been disbursed?

Mr. PROCTER. I am sorry I cannot give you these figures accurately. I got your telegram while I was on the train. I have been more interested in the balance on hand than in the total.

The CHAIRMAN. You must have some idea.

Mr. PROCTER. I will get at it in this way, if I may, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. State it in your own way.

Mr. PROCTER. Contributions have been to me very disappointing, and the burden of the campaign has fallen upon myself. I made a contribution of \$10,000. Since that time I have advanced approximately \$500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Out of your own pocket?

Mr. PROCTER. Out of my own pocket. My advances, I know, are more than the balance of the contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that?

Mr. PROCTER. I have advanced \$500,000, approximately.

The CHAIRMAN. Have there been \$500,000 more of contributions?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much has there been more than you have advanced?

Mr. PROCTER. I presume Mr. Sprague has all the details.

Senator REED. Is he here?

The CHAIRMAN. I had a wire from him this morning that he would be here Saturday.

Senator EDGE. He is the treasurer?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hitchcock gave us the names of two treasurers.

Mr. PROCTER. The general theory of the organization is that all money shall pass through the central treasurer, Mr. Sprague, and that he should allot it. Some money may have been paid to the eastern treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sprague should be able to give us substantially the money that has been received?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes. In receiving contributions I can put it in this way: Between 60 and 70 per cent of the money in the general disbursements has been publicity expense, and the balance has gone into speakers and ordinary work throughout the State, and I would say that the average per State would be in the neighborhood of \$8,000.

Senator EDGE. The average per State for what?

Mr. PROCTER. Outside of publicity and headquarters expense.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the States themselves through their leaders raise money that is expended in the States in addition to that?

Mr. PROCTER. That may be true, but I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the States, through their leaders, raise money in the States that does not go through Mr. Sprague's hands?

Mr. PROCTER. No; he would know nothing about that.

The CHAIRMAN. We would have to get that from each State chairman?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. May I follow that with one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Senator POMERENE. You say we would have to get that statement of the money raised in each State from the State chairman. Do you have also city chairmen and county chairmen, outside of the State chairmen, who collect and disburse other funds, which would not be within the knowledge of the State chairman?

Mr. PROCTER. I fancy that is true in some cases, also. Wherever we could have the community itself finance its own campaign, we thought it was better to do so. It was more local, coming from the people themselves.

Senator EDGE. Where did this approximately half million dollars, the amount less than your own contribution, come from? Of course, that came from the various States. Was it solicited and sent directly to the central headquarters, in addition to or separate from the State organization?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir; that was distinct from the State organization.

Senator EDGE. Can you give us any information as to whether that was solicited by general appeal?

Mr. PROCTER. I can not give you definite information. Part was raised by general appeal and part, I fancy, by personal solicitation by some friends of the general. I am not familiar with all the contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any parties who made large contributions?

Mr. PROCTER. To my personal knowledge, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that all appear in Mr. Sprague's report?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. We are inquiring as to the knowledge that you acquired in that position you hold. It does not mean that you saw the subscriptions.

Mr. PROCTER. I never saw the subscriptions.

Senator REED. Have you not learned of some large subscriptions?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, I suppose I probably could make a fair guess.

Senator REED. I do not want you to guess, but let me illustrate to you what I mean. You run a very great business?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There is not any human being who can know every detail about that great business.

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir.

Senator REED. But there comes to you as the head of it, information as regards the general situation and you treat that as a fact. Now, just applying that same rule to this position you now hold, you do know of some large subscriptions, do you not?

Mr. PROCTER. I know of some subscriptions. I think the largest I know of is \$20,000.

Senator REED. Who from?

Mr. PROCTER. A personal friend of the General, Col. Ambrose Monell.

Senator REED. Is he an Army man?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir. He was in the service during the war.

Senator REED. Is that the largest you have heard of?

Mr. PROCTER. That is the largest I have heard of.

Senator REED. Did you ever hear of a subscription of \$300,000 by one man?

Mr. PROCTER. I never heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You would like to hear of that, would you not?

Mr. PROCTER. I would.

Senator REED. Did you ever hear of a subscription of \$50,000 by another man?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir.

Senator REED. Would it be possible that such subscriptions could have been raised from the State organizations?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not think it is possible. I think I would have been notified.

Senator REED. Who else can you think of that gave a large subscription?

Mr. PROCTER. One great trouble is that a good many men object to their names going out.

Senator REED. We can not help that. We are going to make them tell.

Mr. PROCTER. That is why I am hesitating.

The CHAIRMAN. You would rather have someone else give it?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes. They are down in that book. You will get it all.

Senator EDGE. I would like to get a little more information about the State. One million dollars approximately, raised by the central headquarters, divided among the 47 States in which you made a fight, would be approximately \$21,000 for each State. Of course, I appreciate that some States are larger than others, and that would not be a fair way to figure it finally. Twenty-one thousand dollars per State of which I understand about \$8,000 went for publicity?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir; about 70 per cent for publicity.

Senator EDGE. About \$8,000 for other purposes?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Leaving \$8,000 to be sent to the States for purposes other than publicity?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. The point I would like to get in the record, if you can give it to us, if there is any way to get it, is what amounts the States raised in addition to that. If you spent about \$8,000 per State, other than for publicity, making a country-wide contest, that is one thing; but if each State, in addition to that, has contributed large sums, it would seem to me that would more thoroughly bear upon the cost. Is there any way you can get that information?

Mr. PROCTER. I don't believe there is, Senator. I don't know it myself. We might give you a list of States where any money was raised, but not the amount raised in those States.

Senator EDGE. You did not attempt to keep a record of it?

Mr. PROCTER. It was not within our province. There were a good many States in which money was raised.

Senator EDGE. You feel that, do you?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Your understanding is that may have been done in these States where there were rather warm contests waged, as in my own State, where I think the figures given the other day were \$15,000 having been expended from the Gen. Wood headquarters in New York, and \$13,000 for Senator Johnson, the contest being between the two. You know nothing about any separate State Wood club, or any State subscriptions for local use, as I understand you?

Mr. PROCTER. I would not know that. That you would obtain from Mr. Gould in charge of eastern headquarters.

Senator REED. You said it was embarrassing to tell the names of the large contributors, did you?

Mr. PROCTER. I really can not give you many of them.

Senator REED. I understand you can not give us many of them, but give us what you can, because, Mr. Procter, we have insisted on that with others, and we will have to pursue the rule. Of course, these collections of funds for campaigns is a public business, and we are trying to find out about it, and we will have to ask you to answer. I wish you would give us the names of those you now remember.

Mr. PROCTER. Well, I think Mr. William Wrigley gave us some money; I don't remember how much.

Senator REED. Can you approximate it?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who is William Wrigley?

Senator EDGE. Can you give us any information as to whether that was solicited by general appeal?

Mr. PROCTER. I can not give you definite information. Part was raised by general appeal and part, I fancy, by personal solicitation by some friends of the general. I am not familiar with all the contributions.

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Senator REED. We can not help that. We are going to make them tell.

Mr. PROCTER. That is why I am hesitating.

Senator REED. What is Stebbin's business?

Mr. PROCTER. The cotton business, I think.

Senator REED. What character? What connection?

Mr. PROCTER. I think they have certain mills they sell the product from.

Senator REED. What is Goodrich's business?

Mr. PROCTER. Rubber tires. No; I think this fellow is a broker in New York; I am not sure.

Senator REED. They already had an organization in August?

Mr. PROCTER. Not a political organization.

Senator REED. It was known as the Wood League?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Its object was political? It was not just a league for Wood for no purpose, was it? If it was not political, what was it, Mr. Procter?

Mr. PROCTER. I think it was publicity, more than political. I don't think they knew any politics.

Senator REED. Whether they were proceeding wisely, or unwisely, its object was political was it not? There was not anything else to boom Gen. Wood for?

Mr. PROCTER. Their object was to bring his name forward as a possible candidate for President. He was not a candidate at that time.

Senator REED. But their object was to boom him for President. That is the plain English of it, is it not?

Mr. PROCTER. I would not say so.

Senator REED. What was it to boom him for? It was not for promotion in the Army?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I don't think so.

Senator REED. Or for connection with the Y. M. C. A.?

Mr. PROCTER. The object was to bring him forward before the people.

Senator REED. We will assume that it was political. How much of an organization did they have at that time?

Mr. PROCTER. They had half a dozen young fellows there in New York. I think they had an office in the Imperial Hotel, and a couple of stenographers writing letters.

Senator REED. Was that all?

Mr. PROCTER. That was all at that time.

Senator REED. Did they have branches in different States?

Mr. PROCTER. Not at that time.

Senator REED. You did not take charge in August?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir.

Senator REED. When did you become connected with that organization?

Mr. PROCTER. In December, I think, nominally connected.

Senator REED. What was your nominal connection?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, as nominal president, as I am still, but I have never engineered it.

Senator REED. Who was the active man in it?

Mr. PROCTER. The same young men, I think Stebbins and Joy.

Senator EDGE. Were any of these young men ever in the Army?

Mr. PROCTER. I think all were; not in the Regular Army, but in the war.

Senator REED. Have you ever had anything to do actively with the Wood League, or have you simply retained that nominal connection?

Mr. PROCTER. That is all.

Senator REED. The active men have been these young men you have spoken of?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did they, after August, when you say they had only a small headquarters, extend their operations so that they were organized generally throughout the country?

Mr. PROCTER. Only by correspondence, I think, Senator. They had no State headquarters. I really don't know that.

Senator REED. Did they not have branches organized in different States?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir; I think they did.

Senator REED. Did they raise any money?

Mr. PROCTER. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. Did you ever contribute to it?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who was the treasurer of it?

Mr. PROCTER. I think Stebbins was treasurer.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the activities of the Leonard Wood League, except what you have told us?

Mr. PROCTER. That is all.

Senator REED. Afterwards, some time in the month of January, you became the president of the Leonard Wood campaign committee?

Mr. PROCTER. Chairman.

Senator REED. At the time you took the position of chairman, the committee was already organized, was it not?

Mr. PROCTER. No, there was nothing here at that time.

Senator REED. Had there not been a Leonard Wood organization which preceded you?

Mr. PROCTER. No organization that I know of.

Senator REED. Had there not been a Leonard Wood movement connected with which was a man named King, who had been pretty active?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, yes; Mr. King was connected with it, but I know nothing of it. He was acting for Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Did they not have some organization?

Mr. PROCTER. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. Have they not been very active in some of the States?

Mr. PROCTER. I only know from hearsay. I know nothing of any activities.

Senator REED. I do not mean mere vague rumors, but you on coming into this movement must have learned something of the conditions when you came into it. You did know that Mr. King had represented Gen. Wood. What had he been doing, as far as you know?

Mr. PROCTER. I don't know.

Senator REED. There was no committee or organization at that time of any kind, as far as you know?

Mr. PROCTER. None that I know of.

Senator REED. The one you are now the head of you built up yourself?

Mr. PROCTER. Absolutely.

Senator REED. Has there been some dispute between King and Wood, or the new Wood management?

Mr. PROCTER. I don't know.

Senator REED. You never heard of that?

Mr. PROCTER. You mean has there been?

Senator REED. Has there been?

Mr. PROCTER. There was, of course, with Mr. King. He severed his connection with it.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Proctor, frankly, candidly, do you not know, did you not learn when you took charge, that there had been an effort made to carry on a propaganda for Gen. Wood, and that Mr. King had been active in that management and that it was considered necessary to reorganize, and you were called upon to organize the new movement?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir. I was asked to organize a new movement.

Senator REED. And you had to learn something of the progress that had been made up to the time that you took charge, did you not?

Mr. PROCTER. I learned nothing of it. So far as I know, none had been made up to that time.

Senator REED. There had been large sums of money collected, had there not?

Mr. PROCTER. If there had been, I know nothing about it. I saw no results of any kind.

Senator REED. You heard about it, did you not?

Mr. PROCTER. I have heard rumors of it. I knew nothing.

Senator REED. What was the occasion of the change in management? What did you understand was the reason there had to be new management?

Mr. PROCTER. Because there was no organization.

Senator REED. You did not undertake to take over the old organization?

Mr. PROCTER. There was none.

Senator REED. Or to take up the work that had been left off by the other organization?

Mr. PROCTER. There was none.

Senator REED. Do you say absolutely you know there had been no previous organization?

Mr. PROCTER. I saw no evidence of any previous organization, and all the signs were that there was none.

Senator REED. Did you learn whether we call it an organization or not, that somebody had been trying to boom Gen. Wood, outside of that league?

Mr. PROCTER. Mr. King was working for Gen. Wood, I understood.

Senator REED. Where was he working?

Mr. PROCTER. I don't know.

Senator REED. And you never heard?

Mr. PROCTER. I never heard.

Senator REED. You never took the trouble to inquire?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; and I was never told.

Senator REED. Whom did you inquire of?

Mr. PROCTER. I think himself.

Senator REED. And he did not tell you?

Mr. PROCTER. No, sir.

Senator REED. Then you can not tell us anything about the amount of money Mr. King may have collected, the amount of money he may have disbursed, or the object or purposes for which it was disbursed? You know nothing about that?

Mr. PROCTER. Absolutely nothing.

Senator REED. When I say "absolutely nothing" I do not mean you had to actually see it.

Mr. PROCTER. I know absolutely nothing. Mr. King declined to say anything about it.

Senator REED. Did you try to talk to him about it?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. When?

Mr. PROCTER. Shortly before he severed his connection with the movement.

Senator REED. Then there was a movement that he had to sever his connection with, was there not?

Mr. PROCTER. The Wood movement.

Senator REED. Then there had been a Wood movement, and King had been connected with it?

Mr. PROCTER. I said he had been connected with Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. And it was important enough so that you asked him about it?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What did you say to him, and what did he say to you?

Mr. PROCTER. I don't remember.

Senator REED. Can you give the substance of it?

Mr. PROCTER. Merely that he declined to give me any information about it.

Senator REED. What did you ask him about?

Mr. PROCTER. I asked him what he had been doing.

Senator REED. For whom?

Mr. PROCTER. He was working for Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Had you talked to Gen. Wood prior to this time?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Had you talked to him about King?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Had you talked to him about the condition of his campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Had you talked to him about why he wanted to take the matter out of King's hands?

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that Mr. King has been subpoenaed as a witness here.

Senator REED. I understand. Had you talked with Gen. Wood about why he wanted to take the matter out of King's hands?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, is that within the limits of the resolution?

Senator REED. Absolutely within the limits.

Senator EDGE. What does the Senator want to demonstrate by that?

Senator REED. I want to find out about the money that has been used and expended, and the means that have been employed in raising it, and if there was any organization existing when he took hold, what the condition of affairs was at that time.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Procter says he does not know, and we have a man who does know to follow him.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the statement from Gen. Wood to him throw any light on this?

Senator REED. I did not ask him what Gen. Wood said. I asked him if he had talked with Gen. Wood upon that subject. What is there about this campaign that can not be laid wide open? You gentlemen have asked about Mr. Palmer and his connections, about the men employed in his office? What are you afraid of?

Senator EDGE. If there is anything you can bring out along this line of questioning, personally, I have no objection to it, but I wondered what was the purpose of trying to bring out this evidence regarding Mr. King, when the witness says he does not know, and when Mr. King is to follow this witness.

Senator REED. One question leads to another. Here is a gentleman of very high standing, and also of high standing in the Wood campaign. He says he does not know anything about Mr. King. I am trying to develop the fact that there is a connection between the King campaign and the present campaign.

Mr. PROCTER. If there is, I don't know it.

Senator REED. Well, pardon me. I do not mean to contradict you, but I think you do know it, and I think I will demonstrate it in about two minutes if you will answer the question. You did talk with Gen. Wood about Mr. King having been conducting a campaign, did you not?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I do not ask you what Gen. Wood said, but you learned that a new management was desired for some reason, and you were asked to be the new manager?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So that your movement did succeed this King movement. That is true, is it not?

Mr. PROCTER. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. So that if we want to get the complete Wood campaign, we have got to go back to the King régime, have we not?

Mr. PROCTER. I suppose so.

Senator REED. Now, I think you gentlemen understand the importance of the question.

Senator EDGE. We are all agreed on that. You were asking Mr. Procter as to what Gen. Wood said about the King campaign.

Senator REED. I was not asking him anything about that.

Senator EDGE. I thought you were asking him directly about that.

Senator REED. Did you seek to ascertain whether there were any funds on hand that had been gathered by the movements that preceded yours?

Mr. PROCTER. There were not any.

Senator REED. How did you find that out?

Mr. PROCTER. I asked King. Pardon me. I don't think I did. They had no funds at all at that time; had no organization, not even a treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. There was nothing turned over to your organization by the King organization?

Mr. PROCTER. Not a thing; no records of any kind.

Senator REED. Were there any debts turned over or any bills that you were asked to liquidate?

Mr. PROCTER. There may have been a few unpaid bills; I don't remember.

Senator EDGE. It was a liability rather than an asset?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. But there was a connection just the same; if you paid the bills there must have been a connection.

Mr. PROCTER. I thought it was just the reverse.

Senator POMERENE. I thought you made the statement that there was a breaking off.

Mr. PROCTER. I mean Mr. King broke away from the organization.

Senator REED. When you started with the organization you had three general headquarters, I believe you said?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The southern headquarters, located in Washington, at the head of which was Senator Moses?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The eastern headquarters at New York, at the head of which was Mr. Gould?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And the western general headquarters located at Chicago, at the head of which was Mr. Joss. You then said there was Mr. Walpole, Mr. McGraw, and Mr. Stanley, that each had been named as a vice president, and each was in charge of certain States and given full authority and held responsible for results. Now, I want to get at the question of what territory was assigned to Mr. Walpole.

Mr. PROCTER. I may not remember them. Mr. Walpole had Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, practically those States to the coast, Utah, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon.

Senator REED. Somewhere there is a record of that, is there not?

Mr. PROCTER. He knows. Those men themselves know. I am sure that is about the territory.

Senator REED. What was the territory of Mr. McGraw?

Mr. PROCTER. He was looking more particularly after Oklahoma, Missouri, doing some work in Louisiana, and some work in Texas.

Senator REED. What was the territory assigned to Mr. Stanley, Wichita?

Mr. PROCTER. Stanley had Kansas and Iowa, I think.

Senator REED. And what was the territory assigned to the Chicago office?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, Joss had Michigan and Wisconsin. Mr. Alger and Senator Roberts were looking after Michigan, and Senator Roberts was looking after Wisconsin. They reported direct.

Senator REED. Let me get that correctly. Mr. Proctor. Mr. Alger was with who?

Mr. PROCTER. Senator Roberts. Mr. Alger had Michigan, and Roberts helped there, and Roberts undertook to look after Wisconsin also.

Senator REED. So that these two gentlemen had those States specifically assigned to them?

Mr. PROCTER. Alger was in Michigan. Roberts helped him in Michigan, and also looked after Wisconsin.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Procter says he does not know, and we have a man who does know to follow him.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the statement from Gen. Wood to him throw any light on this?

Senator REED. I did not ask him what Gen. Wood said. I asked him if he had talked with Gen. Wood upon that subject. What is there about this campaign that can not be laid wide open? You gentlemen have asked about Mr. Palmer and his connections, about the men employed in his office? What are you afraid of?

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The CHAIRMAN. There was nothing turned over to your organization by the King organization?

Mr. PROCTER. Not a thing; no records of any kind.

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Each of them creating his own organization within his own particular domain?

Mr. PROCTER. In those States: not in the Chicago office.

Senator REED. The Chicago office itself did not undertake to create any other organizations than that in the Western States, did it?

Mr. PROCTER. Practically not; that is my understanding.

Senator EDGE. Does that include Senator Moses's district?

Senator REED. No; I have been dealing with the West. I was coming to the other.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now after 1 o'clock. I think we will take a recess until 2.30.

(Thereupon, at 1.10 p. m., the committee took a recess until 2.30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

At 2.30 o'clock, p. m., the subcommittee reassembled pursuant to the taking of recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

TESTIMONY OF Mr. WILLIAM COOPER PROCTER—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Proctor, there is one thing I would like to be clear on, the \$500,000 that you say you advanced and that you know of subscriptions of about that much more——

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know of that much more, Senator. I said that my understanding is that the last I heard of the contributions, they were substantially less than what I have given.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that mean that the \$500,000 you have given, and this other that has been subscribed is to be added to get at the contributions so far, or is that to pay back your \$500,000?

Mr. PROCTER. Oh, no, my \$500,000 has not been paid back.

The CHAIRMAN. This other money has not been raised in any way for the purpose of paying back the \$500,000?

Mr. PROCTOR. No.

The CHAIRMAN. So that in order to get at the moneys collected, we should take your \$500,000——

Mr. PROCTER. And add the other contributions to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you think would be around \$500,000?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We got the impression from your statement this morning that you had paid about as much as the other subscriptions.

Mr. PROCTER. I said I paid in excess; I know I paid more than the total contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know what the other contributions are?

Mr. PROCTER. I was told I paid in more.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you not any idea at all, Mr. Proctor, any estimate of what those contributions might amount to?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I could not give it, Senator. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. The treasurer's statement will give that fully?

Mr. PROCTER. The treasurer's statement will give that fully; yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. I think you stated in your testimony this morning that all but approximately \$8,000 per State, in 47 States, had been spent for what might be termed educational or advertising or publicity purposes?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator EDGE. I would like to get that clear. Do you mean that of this \$1,000,000, or whatever less than \$1,000,000 it may be—we have not the figures exactly—well, assuming it was \$1,000,000 in order to get some average, that would mean that if you had spent \$8,000 per State in these various States in which you had made a contest, that you had spent about \$600,000 for educational purposes; is that correct?

Mr. PROCTER. I said about 70 per cent, I think, Senator, which would be on \$1,000,000 about \$700,000.

Senator EDGE. \$600,000 I said. As a matter of fact, it is \$700,000?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; for publicity, headquarters expense, and that character of work.

Senator EDGE. And educational campaigns?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; and educational campaigns. I am giving these things roughly, of course.

Senator EDGE. We understand that. I think that is clearly understood. This \$700,000, if it should amount to that—that is, assuming that the contributions other than your own are near half a million—what did that consist of, in addition to headquarters? You speak of headquarters. Did you get out considerable literature, educational matter, to be sent around the country?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator EDGE. I think you should make it clear that you did. That is a type of expenditure that has more merit, perhaps, in the minds of the public than any other type might have. If you spent \$200,000 for literature, advertising, publicity, and educational work, I think your testimony should show it.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us be clear about that. Is it your claim, Colonel, that \$700,000 is the limit of what was spent?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator EDGE. Of the \$1,000,000 he said 70 per cent had been spent for publicity and other things?

Mr. PROCTER. As I recall, between 60 and 70 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. I wanted to know if he cared to state what the \$700,000 consisted of?

Mr. PROCTER. Whatever it amounts to, 65 or 70 per cent has been for publicity, in the way of circularizing letters and records of Leonard Wood's career. I say also in newspaper advertising.

The CHAIRMAN. You have carried on quite an extensive newspaper campaign, have you?

Mr. PROCTER. In certain States, yes; we have. Most of the work has been in circularizing pamphlets.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you sent out circulars fairly generally, and if so, can you give us any approximate total of the number of letters and regular postage, I mean enclosing his record or circular matter? Have you sent that generally throughout the country under regular postage?

Mr. PROCTER. I think that would have to be gotten somewhat in detail. I think it has been done more or less practically all over the country, in some States more than others.

Mr. PROCTER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Each of them creating his own organization within his own particular domain?

Mr. PROCTER. In those States: not in the Chicago office.

Senator REED. The Chicago office itself did not undertake to create any other organizations than that in the Western States, did it?

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The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know what the other contributions are?

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The CHAIRMAN. Have you not any idea at all, Mr. Proctor, any estimate of what those contributions might amount to?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I could not give it, Senator. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. The treasurer's statement will give that fully?

Mr. PROCTER. The treasurer's statement will give that fully; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we have to take estimates of that kind.

Mr. PROCTER. Well, on the roughest kind of a guess, I would say that 12 or 15 States raised their own money. In all of them they raised some money which they themselves expended.

The CHAIRMAN. Where can we get the amounts that were raised in these different States? That is not represented in the figures you have given us, is it?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know whether you would get it from the State manager or not, sir. It may be that some individual city raised some money.

The CHAIRMAN. But in any event those amounts are not included in these other figures?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any money expended in the way of employing newspaper men to write articles?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not think as many as 12 or 15; I would rather say 8 or 10.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a publicity bureau, Colonel?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that in charge of?

Mr. PROCTER. George Sunday.

The CHAIRMAN. He is at Chicago?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes. We also had a publicity bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. What salary did you pay Mr. Sunday, do you know?

Mr. PROCTER. He volunteered his services. We paid his expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all you paid him?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Did he not get \$500 a week?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Some one in these proceedings, somewhere, has made that kind of a statement. Do you know about that? That is, are you sure?

Mr. PROCTER. I did not make any of the financial arrangements with any person in connection with the campaign, but I am morally certain that Mr. Sunday merely had his expenses paid.

The CHAIRMAN. That will appear in these books of the treasurer as to whether he was paid anything?

Mr. PROCTER. I presume so. I do not know about the details.

The CHAIRMAN. What other publicity man did you have?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, we had a publicity force in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you have on that force?

Mr. PROCTER. I mean in New York. I could not remember, sir. We had five or six men.

The CHAIRMAN. Writers for the papers?

Mr. PROCTER. And reporters, newspaper men, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many did you have in Chicago?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not give you those figures. We had several.

The CHAIRMAN. How many in New York?

Mr. PROCTER. We had several in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us their names?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not even do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can do that?

Mr. PROCTER. The district manager.

The CHAIRMAN. The district manager?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; the division manager.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they cover the question of magazine articles too?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not think we had any magazine articles prepared.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not have any?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. These expense accounts of these different people—were they pretty large? Did you have a good deal of traveling throughout the country? Did you have what are called flying squadrons?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not quite understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Flying squadrons?

Mr. PROCTER. We had quite a number of speakers that we sent out, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know whether flying squadrons are considered speakers or not, but in some of the campaigns we found that there were men going through the different sections of the country arranging matters. Did you have any men of that kind?

Mr. PROCTER. More or less, as reporters, or scouts, as you choose to call them, to find out as to the conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those men did you have?

Mr. PROCTER. That I could not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any idea as to the total number of employees you had at Chicago, even including these men going through the country?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the New York office?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any of them?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I am not familiar with the personnel. It would be a rank guess.

The CHAIRMAN. How many headquarters did you have, altogether?

Mr. PROCTER. Three—New York, Chicago, and Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Your New York headquarters were at the Imperial Hotel?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chicago headquarters were where?

Mr. PROCTER. The Congress Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. The Washington headquarters?

Mr. PROCTER. The Willard.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those headquarters extensive and expensive?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hitchcock testified that when he came in he found they were very extensive and he tried to cut down, because they were expensive.

Mr. PROCTER. The reason for that, if I may amplify it, is that we had to build up a new organization very largely of volunteer help, which is not economical, because you have to furnish their accessories to go with them, and you can not throw an organization together for a nation-wide effort in a couple of months' time, and get really effective, economically working proposition. It takes a good many years to build a real business organization.

Senator E. G. The Government has rather found that same difficulty in the last two or three years, has it not?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Colonel, what did these Chicago headquarters cost you? What is the rental?

Mr. PROCTER. I think we have six or seven rooms there. I think they charged me \$5 a room per day.

Senator POMERENE. \$5 a room per day for seven rooms?

Mr. PROCTER. That is the regular charge at the Congress Hotel.

Senator POMERENE. Do those six or seven rooms constitute your entire headquarters in Chicago?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. How many rooms do you have at the Imperial in New York?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. What do they cost you?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. How many rooms have you at the Willard?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know how many.

Senator POMERENE. How much do they cost you?

Mr. PROCTER. Senator Moses can tell you.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, you had headquarters at Cleveland?

Mr. PROCTER. The national committee had none. I know nothing about that.

Senator POMERENE. The State committee did have?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I think their headquarters are at Columbus.

Senator POMERENE. Did they have headquarters at Cincinnati, too?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, not the State committee.

Senator POMERENE. Who is in charge of the headquarters at Columbus?

Mr. PROCTER. John Price.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge of the campaign in Cuyahoga County?

Mr. PROCTER. I really do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about the receipts and disbursements in that county?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Were you furnished with any statement about them at all, or any of the items of receipts or disbursements?

Mr. PROCTER. In that county; no.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about the expenditures in Hamilton County; that is your home county?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Or the receipts?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Did you at any time have any estimate as to what would be the probable cost of the Wood campaign in the State of Ohio?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; I had.

Senator POMERENE. What was that estimate?

Mr. PROCTER. Outside of the publicity, which I do not know, I think it was in the neighborhood of \$50,000 for everything.

Senator POMERENE. In the neighborhood of \$50,000, outside of publicity? Did you mean to include any publicity?

Mr. PROCTER. I mean outside of publicity; that was furnished by the Chicago headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. Well, there was a good deal of advertising in all the metropolitan papers in Ohio.

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. All the Cleveland papers, or nearly all of them?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The Columbus papers?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The Cincinnati papers?

Mr. PROCTER. That I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge of the Cincinnati headquarters?

Mr. PROCTER. In Cincinnati, I think was a young fellow named Redman.

Senator POMERENE. Was Rudolph Henecke connected with it?

Mr. PROCTER. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have anything to do with the Wood campaign there?

Mr. PROCTER. Not at all.

Senator POMERENE. Did you receive or disburse some of the funds?

Mr. PROCTER. Not a penny.

Senator POMERENE. Who received the funds for Cincinnati?

Mr. PROCTER. I presume Mr. Rogan; I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Who could furnish us that statement?

Mr. PROCTER. Mr. Price.

Senator POMERENE. Would he be able to furnish us with a statement of the funds collected and expended in each county in the State?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir. I understand the State law requires you to file a statement in each county. I know we furnished our statement, and filed our statement, as required by the law in Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. Were there any individuals handling funds who did not file a statement?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about the collection of funds in Columbus or Franklin County?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Or their disbursement?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about the contributors there?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Have you received any statement as to what the campaign has, in fact, cost?

Mr. PROCTER. In Ohio?

Senator POMERENE. Since it was concluded?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. You were the general manager of the Wood campaign throughout the United States, and none of these sub-managers furnished any statement to you in regard to their receipts and disbursements?

Mr. PROCTER. Not of State funds, other than what came from headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. Well, let me see if I understand you correctly, then. If we got a report of the receipts and disbursements from the Chicago headquarters, the Washington headquarters, and the New York headquarters, that would not by any means include all of the expenses of the entire campaign in the several States and counties?

Mr. PROCTER. It would not include all States.

Senator POMERENE. You have indicated here that there was approximately \$1,000,000 collected, including what you yourself had contributed?

Mr. PROCTER. Advanced.

Senator POMERENE. Advanced. Well, was that the amount of money which was contributed and advanced at the three headquarters?

Mr. PROCTER. As I understand it. I will qualify that. I do not know. I understand that the other contributions were less than what I had advanced. I do not want to commit myself.

Senator POMERENE. But whatever they were?

Mr. PROCTER. As I understand it.

Senator POMERENE. What portion of the funds which have been received in behalf of Wood would be included in the funds that were received at these three headquarters?

Mr. PROCTER. So far as the national campaign is concerned, all of it. I do not know as to the State campaigns. I do not know, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know what the receipts were in any of the States or in the counties?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know what any individual spent outside of the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. You speak of it as an advance by you. Do you expect that to be refunded to you?

Mr. PROCTER. "Expect" is too strong a word.

Senator POMERENE. Suppose you use, then, the word to describe what portion of this advance you think may come back?

Mr. PROCTER. I really do not know, and in a sense I do not much care. I have taken on the work in perhaps an idealistic way. I feel very keenly in the situation, and I feel it is my obligation to go through with it, and I am going through with it. I think I feel more strongly on this thing as a service than a donation to the Red Cross, or any war work I ever undertook. That is my personal feeling in the matter, and I am sincere in it.

Senator POMERENE. Are you going to continue to make advances?

Mr. PROCTER. If necessary, if any money is needed.

Senator POMERENE. And to any extent that may be necessary?

Mr. PROCTER. That I think proper.

Senator POMERENE. But you will determine whether you believe it proper or not?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And are you expecting any account to be made to you of these expenditures?

Mr. PROCTER. At the close of the campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Not before that?

Mr. PROCTER. Not before that.

Senator POMERENE. Have accounts been filed in Ohio with the secretary of state, as required?

Mr. PROCTER. I understand so.

Senator POMERENE. Under the Ohio statute?

Mr. PROCTER. I understand so.

Senator POMERENE. By each of these headquarters?

Mr. PROCTER. I understand so. I do not know whether they have gone down into the counties. They were instructed to comply with the law in every State.

Senator POMERENE. Can you furnish a statement of the funds which have been given by the three national headquarters to any of the other States?

Mr. PROCTER. I think the treasurer's records will show that.

Senator POMERENE. You have no independent information upon that subject?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to inquire.

Do you know what money was sent to West Virginia in the campaign that just closed yesterday?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were you in direct charge of that?

Mr. PROCTER. Of what?

Senator POMERENE. Of the campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Either in an advisory or financial way?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator REED. Did you have anything to do with it at all?

Mr. PROCTER. In the general discussion of the organization down there with the men who were working with us. That is the extent to which I did it.

Senator REED. Who did take care of the West Virginia campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. Mr. Joss and Senator Moses were looking after it.

Senator REED. I was on the line of examination about your organization when we adjourned, and I wanted to take that up. We covered the western situation. Now, let us take up the eastern situation. You have told us who the eastern manager was. Did you have any part of the East subdivided, and States turned over to individuals, like you did in the western territory?

Mr. PROCTER. Do you mean that—yes; the division embraced certain States. Senator Moses had certain States he was looking after, Mr. Gould and Mr. Miller had certain States they were looking after.

Senator REED. You were at the Chicago headquarters, and that had general jurisdiction over the entire West?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Then it appears that you had divided the West, and that certain gentlemen, whose names I went over this morning, had particular States assigned to them?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, you had an eastern headquarters which had general jurisdiction over the East. Did you have the East subdivided into particular States, turned over to particular men?

Mr. PROCTER. It is the same way exactly as in the West, except that in the East the territory covered was larger, so it required more men to divide it among.

Senator REED. What I want to get at is what States were in the eastern division, and who was manager for each State?

Mr. PROCTER. Senator Moses had the——

Senator REED. He was in the southern division?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Let us shift to the east.

Mr. PROCTER. All right. In the east Mr. Gould took New York State, and, with Mr. Miller, looking after Connecticut and Rhode Island. Mr. Miller had Delaware. I think Mr. Gould had a good deal to do with New Jersey. Mr. Miller had Delaware, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and Pennsylvania.

Senator REED. Were there any managers in New York, aside from Mr. Gould?

Mr. PROCTER. In greater New York there was—I do not know how Mr. Gould handled the up-State proposition.

Senator REED. Who was the manager in Greater New York?

Mr. PROCTER. I think Mr. Morris was chairman of that committee.

Senator REED. Can you give us his initials?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I can not. That information, sir, you will get more accurately from Mr. Gould or Mr. Morris. I will do the best I can.

Senator REED. Mr. Morris is at the headquarters in New York City?

Mr. PROCTER. At the Greater New York headquarters; yes.

Senator REED. Where are they?

Mr. PROCTER. Also in the Imperial Hotel.

Senator REED. Well, is there a separate manager for New Jersey?

Mr. PROCTER. You will have to ask Mr. Gould.

Senator REED. Is there a separate manager for Connecticut?

Mr. PROCTER. You will have to ask Mr. Gould.

Senator REED. How about Rhode Island?

Mr. PROCTER. You will have to ask Mr. Gould.

Senator REED. How about Delaware and Massachusetts?

Mr. PROCTER. I think Congressman Lufkin was manager in Massachusetts. I do not know about that. I am only giving these things from memory.

Senator REED. Lufkin?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the record?

Senator REED. Yes. It may be a different viewpoint, possibly.

Now, take Vermont. Did you have any separate manager there, or in New Hampshire?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator REED. Or in Maine?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator REED. How about Pennsylvania?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator REED. I do not know whether this has been gone over in my absence—I have been out a little while—but I will ask you the general question—no, I will ask you the specific question, whether Mr. Morris, the manager of the Greater New York headquarters, collects money?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not think so.

Senator REED. Does he disburse money?

Mr. PROCTER. I assume so.

Senator REED. Where does he get it from?

Mr. PROCTER. That I do not know. You will have to get that from Mr. Gould.

Senator REED. I suppose, now, that what you have answered with reference to Mr. Morris you answer with reference to all these other State managers?

Mr. PROCTER. That I do not know. You will have to get that from Mr. Gould.

Senator REED. Coming out of the southern headquarters, which are in control of Senator Moses, are there any State managers, or State managers under Mr. Moses, that have charge of any particular States or groups of States?

Mr. PROCTER. You will have to ask Mr. Moses.

Senator REED. Do you not know about that?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I leave that entirely to the Senator.

Senator REED. When did you first become acquainted with Gen. Wood?

Mr. PROCTER. About six years ago.

Senator REED. Has your acquaintance been close and intimate since that time?

Mr. PROCTER. Not close and intimate since that time; no.

Senator REED. When did you first become interested in this campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. I told you, I think——

Senator REED. You spoke about the time you were asked to take charge. How did they come to pick a man who had never had, as I understand, any experience in politics? How did they come to come to you to undertake the management of a great political campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. I really do not know.

Senator REED. Had you had some previous conversations with gentlemen about the Wood campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. None whatever until they came and asked me.

Senator REED. You had never had any meetings with business men or talks with business men?

Mr. PROCTER. Not one.

Senator REED. This was a bolt out of a clear sky?

Mr. PROCTER. Absolutely.

Senator REED. A pan of milk off the top shelf that suddenly hit you?

Mr. PROCTER. That is not a bad description.

Senator REED. You had no idea how you came to be selected?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator REED. When you found you needed funds, and you began to have to draw heavily on your own private fortune, did you have any conferences with any of the Wood leaders or any of the members of this organization about that?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator REED. You just put it up?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Then there is no agreement to have it returned?

Mr. PROCTER. None whatever. I advanced it.

Senator REED. So, if it is a loan, it is a loan that you negotiated with yourself, by yourself, without any agreement on the part of yourself to pay yourself back?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

Senator REED. Or to get it from any other source?

Mr. PROCTER. Pardon me one moment. The loan was made on the distinct statement that it was not a contribution, and I do expect probably a portion will be paid back by the general's friends.

Senator REED. But you said you had no talk with anybody about it?

Mr. PROCTER. I had no conferences.

Senator REED. Whom did you have an understanding with that it was to be paid back?

Mr. PROCTER. Not a soul.

Senator REED. Then there is no understanding, is there?

Mr. PROCTER. There is no understanding.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, you put up \$500,000——

Mr. PROCTER. I advanced \$500,000 as a loan, and I expect the General's friends to pay a part of it back.

Senator POMERENE. No; you simply had a faint hope that it might come back?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I have an expectation.

Senator POMERENE. A faint expectation?

Mr. PROCTER. It is a real expectation.

Senator REED. Who do you expect is going to contribute that money? That is considerable money for men of ordinary means, and I am glad you are able to contribute it.

Mr. PROCTER. Thank you. I do not know, but the general has an enormous acquaintance.

Senator REED. Who you do really expect? You say you have a hope, and hope is the substance of things not seen, I believe is the definition.

Senator SPENCER. Evidence.

Senator REED. Evidence. Very well. I bow to your superior ecclesiastic brain. I am wondering how your memories are so good. Whom do you think is going to put this money up, anyway?

Mr. PROCTER. I am sure I do not know, but I am quite sure a considerable portion of it will be put up.

Senator REED. Then you must know some men of considerable means who are interested in this Wood campaign, who have been contributors, and you expect them to help you out, is not that true?

Mr. PROCTER. Not help out; no.

Senator REED. Well, help out this debt sometime in the future. Who are they?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not name them, sir. The General has a great many friends among the old Plattsburg group.

Senator REED. What was the old Plattsburg group?

Mr. PROCTER. A great many of those men who went to Plattsburg in 1915.

Senator SPENCER. Were you at Plattsburg?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; because I thought I should go as a matter of service, and the same motives prompt me now. These men are interested in the General.

Senator REED. Are they capitalists?

Mr. PROCTER. Men of considerable means, who can contribute \$500 or \$1,000.

Senator REED. Don't you know that there is a group of various men that are backing this campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. I know there is not.

Senator REED. You know they have not contributed?

Mr. PROCTER. I know they have not.

Senator REED. You have got more faith than I have if you think you are going to get that money back. I do not believe that in an ordinary business deal you would do it quite so willingly.

Mr. PROCTER. I do not look upon this as an ordinary business deal, Senator. I am foolish enough to look upon it as a patriotic service.

Senator REED. Perhaps it is. You spoke about speakers that were sent out. What speakers have been sent out?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not tell you.

Senator REED. Do you know the names of any of them?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I could not even tell you that. Monteville Flower, a man named Squier, and other men who have gone out under pay; there have probably been quite a number.

Senator EDGE. Was a man like Flower paid so much per speech?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know. I do not think we are paying him for his speeches, however. I think we pay him by the day.

Senator REED. Are you generally paying the speakers?

Mr. PROCTER. A great many of them were being paid.

Senator REED. You try to get as prominent men as you can, of course, so they will attract the crowds?

Mr. PROCTER. We are trying to get the men who will best present the case.

Senator REED. How much do you pay them per speech?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir.

Senator REED. Who knows the leaders of the speakers, and how much they get?

Mr. PROCTER. John Weaver is in charge of it.

Senator REED. Where is he?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator REED. At the headquarters?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Could you approximate how much money has been spent for hired speakers?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean to leave the impression that all of the speakers are paid?

Mr. PROCTER. Oh, no. Gov. Allen has spoken.

The CHAIRMAN. A great many are volunteers?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; but we also had to have some paid speakers.

Senator REED. Did you have a great many of these speakers on the Chautauqua circuit?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know. I do not believe Flower is on the Chautauqua circuit; I do not know.

Senator REED. That is all you know about the speakers?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; that is all.

Senator REED. The scouts; are they paid?

Mr. PROCTER. Some of them are and some of them are not. I can not answer that question.

Senator REED. How many scouts did you have in this campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator REED. Could you approximate it?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not; no.

Senator REED. Can you approximate the amount of money that has been expended for scouts?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not. It should be in the treasurer's books.

Senator EDGE. What is a scout, or your interpretation of it?

Mr. PROCTER. Oh, some fellows we send out to inquire as to the condition of the organization—how the thing is working and how the sentiment between the two rival candidates is. There are only comparatively a few of them. I do not know how many.

Senator EDGE. Do you know a man named Byllesby?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator EDGE. The president of H. M. Byllesby & Co.?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Did he contribute \$50,000 to this fund?

Mr. PROCTER. He did not.

Senator REED. How much did he contribute?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not remember.

Senator REED. Can you approximate it?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not, sir, but I know it is not that much.

Senator REED. \$25,000?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know about the date that young Sunday became connected with this movement? Could you fix the date?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not believe I can. I should guess about the 1st of March.

Senator REED. This year, of course?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. It was not as early as February 1, was it?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not think so; no.

Senator REED. Do you know a gentleman named Maj. Gen. Glenn?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Is he an Army man?

Mr. PROCTER. He is retired.

Senator REED. When was he retired?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, within the last 12 months; just when I do not know.

Senator REED. Has he been out on the campaign for Wood?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. In what capacity?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, I do not know how to describe him. He has been going around advising in matters, helping out where he could.

Senator REED. Was he not doing more than advising?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not think so.

Senator REED. Was he not a good active field agent or scout?

Mr. PROCTER. You might call him a field agent or scout.

Senator REED. Did he not take some money down to Georgia?

Mr. PROCTER. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. Did he have some money down in Georgia which was distributed?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not think so, not that I know of.

Senator REED. You do not know whether he got any money from your organization?

Mr. PROCTER. I think Senator Moses would know if any money went down there.

Senator REED. How many States has this gentleman been in?

Mr. PROCTER. Well, he is most of the time in Chicago. I think for awhile he was in Ohio.

Senator REED. How much time did he spend in Ohio?

Mr. PROCTER. Two or three weeks, I should fancy, at the time of the campaign.

Senator REED. Do you know how much was paid for any of the full-page advertisements of the Wood campaign in the Ohio papers?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not.

Senator REED. You advertise a great deal yourself in your business?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; but we did not pay political rates.

Senator REED. Are political rates higher?

Mr. PROCTER. Several times higher.

Senator REED. What is the commercial rate paid to any good newspaper, any good city newspaper like one of the Cincinnati or Cleveland papers?

Mr. PROCTER. I really do not know, sir.

Senator REED. Can you not approximate that for us?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not.

Senator REED. How are you able to say that political advertisements are several times higher?

Mr. PROCTER. Because they told me they were.

Senator REED. Who told you that?

Mr. PROCTER. Some of the advertising agencies, when I complained about the rate being high.

Senator REED. Was this advertising placed by the advertising agencies?

Mr. PROCTER. I think it was in Ohio.

Senator REED. Who were the agencies?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know the man's name.

Senator REED. See if you can not recall?

Mr. PROCTER. I have it on my receipts. Mr. Price can give you that name, so, however.

Senator POMERENE. Where is he?

Mr. PROCTER. Probably in Columbus, I fancy; I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. Would Mr. Weaver know all those men?

Mr. PROCTER. Either Mr. Weaver or Price.

Senator REED. Is Mr. Price in the room?

The CHAIRMAN. No; Mr. Price will not be here. He has sent a representative who will give us that information.

Senator REED. You can not tell us yourself?

Mr. PROCTER. No.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF HON. LOUIS C. CRAMTON, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM MICHIGAN.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporter?

Mr. CRAMTON. Louis C. Cramton.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a Member of Congress?

Mr. CRAMTON. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. From what State?

Mr. CRAMTON. Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a Member of Congress?

Mr. CRAMTON. I am serving my fourth term.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have charge of the Johnson campaign in the State of Michigan?

Mr. CRAMTON. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Johnson campaign in the State of Michigan assisted by any funds from the general Johnson headquarters in New York or California?

Mr. CRAMTON. It was.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money was sent into Michigan by either one of those organizations, or any Johnson organization?

Mr. CRAMTON. \$6,200 was furnished to me, which I assumed came from the California committee.

Senator POMERENE. That is for Michigan?

Mr. CRAMTON. For Michigan.

Senator POMERENE. There was no money whatever sent out of the funds that Mr. McSween has spoken of here at the New York headquarters?

Mr. CRAMTON. No; I had no financial relations with his office.

Senator POMERENE. Did you raise money in the State of Michigan for the Johnson campaign?

Mr. CRAMTON. To a very small extent.

Senator POMERENE. Will you give us the contributions and the amounts?

Mr. CRAMTON. So far as contributions were made, they came to me, and all the contributions in the State did come to me, with the exception of a very small amount in the city of Detroit, which was paid to the one county committee, the county in which Detroit is located.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know how much was paid to the one county committee?

Mr. CRAMTON. Not exactly.

Senator POMERENE. Who can tell us that?

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Charles O'Neill was chairman of that committee and Mr. Walter Haas was the treasurer.

Senator EDGE. Can you approximate it?

Mr. CRAMTON. I can approximate it. I was in close supervision of the entire campaign, and was in touch entirely with expenditures, and I am sure that I am safe in saying that the amount of the fund raised by the one county committee did not reach \$1,000. If I may suggest, some of that money was raised by contributions at public meetings, at one meeting \$200 or \$300, and at another meeting a similar amount, and in addition to that there were some other contributions. In no case was more than \$100 given by an individual.

Senator EDGE. That is in the \$1,000?

Mr. CRAMTON. In the \$1,000. Now, as to the contributions outside of that, that came to me directly, I do not know how much you want them itemized.

Senator SPENCER. Do not read any under \$100.

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. D. M. Morris, \$252.

Senator SPENCER. Who is Mr. D. M. Morris?

Mr. CRAMTON. He is a former Californian, now living in Detroit. I think he is the Detroit manager of the Murphy Bed Co.—I have not the name exactly—the Murphy Wall Bed Co. He contributed that for certain advertising which he wanted, and which amounted to \$252.

The CHAIRMAN. Advertising to help the Johnson campaign?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes; he thought certain newspaper advertising should be secured, and we were not in a position to enter upon that expenditure.

F. S. Nassau gave \$300 on behalf of himself and others, of Wash-tenaw County.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. CRAMTON. A former State senator and a business man of Ypsilanti, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the other?

Mr. CRAMTON. We had a meeting at Johnson headquarters after the primary out there, and called to their attention our need of further funds, and asked each of the men there if they would become responsible for \$100, which would be contributed by their committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that was after the primary?

Mr. CRAMTON. After the primary.

Senator SPENCER. To meet expenditures that had already been incurred?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes; and Senator Newton contributed \$300, of which at least \$100 was to be his own contribution. Whether he succeeded in getting any one to assist him on the other \$200 or not I do not know.

Mr. J. B. Kirby, of Saginaw, \$100. Mr. Kirby is the managing director of the board of commerce of Saginaw.

Mr. H. P. Woodworth, of Bay City, \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Woodworth is the manager of the Union Motor Truck Co., of Bay City. I think he made some expenditures himself during the course of the campaign, in addition to this.

Mr. Fred. Butler, a business man of Uno, \$50, the manager of a dry goods store.

L. C. Cramton, \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. That is yourself?

Mr. CRAMTON. Myself. Mr. M. M. Stone, of Sandusky, \$100. He is a retired farmer, and has other business interests.

Hon. George M. Young, a member of Congress from North Dakota, \$100.

Mr. J. H. Wagner, attorney, of Battle Creek, \$100.

Mr. Henry Woodward, of Washington, \$100. Mr. Woodward is an attorney here in Washington, and one of my personal friends.

The other subscriptions, which total \$56, were by different persons.

Senator SPENCER. What is the aggregate?

Mr. CRAMTON. The aggregate, including this \$200, to which I have referred, is \$7,559.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not include the \$1,000 raised in one county?

Mr. CRAMTON. It does not include that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all?

Mr. CRAMTON. That is all. I might add, however, one other interesting item. The expenditures incurred in the Michigan campaign totaled something more than that, so that there is at the present time a deficit of \$5,071.73.

Senator POMERENE. What were your total expenditures?

Mr. CRAMTON. Making a total of \$12,450.73.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not include that \$1,000, does it?

Mr. CRAMTON. That does not include that \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. So the total would be \$13,000, if the \$1,000 were added?

Mr. CRAMTON. The total expenditures, with a present deficit of \$5,071.73.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you as hopeful as Col. Procter of getting that \$1,000 back?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes; I am obliged to be much more hopeful.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that include all the money spent in Michigan?

Mr. CRAMTON. That includes all of the money spent in Michigan, and I want to emphasize this, that due to the lack of a strong central organization anywhere, we were entirely upon our resources, and there was practically no contribution to us in the way of literature, speeches, etc., from the outside, and such items as campaign buttons. Our expenditures ran something like \$2,500 for buttons that we had to provide ourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not advance \$500,000 yourself?

Mr. CRAMTON. No.

Senator SPENCER. Was the contribution from California solicited or volunteered?

Mr. CRAMTON. It was volunteered, at least so far as I was concerned.

Senator SPENCER. That is, they had enough money in California so that they volunteered to send you \$6,200?

Mr. CRAMTON. That was advanced to me through Congressman Elston, of California, at whose request I conducted the management of the Michigan campaign, his request joined to Senator Johnson's.

Senator SPENCER. Without any solicitation on your part for the amount?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, I do not know how you could answer that accurately. Of course, it was understood when I took the management of the campaign in Michigan that there would have to be some funds furnished which would enable a campaign to be made, inasmuch as I was not personally in a position financially to handle it.

Senator SPENCER. Did you ask for any more money than the \$6,200?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes; and I intend to ask again.

Senator SPENCER. Of California?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, I hope that the California friends of the Senator will see that this deficit is cared for.

Senator SPENCER. Do you have any information as to the amount of money available in California?

Mr. CRAMTON. I have none whatever. I have this only. I have understood that there was practically none on hand from time to time.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know whether California financed any other States than Michigan?

Mr. CRAMTON. I have no personal knowledge of the campaigns elsewhere.

Senator EDGE. Give us what you do know. We can not get a man from every State. We are trying to get the facts as near as we can.

Mr. CRAMTON. I am simply the manager of the Johnson campaign in Michigan, and I could not speak positively of the other States,

although I think it is very certain that these friends there did contribute to other campaigns.

Senator SPENCER. You state your opinion is that California probably did help in financing other State campaigns?

Mr. CRAMTON. I assume so.

Senator SPENCER. When you needed money you did not make any request to the national headquarters at New York?

Mr. CRAMTON. No.

Senator SPENCER. You sent to California?

Mr. CRAMTON. My relations were with Congressman Elston rather than with——

Senator SPENCER. The Representative from California and you did not go to the New York management for help in Michigan?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. And the Representative from California was the man who furnished you with the means?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. And he furnished it out of California's treasury, not out of the national headquarters in New York?

Mr. CRAMTON. I assume he did.

Senator SPENCER. Do you happen to know how much Mr. Woodward may have spent in his own activities?

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Woodworth, of Bay City?

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Woodworth or Woodard?

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. Woodworth, of Bay City. No, he agreed to stand the local expense of some meetings that were held, and he did not furnish receipted bills to me, but took care of them, I do not know what they amounted to.

Senator SPENCER. Were there any county organizations, or any other independent organizations?

Mr. CRAMTON. No, our campaign in Michigan did not open until six or eight weeks before the primaries.

Senator SPENCER. When were the primaries?

Mr. CRAMTON. The first Monday in April, I think the 5th of April.

Senator SPENCER. Three or four weeks?

Mr. CRAMTON. No, six or eight weeks, and our organization was extremely limited in the State. I might add this, as to our expenditures, that there was not one penny of those expenditures for personal services, except the hire of stenographers in our headquarters. I think we had as many as two there at one time. They were the only people who had any pay for their services in the entire campaign. We had no scouts or speakers or workers at the polls, or managers or workers in any other capacity who received anything whatever for their services.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not receive their expenses, the speakers, did they?

Mr. CRAMTON. In some cases they did not. I think especially in the case of Senator Borah and Senator Kenyon, they not only did not receive anything for their speeches, but nothing for their expenses.

Senator SPENCER. Is that in the \$1,000 that you spoke of?

Mr. CRAMTON. No, it is not.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to say they were paid the value of their services?

Mr. CRAMTON. No, otherwise the \$1,000 would have been much larger.

The CHAIRMAN. That could not be done.

Senator SPENCER. That may be the reason for this inquiry to-day. The expenditures were largely, I presume, for publicity?

Mr. CRAMTON. No; certain forms of publicity. I am a great believer in publicity, but I was not able to avail myself of it as I desired. For instance, there was only one advertisement published during the campaign, one newspaper or magazine advertisement published during the campaign, except in connection with the announcement of meetings. We did go into the newspapers to announce our meetings. Except for that there was only one, with the further exception of two or three cases like Mr. Morse, who desired to have some advertising run, and he paid for it.

Senator SPENCER. This money was spent largely for what?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, \$2,500 for buttons, and some \$2,000 or \$3,000 probably for rent of halls, and then there was the expenditure for newspaper advertising in connection with meetings, and there was the printing of badges and the circulation of them.

Senator EDGE. Did you have any brass bands?

Mr. CRAMTON. We did on two or three occasions.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say you were a real believer in publicity.

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. By that you mean in——

Mr. CRAMTON. I am a newspaper man.

Senator SPENCER. Naturally. By that you mean that the qualities of your candidate and the arguments in his favor should be widely disseminated in the State or subdivision in which you are operating?

Mr. CRAMTON. I felt greatly handicapped when I faced a campaign that was apparently not lacking in methods of publicity and the means to finance them and the fact that I could not go into the newspapers and the other forms of publicity, such as literature, etc. I neither had the literature to distribute, nor did I have anything with which to pay postage on it to carry it to every voter, as a result of which our campaign showed that we did best, of course, in those sections of the State where we were able to reach the voters.

Senator REED. By speeches?

Mr. CRAMTON. By speeches and news publicity.

Senator SPENCER. You could have used many more times the amount of money you had if it had been available?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. You would have welcomed a duplicate of Mr. Procter in the campaign?

Mr. CRAMTON. Certainly, facing a campaign that I was facing, I would like to have had larger resources.

Senator SPENCER. You would have welcomed a duplicate of Mr. Procter in that campaign?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, we would not have needed him apparently. We did very well as it was.

Senator SPENCER. But you would have liked a much larger amount, if it had been available?

Mr. CRAMTON. I would like to consult some such gentleman as to this deficit.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you could have legitimately spent a very much larger sum of money in a perfectly legitimate campaign?

Mr. CRAMTON. I have not in any public statements I have made with reference to expenditures for other candidates in Michigan—I have criticized those expenditures, but I have never intimated that any of their money was spent for an illegitimate purpose. I think for legitimate purposes they expended a very large amount of money.

Senator EDGE. Who was running in the primaries in Michigan with Senator Johnson?

Mr. CRAMTON. There were seven candidates, Gen. Wood, Gov. Lowden, Gen. Pershing, Mr. Hoover, Senator Poindexter, and a local candidate, Mr. Simpson.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have anything to do with any State except Michigan?

Mr. CRAMTON. Not except in a very limited way.

Senator SPENCER. How many States did Senator Johnson enter actively?

Mr. CRAMTON. He was actively in North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota—he went into Minnesota, and I think spoke there two days, if you recall—in Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Indiana, Nebraska, California, Oregon, North Carolina, and Montana.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar enough with the Johnson organization to say anything about the organization in North Dakota, for instance?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, I could give you the name of the gentleman who was the chairman of the Johnson organization there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the expenditures in North Dakota?

Mr. CRAMTON. It is my impression that they were very limited.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get that impression?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, I am a little familiar with the kind of campaign that was made there. The Senator spoke in North Dakota, I think, for three or four days, and the other candidates had withdrawn. For instance, the only buttons they had in the Dakota campaign were some that we furnished to them out of our supply, and I think those got there after the primary.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the vote in North Dakota?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, as I say, the other candidates were withdrawn, so that the Senator had practically the whole vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us about South Dakota and the organization there, and what money was spent in South Dakota?

Mr. CRAMTON. There was very little. I can not give you the amount. I talked with the man who had charge of the campaign in South Dakota.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Mr. CRAMTON. Mr. E. F. Mitchell, of California. He was in charge of South Dakota and he complained of the fact that he had so little money and so little organization, and that with a little more effort he might have carried the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the information, or tell us where we can get information, as to Indiana, and the amount expended by the Johnson forces in Indiana?

Mr. CRAMTON. This same Mr. Mitchell went into Indiana, and while he was not officially known as the chairman, he was there primarily in the management of that State.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any money was raised in Indiana and used in Indiana in the Johnson campaign?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, I think a very little amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Where could we find out as to that?

Mr. CRAMTON. I think Mr. Mitchell would know as much as anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Mr. Mitchell?

Mr. CRAMTON. My information is that he is now on his way to Chicago from California.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any information about Montana?

Mr. CRAMTON. No; but I think there was practically nothing expended there, because there seemed to have been practically no campaign made in Montana. That was a spontaneous affair, practically.

The CHAIRMAN. In Nebraska Mr. Harrison was the man, was he not? We have sent for Mr. Harrison.

Mr. CRAMTON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Can Congressman Elston give us any information as to the organization and expenditures?

Mr. CRAMTON. I doubt if he could give you much that you could not get from some other sources. The Congressman is now absent, you know, with the subcommittee of the Indian Affairs Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. When will he be back?

Mr. CRAMTON. I think he is not to be back before the convention. He had some connection with the Maryland campaign, but I think everything we could give you on that others could give you also.

The CHAIRMAN. Who could give us the facts as to the money expended in the Maryland campaign?

Mr. CRAMTON. Possibly Congressman Nolan.

Senator EDGE. The two States that we have direct testimony from on Senator Johnson's campaign seem to be very similar in expenditures, Michigan \$13,000 or \$12,500, and New Jersey also \$13,000. You said that Senator Johnson contested in 13 States, some of them apparently not with the same degree of intensity. If the expenditures in all of the States which you have given us averaged \$13,000, which is perhaps not a fair computation, he would have expended \$159,000, but I presume that is inaccurate. Some States like, perhaps California, may make a difference one way or the other, but the only way we are going at to get that is apparently by separate State information.

Is there a central organization of Senator Johnson's whereby we can get somewhere near approximately correct information as to all the expenses that we have made an effort to get in some other cases? Do you know whether such an organization exists?

Mr. CRAMTON. The difficulty with the Senator's campaign has been that there has been practically no organization. I assume that the members of his California committee, with what Mr. McSween has

Mr. PROCTER. Men of considerable means, who can contribute \$500 or \$1,000.

Senator REED. Don't you know that there is a group of various men that are backing this campaign?

Mr. PROCTER. I know there is not.

Senator REED. You know they have not contributed?

Mr. PROCTER. I know they have not.

Senator REED. You have got more faith than I have if you think you are going to get that money back. I do not believe that in an ordinary business deal you would do it quite so willingly.

Mr. PROCTER. I do not look upon this as an ordinary business deal, Senator. I am foolish enough to look upon it as a patriotic service.

Senator REED. Perhaps it is. You spoke about speakers that were sent out. What speakers have been sent out?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not tell you.

Senator REED. Do you know the names of any of them?

Mr. PROCTER. No; I could not even tell you that. Monteville Flower, a man named Squier, and other men who have gone out under pay; there have probably been quite a number.

Senator EDGE. Was a man like Flower paid so much per speech?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know. I do not think we are paying him for his speeches, however. I think we pay him by the day.

Senator REED. Are you generally paying the speakers?

Mr. PROCTER. A great many of them were being paid.

Senator REED. You try to get as prominent men as you can, of course, so they will attract the crowds?

Mr. PROCTER. We are trying to get the men who will best present the case.

Senator REED. How much do you pay them per speech?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know, sir.

Senator REED. Who knows the leaders of the speakers, and how much they get?

Mr. PROCTER. John Weaver is in charge of it.

Senator REED. Where is he?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know.

Senator REED. At the headquarters?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes.

Senator REED. Could you approximate how much money has been spent for hired speakers?

Mr. PROCTER. I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean to leave the impression that all of the speakers are paid?

Mr. PROCTER. Oh, no. Gov. Allen has spoken.

The CHAIRMAN. A great many are volunteers?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; but we also had to have some paid speakers.

Senator REED. Did you have a great many of these speakers on the Chautauqua circuit?

Mr. PROCTER. I do not know. I do not believe Flower is on the Chautauqua circuit; I do not know.

Senator REED. That is all you know about the speakers?

Mr. PROCTER. Yes; that is all.

Senator REED. The scouts; are they paid?

Mr. PROCTER. Some of them are and some of them are not. I can not answer that question.

Mr. CRAMTON. You mean the total?

Senator REED. No; the compensation that was sent to each paper.

Mr. CRAMTON. No; I do not. I could not give you that.

Senator REED. Well, in addition to that, what would you say as a newspaper man those advertisements—you are a newspaper man?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator REED. What would you say those advertisements would cost, a quarter-page advertisement?

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, they would run——

Senator REED. At political rates?

Mr. CRAMTON. In the smallest papers I suppose in the vicinity of \$10, and from that up to several hundred dollars. I think that the advertisement that I have spoken of that Mr. Morris paid for was run in two of the leading papers of Detroit, and it is my recollection that it was about 20 inches, at \$126 a quarter of a page, which would be between 30 and 40 inches.

Senator REED. In addition to the newspaper advertising which was carried on, what was the condition as to the headquarters, etc., of the opposite candidate?

Mr. CRAMTON. I was never in their headquarters. Their headquarters were maintained for a considerable time in hotels in Detroit, but I was never in any of them. Our own headquarters were not in the hotel, but in a business place down town.

Senator REED. Did they have many speakers in the State?

Mr. CRAMTON. I do not know how large a number. They had a number of speakers.

Senator REED. Do you remember the names of them?

Mr. CRAMTON. Gov. Allen. I am not sure whether Monteville Flower came into Michigan or not. I am not sure whether he came into the State or not. Congressman Adam Bede, Mr. Narrowmore of Chicago—I am not able to place many of them now, as I have not charged my mind with it.

Senator REED. What evidence was there of the employment of money in the matter of getting up an organization?

Mr. CRAMTON. I think that both Gov. Lowden and Gen. Wood had perfected some sort of an organization in every county of the State.

Senator REED. Headquarters?

Mr. CRAMTON. Not always open headquarters; no.

Senator REED. They had State headquarters open, did they not?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator REED. How about literature?

Mr. CRAMTON. There seemed to be a great abundance of literature. I take it that practically every voter in the State received from 1 to 8 or 10 communications, and there seemed to be literature to fit the different classes of people, one sent to farmers and another to bankers, and another to physicians, etc.

Senator REED. Was that done both on behalf of Gen. Wood and Gov. Lowden?

Mr. CRAMTON. To a large extent; yes.

Senator REED. Was this literature sent out in sealed envelopes?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes, sir; and in one case special delivery.

Senator REED. Who sent that out?

Mr. CRAMTON. I understand that the manager of Gen. Wood offered the sum of \$500 reward to find out who sent it out. It was some Wood literature sent out from Chicago under a special-delivery stamp.

Senator REED. Why was he——

Mr. CRAMTON. It was not sent to the right people.

Senator REED. That was sent from Chicago, though?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator REED. You did not send that out, did you?

Mr. CRAMTON. No.

Senator REED. What was wrong about the people that it was sent to?

Mr. CRAMTON. It was a special appeal to the Catholic voters, and it was sent to the secretaries of Masonic lodges, and so on. I may say that an ad was put in the Michigan Catholic, especially appealing to the Catholics for their votes for Gen. Wood, on the ground of his interest in the Catholics, and that page was reproduced, a full page, and without comment was sent in a plain envelope under special delivery postage to the secretaries of Masonic lodges and others.

Senator EDGE. Do you believe that was sent by the Wood managers or someone else?

Mr. CRAMTON. I have no information on the subject.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have any idea it was going to be done, before you saw it printed?

Mr. CRAMTON. No. In fact, that ad was not called to my attention until some days before the primary. I might have made some use of it.

Senator REED. Have you a copy of that ad?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes.

Senator REED. Would you mind sending it to the committee?

Mr. CRAMTON. I will be very glad to, as I have a copy of the original newspaper, not the one that was mailed out.

Senator REED. You say you think there were from one to ten communications sent to each voter in the State. How many voters are there, approximately, in the State of Michigan?

Mr. CRAMTON. There were in the vicinity of 400,000 votes cast in the primary.

Senator REED. How many voters?

Mr. CRAMTON. The number of voters must be materially larger than that.

Senator REED. What is your population?

Mr. CRAMTON. This census, I assume, will show something about 3,000,000.

Senator REED. There is about one voter to five people?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes. You understand the women now vote in Michigan.

Senator REED. There is one voter to two and a half people.

Mr. CRAMTON. Well, I would make a guess that the total vote of the State, fully cast, would be around 700,000 or 800,000.

Senator REED. It would have to be more than that. If there is one voter in five, counting the males, and the ladies' vote, and you have as many men as women, there must be one voter for every two and a half population, or very near it.

Senator POMERENE. The population in 1910 was 2,810,173.

Mr. CRAMTON. This census will show at least three and a half million, I should think. There has been a very material increase in the industrial centers, some of it at the expense of the country, but not entirely.

Senator REED. You must have nearly 1,400,000 voters in the State now.

Mr. CRAMTON. Of course, we have never cast anywhere near that number.

Senator REED. Did these circulars go to women as well as men?

Mr. CRAMTON. In some cases; yes. I would not say they were all reached, though.

Senator REED. Were there any organizers out there among the ladies on behalf of the opposition candidates?

Mr. CRAMTON. Yes; there was some effort along that line. You will understand, that given some seven or eight weeks, most of which I was obliged to stay in our headquarters in Detroit, I was not able to give close attention to the other campaigns. I did get the impression that there seemed to be an abundance of money. For instance, I recall one meeting held by Gen. Wood, of which the telegraphic reports were sent broadcast to newspapers, even the small rural papers; papers having a circulation of three or four hundred received the telegraphic reports of that meeting containing over 500 words. As one item, of course, it was not a large amount, but it seemed to indicate a rather abundance of campaign funds.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. EDWARD MORGAN.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name?

Mr. MORGAN. Edward Morgan.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. MORGAN. I am a mechanical engineer.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is where?

Mr. MORGAN. Alliance, Stark County, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected with the Wood campaign in Ohio?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. MORGAN. In the capacity of secretary-treasurer and the head of the Leonard Wood committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any contributions in that campaign from the Gen. Wood headquarters?

Mr. MORGAN. We did.

The CHAIRMAN. Which headquarters?

Mr. MORGAN. The Ohio Leonard Wood headquarters, at Columbus, Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that one of the divisions of the——

Mr. MORGAN. No; that was the State headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking about the State headquarters; but did you receive from the national headquarters any money for use in the national campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. That is what I said. That is where we got our money from.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any money in Ohio?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. None at all?

Mr. MORGAN. It was the understanding that we did not have to bother about raising finances. We took the position, Mr. Price and I——

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Price's position?

Mr. MORGAN. Chairman of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You were secretary-treasurer?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us the amount of money you received and used in the Ohio campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. We received from the national committee \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. In the form of a check?

Mr. MORGAN. In the form of different checks. I have my bank book right here.

Senator SPENCER. Did they come from Chicago?

Mr. MORGAN. They came from Chicago; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all the money you received for use in the campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; that was all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all that was expended in the campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. We spent about \$60 more than that?

The CHAIRMAN. You spent \$25,060 in the Ohio Campaign?

Mr. MORGAN. I have a copy of my report filed with the Secretary of State, \$25,060.50.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that?

Mr. MORGAN. On the last day. Under our primary law I think it was filed by a certain date, and it gives you all the bills that were paid up to that date. There were some other bills that came in later, which have not been paid.

The CHAIRMAN. How much do they aggregate?

Mr. MORGAN. I can not tell.

Senator SPENCER. What is the aggregate of those expenditures?

Mr. MORGAN. \$25,060.50.

Senator SPENCER. There are some unpaid bills?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What do they approximate?

Mr. MORGAN. Well I would say about \$10,000 or \$12,000.

Senator REED. Will you let us see the statement?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any money used by individuals, for instance, in Cleveland?

Mr. MORGAN. Cuyahoga County Committee financed their own campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much money they expended?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know, except——

The CHAIRMAN. That is not counted in this at all?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Cincinnati?

Mr. MORGAN. Cincinnati handled their own campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. What other counties?

Senator POMERENE. Who was in charge of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Who was in charge?

Mr. MORGAN. Of the Cuyahoga County committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. Carl Ford.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was in charge of Cincinnati?

Mr. MORGAN. I think a young man by the name of Grogan.

Senator SPENCER. Did any other cities finance their own campaign in Ohio?

Mr. MORGAN. You mean any other counties?

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. MORGAN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. How many counties?

Mr. MORGAN. I could not tell you that.

Senator SPENCER. How many do you remember?

Mr. MORGAN. Those two.

Senator SPENCER. That is all you remember?

Mr. MORGAN. That is all I remember. I know we helped Lucas County.

Senator REED. You do not mean to say that none of these county or city organizations received help from the outside; you simply do not know whether they did or not?

Mr. MORGAN. They may have received some money in their own counties. It was understood that whatever money they could raise in their own counties, they would relieve the State fund just that amount.

Senator REED. But you do not know but they may have received help from the national headquarters direct?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; that is not true.

Senator SPENCER. You mean they did not receive any?

Mr. MORGAN. We had regular channels. This organization was conducted along proper lines.

Senator REED. We are not insinuating it was not?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; they did not do things exactly in that way.

Senator EDGE. Did not any money that came from Chicago to be used in Ohio come through your committee?

Mr. MORGAN. It came from the Ohio State Leonard Wood Committee; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are unable to give us any estimate as to the total amount of money used in Ohio, including what was raised in the various counties?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know anything about what was raised in the counties. I know this, that all of the publicity was contracted for in Chicago through advertising agencies, and bids were received.

The CHAIRMAN. And all of that paid for in Chicago?

Mr. MORGAN. That was paid for in Chicago. That relieved us of just that amount of bother.

Senator REED. What were the advertising agencies with whom these arrangements were made?

Mr. MORGAN. The Krumrine Agency, with whom we had a contract for newspaper advertising in Ohio.

Senator REED. Do you know how much that contract was?

Mr. MORGAN. I have understood, just by hearsay, that it ran between \$35,000 and \$40,000.

Senator REED. That was one item that was taken care of on the outside?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And exceeded your total State fund by \$10,000. What other items were taken care of on the outside? Was there literature sent to you?

Mr. MORGAN. Literature was sent to us; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Practically all the literature you sent out was sent to you, was it not?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. All that you had to do was to mail it out?

Mr. MORGAN. The amount that I named for advertising covered all that.

Senator REED. Covered which?

Mr. MORGAN. Covered the contract with Krumrine Agency and the literature that was sent to us to mail out.

Senator REED. The Krumrine Agency, then, mailed all the literature?

Mr. MORGAN. No, they did not; they contracted for space in these papers.

Senator REED. Well, I am distinguishing it now so we will get it straight, Mr. Morgan. I am distinguishing between newspaper advertisements which this advertising agency put in the papers, and which was paid for through the agency, and circulars, literature, that was mailed to individuals. Did the advertising agency take care of that, or did you take care of that?

Mr. MORGAN. We took care of that out of our funds.

Senator REED. This printed matter was sent to you from the Chicago office?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And all you had to do, all the expense you had to bear was the matter of distributing it?

Mr. MORGAN. The stenographic help, typists, rent of headquarters, postage, and things of that kind.

Senator REED. Did you furnish all the postage, or was there some of that paid?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; we made out our checks to the postmaster at Columbus, Ohio, and bought our postage just as we needed it.

Senator REED. Did the Chicago headquarters send indirectly into your State any literature?

Mr. MORGAN. They sent it all to us.

Senator REED. I mean not to you, but to the people?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; there was no literature mailed out in Chicago.

Senator REED. Indirectly?

Mr. MORGAN. It was all directly. All our work was done directly.

Senator REED. I am not insinuating it was not or perfectly direct and perfectly proper, but I am interested in developing the fact between us that the advertising in the newspapers was taken care of directly from Chicago?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, I am inquiring whether, during this entire campaign, if the Chicago headquarters were not also sending literature into the State directly to the people?

Mr. MORGAN. I just got through telling you they did not.

Senator REED. I want to be sure we understood you.

Mr. MORGAN. Of course you understand.

Senator REED. How much did you expend as a total for postage, can you tell us?

Mr. MORGAN. I did not add it up. It is there, by dates. Those are copies of checks, you know, made out.

Senator REED. Were there any speakers sent into Ohio to make speeches?

Mr. MORGAN. I think there were. I think Judge Olsen of the Chicago municipal court made one speech in our district.

Senator REED. Judge Olsen? Who else?

Mr. MORGAN. That is the only one I can recall.

Senator REED. Did you not have quite a number of Wood meetings?

Mr. MORGAN. Sure we did, but we have a lot of local talent out our way that we can use to good advantage.

Senator REED. Well, I suppose you did, but now just suppose you answer these questions quite as politely as——

Mr. MORGAN. I mean to be polite, and no disrespect.

Senator REED. Were there any other speakers sent into your State besides Judge Olsen?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe not; not that I know of.

Senator REED. Did he receive any compensation either for expenses or services from your committee?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. If his expenses were paid, or if he was paid anything, he was paid by the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. MORGAN. I would think so.

Senator REED. Did you have any writers employed?

Mr. MORGAN. I think we had some people, a sort of publicity bureau that sent out plate matter and stuff of that kind, good things gathered up over the country, which was sort of centralized at headquarters, and we passed it on.

Senator REED. The plate matter that was centralized at Chicago was sent to you, was it not, by Chicago?

Mr. MORGAN. Sent to us by letter and by telegram.

Senator REED. When you got it you sent it out to the newspapers and had it reproduced where you could?

Mr. MORGAN. We used as much of it as we felt we could. We did not use all of it.

Senator REED. Did the newspapers generally charge for that, or did you generally get it in free?

Mr. MORGAN. Some of it we got in free.

Senator REED. The expense of the plate matter was not borne by your committee, but was borne by the Chicago organization?

Mr. MORGAN. That is my understanding.

Senator REED. Well, was anything else sent to you by the Chicago headquarters that you can think of?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Were there any workers sent into your State from the outside?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, I would not call them workers.

Senator REED. Well, whatever name you want to apply to them, that were sent in for some purpose. Were any people sent in for any purpose?

Mr. MORGAN. We had Gen. Glenn there for about three months.

Senator REED. Gen. Glenn?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Who paid his expenses?

Mr. MORGAN. I think the national headquarters.

Senator REED. What was Gen. Glenn doing?

Mr. MORGAN. We put him in charge of the woman's organization.

Senator REED. You did not pay his expenses, or salary, if he had any salary?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not understand he got any salary, just his expenses.

Senator REED. You did not pay his expenses?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. That was borne by Chicago?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You put him in charge of the woman's organization?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did he have some rooms from headquarters?

Mr. MORGAN. He had a room; yes. We had headquarters at the Neil House, and he had a room over in the corner there that he used.

Senator REED. Sort of in connection with your headquarters?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Did he get up a woman's organization?

Mr. MORGAN. He tried to.

Senator REED. Did he succeed at all?

Mr. MORGAN. In a way.

Senator REED. What was the nature of that? Was it just a central organization, or did it have branches?

Mr. MORGAN. It was a State women's organization, with branches in the various counties.

Senator REED. Who financed that organization?

Mr. MORGAN. I think we did.

Senator REED. Can you point out to me some item where you turned money over to that organization?

Mr. MORGAN. There are some items there. Take the stenographers. We paid their salaries and supplies. I think there were some telegrams, postage, and stuff of that kind.

Senator REED. But the expense outside of that, going out into the State and organizing these women's societies, and that sort of expense, was not paid for directly?

Mr. MORGAN. We did not have any trouble getting the ladies to serve in these different organizations.

Senator REED. I assume you did not have any trouble getting men to serve for Wood, but what I am trying to get at is the expense. I imagine there is some expense involved in traveling around over the State making efforts to organize, all of which may be perfectly proper, but I just want to know who bore that expense, if you did not bear it.

Mr. MORGAN. I think there is an item in there for Mrs. Arnold for a trip to Toledo, Ohio, some place in there, I am pretty sure.

Senator REED. Was there only one trip made to organize these clubs?

Mr. MORGAN. I am telling you that the work, in my opinion, of trying to form a woman's organization was not very effective.

Senator REED. But still there was an organization in nearly every county?

Mr. MORGAN. I would not call it an organization.

Senator REED. Well, there was a group?

Mr. MORGAN. There was an attempt to make an organization.

Senator REED. This man spent how many weeks or months there?

Mr. MORGAN. He spent three months out there.

Senator REED. Can you not tell us now whether he drew expenses for that work from Chicago?

Mr. MORGAN. I understood—I do not know about it, but I understood he had gotten his account from Chicago.

Senator REED. And that covered probably the expense of this organization, except what you bore in the way of stenographic help?

Mr. MORGAN. I never had any chance to check those items, so I do not know how much they were.

Senator REED. So that you know the expenses of the woman's organization was chiefly borne from Chicago, that is where we get to?

Mr. MORGAN. They did not have a large organization, so the expenses would not have been very great.

Senator REED. He may not have succeeded, but they spent two months trying to succeed, did they not?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; making an effort.

Senator REED. Now, were there any other organizations in the State of Ohio outside of the woman's organization and your organization?

Mr. MORGAN. I think not outside of the county committees.

Senator REED. Did you have any men or anybody have any men that were sent into the various counties?

Mr. MORGAN. We had organizers of the various congressional districts.

Senator REED. You paid them?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Their items would appear in these sheets you have furnished us?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, you had a lot of local speakers, you say, in Ohio, very good ones, I assume, very good ones, too, because Ohio is a good State?

Mr. MORGAN. Sure.

Senator REED. When you got up meetings in a town one of these local people—who paid the expenses ordinarily of that meeting?

Mr. MORGAN. We did.

Senator REED. The local people did not raise any money?

Mr. MORGAN. Sometimes.

Senator REED. The county organizations, then, did raise money from time to time?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, I do not know; I assume they did.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the vote cast in the primary, Mr. Morgan?

Mr. MORGAN. In Stark County?

The CHAIRMAN. In the whole State.

Mr. MORGAN. In the State it was a very low vote.

The CHAIRMAN. About what was it?

Mr. MORGAN. I just do not recall.

Senator POMERENE. Not quite 50 per cent, was it?

Mr. MORGAN. Just a minute——

Senator POMERENE. Fifty per cent of the Republicans?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not think it would be that high, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I think not. I understood you to say that you were the secretary and treasurer of the State committee?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And were your headquarters at Columbus?

Mr. MORGAN. They were; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In Neil House?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were you there all of that time?

Mr. MORGAN. I was there all but the last three weeks.

Senator POMERENE. There are 88 counties in the State?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was there a separate organization in each of these counties?

Mr. MORGAN. If there was not in the county, there was in the district. Senator Pomerene, we started in late. We organized the State of Ohio in three days, and we put delegates and alternates in each congressional district, so that we did not have time to organize by counties.

Senator POMERENE. Well, in all of the counties in which there were substantial towns, or cities, etc., you had your separate organization?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; and in Stark County, where there are three cities, Canton, Massillon, and Alliance, we handled the fifteenth congressional district from Canton.

Senator POMERENE. Who was in charge there?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Lauber was the chairman.

Senator POMERENE. E. J. Lauber?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Thomas F. Turner, I believe——

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Root was secretary.

Senator POMERENE. Did each of these committees file expense accounts with the secretary of state?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know whether they did or not.

Senator POMERENE. Well, under the law they are required to, are they not?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know what money they raised, if they did raise it.

Senator POMERENE. In any event if they did raise a fund, they made no accounting to the State committee—that is, your committee?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know that, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. You were secretary and treasurer?

Mr. MORGAN. Of the Ohio Leonard Wood committee; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I say if these local Wood committees collected any funds or disbursed any——

Mr. MORGAN. They should have made a return.

Senator POMERENE. But they made no return to you, as secretary and treasurer of the State committee?

Mr. MORGAN. They would have, if we had made contributions to them; they would have kept an itemized account of expenses, and would have accounted for the money.

Senator POMERENE. Did you make a contribution to each committee?

Mr. MORGAN. We did to the sixteenth congressional district, Senator; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What was the amount of that?

Mr. MORGAN. I can not give you that offhand.

Senator POMERENE. Is that shown in this statement here?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; a part of it.

Senator POMERENE. Were there contributions made by your committee to the other committees?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; to help them out, especially on meetings. For example, at Wooster, Ohio, where we hired the opera house and took care of the expense of meetings. In the same way at Canton we hired the Auditorium and paid those expenses. The Highland Wood committee paid those bills. We have them itemized in that statement.

Senator POMERENE. Were there any funds contributed by individuals to this committee, within your knowledge, which are not reported by you?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir. I say we only had one source of funds, and that was the National Leonard Wood Committee at Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. There certainly were funds collected in Ohio for the Wood campaign, were there not?

Mr. MORGAN. Not to my knowledge, there were not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know that fact by hearsay?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not even know it by hearsay.

Senator POMERENE. So you have no knowledge of any funds being collected in any place except those that you received from the Chicago committee?

Mr. MORGAN. That is all I was responsible for; yes, Senator; the funds I received.

Senator POMERENE. Did you receive any funds from the New York committee, or the Washington committee?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any funds being sent to Hamilton County?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or received from Hamilton County?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or Cuyahoga County?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or Franklin County?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. You said that when you took charge the understanding was that you and Mr. Price were not to be bothered about money?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Who arranged with you to take charge out there?

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Price did. He wanted me to come down there and help organize the State.

Senator REED. Mr. Price is where?

Mr. MORGAN. He is at Cleveland, Ohio. He is an attorney.

Senator REED. Had Mr. Price any connection with the Wood organization at that time?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; he was chairman at that time.

Senator REED. Of the State?

Mr. MORGAN. Of the State committee, but things had not progressed to any great extent.

Senator REED. You organized the Wood State committee, or the Wood Republican committee?

Mr. MORGAN. That was the State committee.

Senator REED. Who stated to you at that time that all the funds that would be necessary would be furnished from Chicago?

Mr. MORGAN. That was my understanding, that we would not be embarrassed with raising finances. That is the way we accepted it.

Senator REED. You do not know who arranged that with Mr. Price?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know that.

Senator REED. Was the State circularized by mail, so that letters were sent to practically every voter in the State?

Mr. MORGAN. Not to every voter. We tried to reach the Republican voters in the State.

Senator REED. Did you try to reach the Republican voters?

Mr. MORGAN. We did.

Senator REED. And you sent out matter in the form of letters, was it, or was it printed matter?

Mr. MORGAN. Second-class matter, you know; printed matter.

Senator REED. You sent it out under a 1-cent stamp?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you try to reach all of the Republican voters in that way?

Mr. MORGAN. We did.

Senator REED. How many are there in the State?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know. Get your book out there, Senator. What is the population of Ohio?

Senator POMERENE. The population of Ohio in 1910 was about 4,800,000. It is probably about five million and a half now. Two years ago there were 1,200,000 votes, the women not voting.

Senator REED. Did you have full lists of the Republican voters?

Mr. MORGAN. I think we did.

Senator REED. How did you get your lists?

Mr. MORGAN. As far as we could, through the central committee, but the central committee was friendly to Harding, you see, Senator Harding, and in some cases we could not get the poll books and the lists that we would like to have had.

Senator REED. Do you know how many names you actually did get, about?

Mr. MORGAN. I can not recall.

Senator REED. Do you think you got a majority of the Republican voters?

Mr. MORGAN. I think this, Senator, that if we had had full lists, we would have got 50 per cent of the delegates in Ohio.

Senator REED. You did not quite understand my question. The question I am interested in is postage, and I was wondering how you sent a circular to each of them with the amount of postage that appears upon these sheets.

Mr. MORGAN. I did not say we got them to every one, Senator. I said we got them to as many as we could get the names of.

Senator POMERENE. Information has come to this committee, or to the members of it, at least, that large sums of money were collected in Cuyahoga, in Hamilton County and in Franklin County, in behalf of Gen. Wood's campaign, and expended. Other information has come to the effect that large sums of money were collected in this way in those counties, in behalf of Senator Harding. Now, have you any information about the collection of these funds, either in behalf of one candidate or on behalf of the other?

Mr. MORGAN. I might say this, Senator Pomerene, that I believe that the friends of Senator Harding and the friends of Senator Johnson have no way of attacking Leonard except by making this charge of large campaign expenditures. Now, I do not know anything about what the Harding forces spent, and, in all due respect to the members of this committee, if I knew, I do not believe I would care to state, but I do not know. I know this, that it costs money to bring the qualifications of your candidate before the voters of a State, and the biggest part of our money was spent in publicity. We believe in that.

Senator POMERENE. I do not care to enter into your family quarrel, but we were instructed by the Senate to get the facts about this matter.

Mr. MORGAN. Sure.

Senator POMERENE. \$25,000 is reported, and when you tell me that is all you know about, I believe you.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. But that is only a very small proportion of that which is reputed to have been spent. Now, if you have any way whereby you can give us any leads which will give track of the money which was collected and spent, if it was collected and spent, outside of what you, in fact, have personal knowledge of, the committee will be obliged to you.

Mr. MORGAN. If I knew, Senator, I would be glad to furnish you with the information.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to clear up a thing or two that does not seem quite plain. Did you put your advertising entirely in the hands of this one advertising agency at Columbus?

Mr. MORGAN. I might say to you, Senator, that every time a man came to me about advertising, matters are always referred to Mr. Krumrine, because he had the contract for the State of Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any advertising agency in Chicago that also had a contract?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe not.

The CHAIRMAN. So this covered the whole thing, in advertising agencies?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you, have you thought about the vote that was cast in the primaries? Can you tell about what it was?

Mr. MORGAN. You mean——

The CHAIRMAN. The total primary vote.

Mr. MORGAN. The total vote in the primary?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the total vote in the primary.

Mr. MORGAN. I do not recall at this time. I know it was a very low vote.

The CHAIRMAN. What proportion of that vote was cast in the three counties of Franklin, Hamilton, and Cuyahoga?

Mr. MORGAN. I would say that the large proportion of the vote was cast in Cuyahoga County, Hamilton County, and Franklin County.

The CHAIRMAN. In those three counties?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The large proportion of the vote?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say half of it, or two-thirds?

Mr. MORGAN. I never went into the matter of percentage.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am trying to get at, the percentage. Can you not give me any help on that?

Mr. MORGAN. I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. Those three counties, as I understand it, cast a large percentage of the votes.

Mr. MORGAN. But that merely affected the question of two delegates in that district, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had nothing to do with financing the campaign in those three counties?

Mr. MORGAN. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. And can you not tell us how much was spent in those three counties?

Mr. MORGAN. If I knew I would tell you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am asking you, and you can not tell us?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that as to the large proportion of the vote in Ohio you can not give us the expense?

Mr. MORGAN. I could not; no, sir; not in an exact amount.

The CHAIRMAN. So this statement here does not in any way purport to show the entire expense of the Wood campaign in Ohio?

Mr. MORGAN. It covers the amount of money that went through my hands. I have accounted for every dollar that was spent by me.

The CHAIRMAN. But none of them relate to expenses in these three large counties?

Mr. MORGAN. I think they financed themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did any of the other counties finance themselves?

Mr. MORGAN. They must have done it, because we never contributed anything except in the case of public meetings—these Wood meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Take these men that Senator Pomerene asked you about in the sixteenth district. Did they not largely finance the entire expense of the sixteenth district in that district?

Mr. MORGAN. We helped them more in that district, because that is my own district, and those items are in that statement.

Senator REED. Did the Leonard Wood League have an organization in Ohio?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir. My understanding is this: That the Leonard Wood League was composed of Wood boosters in every State in the Union. I was solicited to become a member long before Leonard Wood ever became a candidate, and signed a card and sent it back and said I would do everything I could to further his candidacy, should he become a candidate for President. Now, that solicitation

came through the Leonard Wood League from the Imperial Hotel in New York City.

Senator REED. What I was asking was if they effected an organization?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe not.

Senator REED. Was that league active in his campaign there?

Mr. MORGAN. I think not. I think it was started to further the sentiment over the country for Leonard Wood. I think nearly everybody got one of those cards, Senator; every Republican.

Senator POMERENE. They were widely circulated?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. John H. Price was subpoenaed to be here. Do you know why he is not here?

Mr. MORGAN. His little boy, 2½ years old, I am sure will have to be operated on for a mastoid process in his ear. He was in New York when he got word about this, and he called me over the long-distance telephone, and said, "Ed, I kept no record of this thing. You did, and you know more about it than I do. I have telegraphed to Senator Kenyon that you will come down to represent me."

Senator EDGE. You are secretary-treasurer?

Mr. MORGAN. Secretary-treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. You have said that Carl Ford was in charge of the Cleveland headquarters?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. In what capacity?

Mr. MORGAN. As a sort of campaign manager or chairman of the Wood committee; chairman of the Wood committee.

Senator POMERENE. Did they have a treasurer?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not know that.

Senator POMERENE. I think they are obliged to have, under the Ohio law.

Mr. MORGAN. I never made out any checks for them, so I would not know whether they do or not.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge of the Franklin County headquarters?

Mr. MORGAN. They had a chairman or treasurer, but I do not recall who they were.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge of the Cincinnati headquarters? You said Grogan.

Mr. MORGAN. Grogan was chairman.

Senator POMERENE. What was his first name?

Mr. MORGAN. There were two Grogans, one at Mansfield and one at Cincinnati. I get them mixed up. There was a Barney Grogan, who, I think, is from Mansfield. I do not know the other's initials.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge of the Lucas County headquarters at Toledo?

Mr. MORGAN. I think that was being handled by a young man by the name of Crawford, George Crawford, from Massillon. He was looking after Lucas County for us.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge in Montgomery County?

Mr. MORGAN. I do not recall that.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge of Summitte County, or Akron?

Mr. MORGAN. I think there was a Leonard Wood Club there at Akron, the district of Robert Mann.

Senator POMERENE. Who had charge at Youngstown, Mahoning County?

Mr. MORGAN. A man by the name of Hall.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know his first name?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not. Judge Brown can give you that name.

Senator POMERENE. In all of these counties containing these larger towns or cities, they had headquarters, of course?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; we had headquarters at Cincinnati, at Toledo, at Akron, Youngstown, Canton, Columbus, and Cincinnati.

Senator POMERENE. Zanesville?

Mr. MORGAN. No.

Senator POMERENE. Steubenville?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Marietta?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Springfield?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Lima?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Sandusky?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Portsmouth?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you pay their rent bills?

Mr. MORGAN. Some of them. We will pay the expenses of Stark County headquarters, probably Lucas County, and Toledo.

(The statement of disbursements submitted by the witness is a follows:)

SCHEDULE B.—Disbursements of Ohio Leonard Wood committee.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|--|---------|
| 1920. | | |
| Feb. 20 | L. C. Dougan, expenses..... | \$20.00 |
| 20 | George T. Crawford, expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 24 | L. S. Dougan, salary..... | 20.00 |
| 24 | John H. Price, traveling expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 24 | Neil House, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 25 | Neil House, hotel bill..... | 274.59 |
| 25 | The Corona Sales Co., office supplies..... | 21.00 |
| 25 | L. S. Dougan, expenses..... | 43.55 |
| 27 | L. S. Dougan, salary..... | 25.00 |
| 27 | O'Neil Coughlan, salary..... | 60.00 |
| 27 | Frank Ward, special newspaper service..... | 50.00 |
| 27 | Hazel Thomas, stenographer..... | 30.00 |
| 27 | Gertrude Walter, stenographer..... | 38.00 |
| 27 | Vera Bradford, stenographer..... | 43.10 |
| 27 | Myrtle Davis, stenographer..... | 45.00 |
| 27 | Kathleen L. Fuller, stenographer..... | 50.00 |
| Mar. 4 | Cash for postage..... | 10.00 |
| 4 | Neil House, hotel bill..... | 529.12 |
| 4 | O'Neil Coughlan, salary and expenses..... | 58.84 |
| 4 | George Crawford, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 4 | A. D. Terhune, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 9 | C. E. Spring, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 9 | L. C. Lewis, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 9 | Charles R. Dixon, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 9 | Elmer Reymmer, salary..... | 25.00 |
| 11 | Tiffin Gilmore, advertising..... | 50.00 |
| 12 | Toledo Blade, subscription..... | 1.50 |
| 12 | Cash for postage..... | 10.00 |
| 12 | L. C. Dougan, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 12 | L. C. Dougan, expenses..... | 32.60 |

SCHEDULE B.—Disbursements of Ohio Leonard Wood committee—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|--|----------|
| 1920. | | |
| Mar. 12 | George Crawford, salary account..... | \$125.00 |
| 12 | Thomas E. Curtin, jr., salary..... | 20.00 |
| 13 | O'Neil Coughlan, salary and expenses..... | 44.19 |
| 13 | Mrs. Charles Rothert, Toledo office expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 15 | Central Union Telephone Co., telephone service..... | 97.50 |
| 15 | Frank Ward, publicity service..... | 50.00 |
| 16 | George Crawford, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 16 | Myrtle Davis, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Vera Bradford, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Gertrude Walker, salary..... | 55.00 |
| 17 | Neil House, hotel expenses..... | 724.74 |
| 17 | Harry F. Hazlett, expenses Canton to Columbus..... | 20.00 |
| 18 | Walter W. Furness, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 18 | Cash for postage..... | 20.00 |
| 18 | Mrs. John H. Arnold, expenses to Toledo..... | 50.09 |
| 19 | Charles R. Dixon, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 19 | H. N. Blair, salary..... | 300.00 |
| 20 | Cash for postage..... | 300.16 |
| 20 | Ritter Multigraph Bureau, multigraphing..... | 196.64 |
| 20 | L. S. Dougan, expenses..... | 21.52 |
| 20 | E. W. B. Curry, expenses..... | 125.74 |
| 20 | L. S. Dougan, expenses..... | 21.75 |
| 20 | H. C. Wylie, signs and frames..... | 7.50 |
| 20 | Western Union Telegraph Co., telegrams..... | 7.72 |
| 20 | Cash for postage..... | 25.00 |
| 20 | Do..... | 30.00 |
| 20 | A. D. Terhune, salary and expenses..... | 150.00 |
| 22 | H. W. Kenaston, expenses..... | 8.94 |
| 22 | O'Neil Coughlan, expenses..... | 34.05 |
| 22 | Myrtle Davis, for pins and fasteners..... | 3.33 |
| 22 | E. F. Glenn, moistener..... | 1.50 |
| 22 | Cash for postage..... | 90.00 |
| 22 | W. H. Clare, expenses..... | 20.00 |
| 22 | The Mechanics' Guide, advertising..... | 25.00 |
| 22 | Ohio News Bureau, clippings..... | 20.00 |
| 23 | Cash for postage..... | 180.00 |
| 24 | Lucius Ormsby, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 24 | Cash for postage..... | 27.00 |
| 24 | Daisy Kraus, stenographic services..... | 11.50 |
| 24 | L. S. Dougan, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 24 | Cash for postage..... | 140.00 |
| 24 | George Crawford, salary..... | 125.00 |
| 24 | Columbus Chauffeurs' Club, advertising..... | 25.00 |
| 25 | State Office Supply Co., supplies..... | 209.88 |
| 25 | Marietta Book Store, rental of typewriters..... | 15.00 |
| 25 | Progressive Printing Co., stationery..... | 139.00 |
| 25 | Advertisers' Supplies..... | 2.75 |
| 25 | Acme Sign Co., signs..... | 18.00 |
| 25 | W. C. Byers, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 25 | Thomas Curtain, jr., services..... | 28.00 |
| 26 | Cash for postage..... | 50.00 |
| 26 | George O'Brien, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 26 | W. H. Clare, expenses..... | 20.00 |
| 26 | Roy R. Woods, expenses..... | 22.75 |
| 26 | R. J. Jeffries, expenses..... | 25.00 |
| 27 | Town Topics, advertising..... | 70.00 |
| 27 | R. L. Ormsby, expenses..... | 100.94 |
| 27 | Independent Supply Co., rental of desks..... | 11.00 |
| 27 | Ritter Multigraphing Service, multigraphings..... | 969.00 |
| 27 | John H. Price, telephone calls..... | 3.40 |
| 27 | Elizabeth Blair, services..... | 5.00 |
| 27 | Edwin Morgan, O. D..... | 31.60 |
| 29 | Cash for postage..... | 25.00 |
| 30 | L. C. Lewis, expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 30 | Walter Jackson, expenses Lima to Columbus..... | 25.00 |
| 31 | E. F. Glenn, advertising for Mrs. Arnold..... | 40.00 |
| 31 | Cash for postage..... | 60.00 |
| 31 | Harry Blair, jr., salary to Apr. 1..... | 75.00 |
| 31 | L. S. Dougan, expenses for messengers..... | 20.00 |
| 31 | Anthony Koars, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 31 | L. S. Dougan, salary, Mar. 28 to 31..... | 25.00 |
| 31 | O'Neil Coughlan, salary, Mar. 14 to 31..... | 105.00 |
| 31 | Ethel Wendt, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 87.50 |
| 31 | Georgia Spencer, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 75.00 |
| 31 | Vera Bradford, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 75.00 |
| 31 | Hazel Thomas, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 75.00 |
| 31 | Myrtle Davis, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 75.00 |
| 31 | Gertrude Walker, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 75.00 |
| 31 | Dorothy Robbins, salary, Mar. 22 to 31..... | 50.00 |
| 31 | Minnie McLain, salary, Mar. 25 to 31..... | 29.17 |
| 31 | Mrs. E. W. French, salary, Mar. 25 to 31..... | 35.00 |
| 31 | Enid Comy, salary, Mar. 22 to 31, one-half time..... | 20.84 |

SCHEDULE B.—Disbursements of Ohio Leonard Wood committee—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount |
|---------|--|---------|
| 1920. | | |
| Mar. 31 | Kathrine Stidger, salary, Mar. 22 to 31..... | \$20.54 |
| 31 | Frances Dunlap, salary, Mar. 15 to 31..... | 56.57 |
| 31 | Marie Baldwin, salary, Mar. 18 to 31..... | 46.47 |
| 31 | Mrs. Ward, salary, Mar. 29 to 31..... | 10.00 |
| 31 | Frances Styrait, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 50.00 |
| 31 | Pearl Dooley, salary, Mar. 15 to 31..... | 43.92 |
| 31 | Lillian Buehn, salary, Mar. 21 to 31..... | 29.34 |
| 31 | Agnes Cooper, salary, Mar. 22 to 31..... | 50.00 |
| 31 | Barcus McKinley, salary, Mar. 25 to 31..... | 35.00 |
| 31 | Carl Thomas, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 62.50 |
| 31 | Homer Twigg, salary, Mar. 16 to 31..... | 75.00 |
| Apr 1 | John H. Price, expenses on trip with Gen. Wood..... | 200.00 |
| 1 | Tiffin Gilmore, expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 1 | S. A. Duke, messengers expenses..... | 25.00 |
| 1 | Vera Bradford, salary..... | 5.00 |
| 1 | O'Neil Couglin, expenses..... | 2.50 |
| 2 | American Railway Express Co. for expressing..... | 37.50 |
| 2 | R. L. Ormsby, expenses, fourteenth and nineteenth districts..... | 105.00 |
| 2 | Lucius Ormsby, salary to Apr. 1..... | 200.00 |
| 2 | Independent Supply Co., rent for furniture..... | 80.00 |
| 2 | Richard W. Willing, expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 2 | Neil House, hotel expenses..... | 476.72 |
| 2 | N. C. Wylie, sign painting..... | 11.25 |
| 2 | J. D. Walker, salary and expenses..... | 145.45 |
| 3 | E. W. B. Curry, salary and expenses..... | 145.20 |
| 3 | Informer Publishing Co., advertising..... | 75.00 |
| 3 | A. D. Terhune, expenses..... | 124.00 |
| 3 | A. D. Terhune, salary to Apr. 1..... | 240.00 |
| 3 | F. H. Ward, salary to Apr. 1..... | 105.72 |
| 3 | G. W. Hofferkamp, salary to Apr. 1..... | 200.00 |
| 3 | C. E. Spring, salary and expenses to Apr. 1..... | 340.00 |
| 3 | George O'Brien, expenses..... | 30.00 |
| 3 | Walter Turner, expenses..... | 32.00 |
| 5 | Ritter Multigraph Bureau, stamps..... | 70.00 |
| 5 | W. H. Close, expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 5 | The Federal Printing Co., for printing..... | 28.45 |
| 5 | Cash for postage..... | 45.00 |
| 5 | George T. Crawford, expenses..... | 115.05 |
| 5 | G. H. Smith, expenses..... | 150.00 |
| 6 | Georgia Spencer, salary Apr. 1 to 6..... | 30.00 |
| 6 | Vera Bradford, salary, Apr. 5 to 6..... | 10.00 |
| 6 | G. L. Barr, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 6 | E. F. Glenn expenses..... | 75.00 |
| 7 | Cash for postage..... | 50.00 |
| 8 | Karl F. Cunningham, expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 8 | L. C. Lewis, salary..... | 200.00 |
| 8 | L. C. Lewis, expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 9 | Columbus Blank Book Co., brush..... | .50 |
| 9 | Phoenix Printing Co., 200 tickets..... | 4.25 |
| 9 | Marietta Book Co., T. W. West..... | 15.00 |
| 9 | H. N. Blair, expenses..... | 10.00 |
| 9 | Cash for postage..... | 50.00 |
| 9 | George T. Crawford, salary, Mar. 28 to Apr. 10..... | 250.00 |
| 9 | George A. Reynolds, expenses..... | 330.30 |
| 9 | George T. Crawford, expenses for women's work..... | 300.00 |
| 9 | Lillian Boehn, salary and expenses, Apr. 2 to 9..... | 32.00 |
| 9 | R. L. Ormsby, salary and expenses, Apr. 2 to 9..... | 177.50 |
| 9 | George W. Hofferkamp, expenses..... | 72.54 |
| 9 | Cash for postage..... | 50.00 |
| 9 | F. E. Loey, the Grand Army Band..... | 105.00 |
| 9 | Director of public service, Canton, rent for auditorium..... | 50.00 |
| 9 | The Paul Moffett Co., advertising..... | 180.30 |
| 9 | J. R. Cougell, florist..... | 30.00 |
| 9 | The Canton Daily News..... | 16.25 |
| 9 | The Repository Printing Co..... | 168.00 |
| 9 | Do..... | 1.20 |
| 9 | Do..... | 19.20 |
| 9 | Frank Bverly, bill posting..... | 45.00 |
| 9 | Rogers-Miller Co., multigraphing..... | 5.45 |
| 9 | The Wooster Daily Record..... | 5.00 |
| 9 | The Democratic Publishing Co..... | 2.30 |
| 9 | The Courtland Hotel, expenses..... | 60.25 |
| 10 | G. W. Hofferkamp, salary, expenses, and advertising..... | 300.00 |
| 10 | Tarrie Printing Co., printing..... | 70.00 |
| 10 | R. E. Hanna, advertising..... | 27.50 |
| 10 | H. N. Blair, salary, Mar. 19 to Apr. 19..... | 300.00 |
| 10 | D. A. Dukes, advertising..... | 17.20 |
| 10 | H. D. Terhune, expenses..... | 77.20 |
| 10 | F. H. Ward, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 12 | Cash for postage..... | 50.00 |
| 12 | B. N. McKinley, drayage..... | 1.00 |

SCHEDULE B.—Disbursements of Ohio Leonard Wood committee—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|---|-----------|
| 1920. | | |
| Apr. 12 | John H. Price, expenses..... | \$25.00 |
| 13 | Cash for postage..... | 80.00 |
| 13 | Cash for expenses, Wapakoneta..... | 200.00 |
| 13 | Walter W. Furness, salary..... | 200.00 |
| 13 | Cash for postage..... | 50.00 |
| 13 | H. W. Patterson, expenses..... | 10.00 |
| 13 | Cash for postage..... | 40.00 |
| 13 | Mrs. Garrett B. Levan, expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 14 | Cash for stamps..... | 15.00 |
| 14 | Western Union Telegraph Co., tolls..... | 243.96 |
| 14 | W. L. Gee, expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 14 | W. L. Gee, salary..... | 50.00 |
| 15 | Cash for postage..... | 150.00 |
| 16 | L. S. Dougan, salary..... | 142.00 |
| 16 | Ethel Wendt, salary..... | 87.50 |
| 16 | Hazel Thomas, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Myrtle Davis, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Gertrude Walker, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Minnie McClain, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | E. W. French, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Barnes McKinley, salary..... | 100.00 |
| 16 | Helen Diebel, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Harry Blair, jr., salary..... | 87.50 |
| 16 | Carl Thomas, salary..... | 62.50 |
| 16 | Marie Baldwin, salary..... | 62.50 |
| 16 | Enid Corey, salary..... | 23.50 |
| 16 | Kathrine Stidger, salary..... | 23.50 |
| 16 | Philip Twigg, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 16 | Mrs. John Ward, salary..... | 50.00 |
| 16 | Dorothy Robbins, salary..... | 50.00 |
| 16 | Frances Dunlap, salary..... | 50.00 |
| 16 | Pearl Dooley, salary..... | 42.50 |
| 16 | Neil House, rentals..... | 1,014.60 |
| 16 | Expenses for Lima..... | 150.00 |
| 16 | B. N. McKinley, salary..... | 7.50 |
| 16 | Carl Thomas, salary..... | 7.50 |
| 16 | R. E. Willing, expenses..... | 400.00 |
| 16 | Charles L. Thurber, expenses..... | 57.73 |
| 16 | Cash for papers..... | 12.50 |
| 16 | Cash for postage..... | 250.00 |
| 16 | Cash for postage at Canton..... | 50.00 |
| 16 | Ohio State Telephone Co., telephone service..... | 15.50 |
| 17 | J. D. Walker, expenses..... | 153.34 |
| 17 | R. R. Woods, expenses..... | 106.90 |
| 17 | G. W. Hofferkamp, expenses..... | 150.00 |
| 17 | Wood party for traveling expenses..... | 400.00 |
| 17 | G. P. Crawford, expenses..... | 251.56 |
| 17 | D. A. V. Dukes, expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 17 | Cash expenses for Dayton Wood party..... | 100.00 |
| 19 | C. E. Spring, expenses and salary..... | 271.82 |
| 19 | Cash for postage..... | 150.00 |
| 19 | Walter W. Furness, expenses..... | 150.00 |
| 19 | Mrs. McCann, expenses..... | 60.00 |
| 19 | Cash for headquarters, miscellaneous..... | 15.00 |
| 19 | E. W. B. Curry, expenses..... | 178.16 |
| 19 | Postage for Canton..... | 20.00 |
| 20 | G. W. Hofferkamp, salary..... | 200.00 |
| 20 | L. C. Lewis, expenses..... | 68.20 |
| 20 | L. S. Dougan, expenses..... | 88.25 |
| 20 | Henry Ives, Wood trip expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 20 | J. D. Walker, expenses..... | 251.00 |
| 20 | Dorothy Robbins, salary..... | 21.60 |
| 20 | Carl Thomas, salary..... | 41.50 |
| 21 | Dean G. Warner, expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 21 | R. J. Welch, expenses..... | 25.00 |
| 21 | S. E. Zellars, expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 22 | Cash for postage..... | 10.00 |
| 22 | Cash for postage at Canton..... | 70.00 |
| 22 | W. H. Clare, expenses..... | 75.00 |
| 29 | Edwin Morgan and W. H. Clare, expenses to Tuscarawas..... | 103.80 |
| 29 | John H. Price, miscellaneous cash items..... | 265.89 |
| | | 25,060.50 |

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES A. WEISSERT.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that I wired Mr. Fred M. Alger, who is the Wood manager for Michigan, and he has sent Mr. Weissert here in his place. I will place this telegram in the record later.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

DETROIT, MICH., May 25, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Appreciate your courteous telegram just received. Mr. Weissert, Michigan Wood treasurer, is on his way to Washington. He will arrive there 9.23, railroad time, to-morrow morning, and will go directly to your committee. If absolutely necessary, I will make arrangements to postpone my existing engagements and appear before your committee Saturday morning. I am sure that you and your colleagues know that nothing except matters of critical importance could make me request the privilege of having a substitute act in my place. I will therefore impose upon your courtesy further by asking you to telegraph me to-morrow after Mr. Weissert has given his testimony whether or not your committee still requires me to appear before it. If you will do this you will greatly assist me in making my arrangements.

F. M. ALGER.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Alger ask you to come in his place?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state so that it will appear in the record why it was that Mr. Alger could not come?

Mr. WEISSERT. Because I am secretary and treasurer of the Leonard Wood League of Michigan, and I brought with me statistics concerning the expenditures and contributions. I have all the checks here which passed through our hands.

The CHAIRMAN. It was inconvenient for Mr. Alger to come at this time, so you came in his place?

Mr. WEISSERT. I presume it was; yes, sir. Besides, he said I knew the contents of the books.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected with the Wood campaign in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity?

Mr. WEISSERT. As secretary and treasurer of the Leonard Wood campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you carry on the campaign in Michigan? Did you have any help from the outside?

Mr. WEISSERT. You mean financial help?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; financial help.

Mr. WEISSERT. I can not tell you. I do not know, but I have here a list of the moneys that were given to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that raised in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir; I understand it was all raised in Michigan; that was everything which I had.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know as to the other?

Mr. WEISSERT. I could not say as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Would Mr. Alger know as to that?

Mr. WEISSERT. Does he?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WEISSERT. I understood from him that it was all raised in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us a list of the contributions?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes.

Senator EDGE. What is the total, first, and then go into the details.

Mr. WEISSERT. The total contributions were \$54,266.25.

The CHAIRMAN. You need not give us anything under a \$100 contribution.

Senator REED. This was in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all raised in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. As I understand, it was; yes, sir. I can not tell where these men got it from that gave it to me.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that, were there any contributions raised and expended in the county?

Mr. WEISSERT. I understand there were, but how much I can not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many counties that took place in?

Mr. WEISSERT. Well, I have in mind the county in which Grand Rapids is located. They had an organization of their own which had been in existence for a year.

The CHAIRMAN. They financed the campaign in that county, did they?

Mr. WEISSERT. I understood they did.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea how much money was raised in that county?

Mr. WEISSERT. I could not, because I was too busy to bother with the office at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any separate organizations in Detroit raising any money?

Mr. WEISSERT. No; not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Then is it fair to say that outside of the counties this covers all the money raised in Michigan for the Wood campaign?

Mr. WEISSERT. I should say so; yes, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. To the best of your judgment?

Mr. WEISSERT. In my judgment. In St. Joseph and Benton Harbor they had small organizations there, and I believe they financed their organization locally.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how much money?

Mr. WEISSERT. I do not know anything about that; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Weissert.

Mr. WEISSERT. Col. F. Alger himself contributed \$50,741.25.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your total contributions in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. \$54,266.25.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the other large contributors?

Mr. WEISSERT. Russell A. Alger, his brother, \$1,000; Walter C. Piper contributed \$1,000, J. S. Stearns contributed \$1,000, and the rest are small amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Alger's business that made the heavy contribution?

Mr. WEISSERT. Well, he is interested—I should describe him as a capitalist.

The CHAIRMAN. What business, what line of business is he in?

Mr. WEISSERT. That is something I never informed myself about.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he what you would call a retired capitalist?

Mr. WEISSERT. No, sir; he is a very active man.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know what line of business he is engaged in?

Mr. WEISSERT. I know that one is manufacturing.

Senator EDGE. What does he manufacture, what commodity?

Mr. WEISSERT. I think he is connected with one of the motor car plants. That is the only thing I know about his personal affairs.

Senator EDGE. What has been your association in the movement? What is your own personal business in addition to this matter?

Mr. WEISSERT. I have been for three terms a member of the house of representatives in the Michigan Legislature. I am a newspaper man by profession.

The CHAIRMAN. How was this money spent; just in a general way?

Mr. WEISSERT. I will give it to you right here, if you want it. Salaries, supplies, and incidentals, we spent—the total expenditures so far—there are a few accounts that have not come in yet to headquarters—what they are I do not know——

The CHAIRMAN. The amount of them you do not know?

Mr. WEISSERT. No; I do not know. There are occasional statements coming in. The total expenditure was \$54,047.34. Of this sum \$3,101.04 was spent for salaries, supplies, and incidentals; telegraph and telephone, \$3,739.15; for literature which we had published, got out ourselves, \$9,105.13.

Senator EDGE. You did not get your literature from main headquarters in Chicago; you published it yourself, is that the idea?

Mr. WEISSERT. We published a large amount of it ourselves, because we could not get it; it was not available. We had a circularization campaign on preceding the primary, and we could not wait for it, so we published our own, got it out ourselves. Stationery and postage, \$1,095.50; miscellaneous expenses, \$1,832.91; and our heaviest bill of all was advertising, which was \$35,173.61.

Senator EDGE. Is that newspaper advertising entirely?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir; almost entirely.

Senator EDGE. Did you do any billboard advertising, or posters in windows?

Mr. WEISSERT. No, sir. We hung up some posters, but they were sent by Chicago headquarters—window posters and store cards. That is all I have.

Senator REED. Mr. Weissert, you were connected with the Leonard Wood League?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was there another organization operating in your State known as the Leonard Wood campaign committee?

Mr. WEISSERT. I do not know that. Evidently it is the same thing as ourselves.

Senator REED. No; they have been distinguished here in the testimony of the witnesses.

Mr. WEISSERT. I do not know about that. Our organization is the only thing I know anything about, Senator.

Senator REED. How did you get first in touch with this movement?

Mr. WEISSERT. With the Wood movement?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. WEISSERT. Well, do you want to know the intimate personal side of it? Is that what you want?

Senator REED. Not the close details—just in a general way.

Mr. WEISSERT. In the legislature I was very well acquainted with an old college friend, Senator Roberts, a former senator, and I have been very much interested in politics. I told him that at the time the next Republican campaign came on I wanted to take part in it, if I could.

Senator REED. I wanted to know when you first were asked to take part in this organization, the Leonard Wood organization.

Mr. WEISSERT. That was, I think, in the last week in December—the second week in December, somewhere around there.

Senator REED. Who asked you to take part?

Mr. WEISSERT. Senator Roberts, my friend, as I say, wrote to me and said that Mr. Alger was looking for someone to look after the office.

Senator REED. You understood, then, that there was going to be a movement to try to carry Michigan for Leonard Wood?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes.

Senator REED. And that Mr. Alger was really the head man in the movement?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes; he was president.

Senator REED. So you took charge, or took part in the organization of the work?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What literature was sent to you from the outside, from the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. WEISSERT. Well, I wish I had brought some samples of it here, and you could see what it was, but we had a considerable——

Senator REED. Were large quantities of it sent?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes.

Senator REED. To be mailed, or was it mailed in the city of Chicago?

Mr. WEISSERT. It was to be mailed. We mailed it out from our headquarters.

Senator REED. Did they furnish you with postage for it?

Mr. WEISSERT. No; we paid our own postage.

Senator REED. Did you try to reach everybody in the State that was a voter?

Mr. WEISSERT. Not everybody; no.

Senator REED. I mean the Republicans.

Mr. WEISSERT. No; that was too expensive, so we aimed to reach a large number of them, a large number of the Republicans in every county.

Senator REED. Take a town like Detroit. Who carried on the campaign in Detroit? Was there an organization there?

Mr. WEISSERT. Not that I know of; no, sir. We did not do very much. One thing we did was to distribute literature at the factories.

Senator REED. Well, there was an organization in Detroit, was there not?

Mr. WEISSERT. In the city itself?

Senator REED. Yes; a Wood organization.

Mr. WEISSERT. I do not know that; no.

Senator REED. Any at Lansing?

Mr. WEISSERT. At Lansing?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. WEISSERT. We had an office there, I should say a room, for the Leonard Wood people to meet in. I have never been there myself at the hotel for several weeks.

Senator REED. Did you have other places to meet in of that kind in other cities in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. Not that I know of. You see, that was a central place, because it is the State capital, and people came in from various parts of the State.

Senator REED. Were there speakers sent into Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes; Congressman Adam Bede, Gov. Allen, and some woman came there just within a few weeks before the primary, but I do not recall her name. Then there were some local speakers in Detroit who, I understand, were volunteers. I do not know anything about them.

Senator REED. How many public meetings did you hold in the State, approximately?

Mr. WEISSERT. In the State?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. WEISSERT. There were very few public meetings. Gen. Wood was there in Grand Rapids and at some of the other places, Saginaw or at Bay City, I do not recollect which; I could not tell you, because I was not there. I was in Detroit at the time at our headquarters. I could not give you any approximate idea, but there were not very many of them.

Senator REED. Have you that schedule of your expenses?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. This item of \$35,173.61 was for print in newspapers?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes, sir; it was, I think, exclusively for newspapers, as I recollect it.

Senator REED. Did you put an advertisement in nearly every paper in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. No; I think possibly 200.

Senator REED. You put them in nearly all the Republican newspapers, did you not?

Mr. WEISSERT. We tried to; yes, sir.

Senator REED. What was the method of sending out the matter? Did you send it out along with a check, or did you make an agreement with them?

Mr. WEISSERT. Well, we made an arrangement as to the rate, and then the check was sent along with the advertising copy.

Senator REED. Do you want the committee to understand that it is your best judgment and information, and your testimony, that this sum of money shown on the sheet of paper which you have handed us here represents the total of the money expended by the Wood campaign managers?

Mr. WEISSERT. So far as I know. It is the only thing I think my books show. That was taken from my books. I have the checks right here.

Senator REED. Did you have no knowledge of outside organizations?

Mr. WEISSERT. I have no knowledge; no, sir.

Senator REED. You did not hear anything of that kind?

Mr. WEISSERT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. There were two counties that you spoke of that took care of their own expenses.

Mr. WEISSERT. Kent County had an organization, and Berrien County.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the large towns in those counties?

Mr. WEISSERT. Grand Rapids, the second largest city in the State, is in Kent County. They claimed to have the first Wood organization there.

The CHAIRMAN. Grand Rapids is in what county?

Mr. WEISSERT. Kent.

The CHAIRMAN. What city is in the other county?

Mr. WEISSERT. Berrien County was the other—St. Joe and Benton Harbor.

The CHAIRMAN. How many votes did Gen. Wood get in Michigan?

Mr. WEISSERT. I must say I have never found the total. I know he was defeated, that is all; but I have forgotten just what they were. I think we were defeated by about 43,000, but I did not make a copy of the final results.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you approximate it?

Mr. WEISSERT. I could not do it, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you not get those figures and send them to us?

Mr. WEISSERT. I would be very glad to do it.

There is one thing I wanted to say. There was a statement made by Congressman Cramton in regard to expensive quarters. We had absolutely no expensive quarters, gentlemen. The league had headquarters or rooms, which were donated to them absolutely by Maj. Walter Piper, and they did not cost a cent.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were they?

Mr. WEISSERT. 400 Holden Building, Detroit. They did not cost a cent. We maintained headquarters for several weeks awaiting the primary, in the Statler Hotel, and, as I say, remained for several weeks in Lansing.

Senator REED. What did the Statler Hotel quarters cost?

Mr. WEISSERT. I think they cost something like \$72 or \$73, or something of that kind.

Senator REED. Total?

Mr. WEISSERT. Yes.

Senator REED. They must have been practically donated too?

Mr. WEISSERT. Not several weeks. I could get that for you if you want it, but I can not recall that now.

Senator REED. You can not get a room in a hotel very long for \$73.

Mr. WEISSERT. Possibly it was more than that. As I say, I can find it out for you, if you want it. I did not think it was worth remembering.

The CHAIRMAN. How many rooms did you have?

Mr. WEISSERT. About the ordinary suite, I think, on the thirteenth floor, an unlucky number.

Senator REED. You had headquarters, did you not, that were donated?

Mr. WEISSERT. I had a desk in Maj. Piper's personal office, and we had a room probably as wide as this here and square.

Senator REED. Of course, the donation was practically a subscription. What would the rent have amounted to?

Mr. WEISSERT. I can not tell you.

Senator REED. Well, that is immaterial. I do not think it is enough to fuss about.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you.

(The statement of contributions and expenditures submitted by the witness is as follows:)

EXPENDITURES.

| | |
|--|------------|
| Salaries, supplies, and incidentals..... | \$3,101.04 |
| Telegraph and telephone..... | 3,739.15 |
| Literature..... | 9,105.13 |
| Stationery and postage..... | 1,095.50 |
| Expense, miscellaneous..... | 1,832.91 |
| Advertising..... | 35,173.61 |
| Total..... | 54,047.34 |
| Cash on hand..... | 265.38 |
| Grand total..... | 54,311.72 |

CONTRIBUTORS.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Col. F. M. Alger..... | \$50,741.25 |
| Russell A. Alger..... | 1,000.00 |
| Maj. Walter C. Piper..... | 1,000.00 |
| J. S. Stearns, Ludington..... | 1,000.00 |
| Charles Loos..... | 25.00 |
| J. Bell Moran..... | 25.00 |
| Burns Henry..... | 25.00 |
| Elliott S. Nichols..... | 25.00 |
| William Hendrie..... | 25.00 |
| C. Hayward Murphy..... | 25.00 |
| Albert M. Henry..... | 25.00 |
| John D. Rucker..... | 25.00 |
| Edward A. Sumner..... | 250.00 |
| H. M. Jewett..... | 25.00 |
| W. Ledyard Mitchell..... | 25.00 |
| Contributor through Mrs. Stoddard..... | 25.00 |
| Total..... | 54,266.25 |

TESTIMONY OF MR. I. T. JONES.

The witness was duly sworn by by chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name and address.

Mr. JONES. I. T. Jones, Des Moines, Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the manager of the Gerard Presidential campaign?

Mr. JONES. I am; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been here in the room, and you know the general nature of this inquiry. Will you give us a statement of the funds received, of the contributions and the expenditures?

Mr. JONES. I will be very glad to; yes, sir. Since coming into the room this afternoon I have had a telegram from Judge Gerard, dated at New York to-day, sent to me here in your care, which reads:

"No individual or corporation has given money to me to aid my campaign. James W. Gerard."

All of the money that we have used in his behalf has been contributed by him personally, and has all been sent to me to be expended by me, and it is evidenced by nine checks, all checks, I think, but two. On two occasions he wired me different amounts, and the total of the nine checks, the first one being dated December 11, 1919, and the last May 24—the check was not dated that date, but it was received by me in bank on that day—the last was May 24, and the

total is \$14,040. With that amount all bills have been paid. There are no outstanding bills except perhaps a few printing bills that have not been filed with me yet, and there is about \$1,300 in the treasury, that is in my account and is being epitomized. I brought my cash book along. This came rather suddenly, and I had no chance to make a summary report of it, so I have my cash book as to all the receipts.

The CHAIRMAN. In a general way, what have your expenditures been?

Mr. JONES. In a general way, we only went into one State, South Dakota, for good and sufficient reasons that I will explain to you in a minute, and we spent in South Dakota \$2,031.41. Of that amount \$500 was paid to George Niece at Watertown for the purpose of procuring the names of 50 Democratic key men in each of the 66 counties in the State of South Dakota.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any Democrats in each county of South Dakota?

Mr. JONES. He managed to find that many, and that list constituted our mailing list in South Dakota. That was done for the purpose of avoiding the expensive mailing list that is involved in a general propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gerard carried the primary in South Dakota, did he?

Mr. JONES. Yes; he carried the primary in South Dakota. We did not go into any of the States, because we went into it with the intention of going into all of the States holding a presidential preferential primary, but we took a rather altruistic view of the thing and felt perhaps it would be the right thing to do just simply to submit the candidacy, sow our seed, and let the sunshine and the rain do the rest, but when we got to South Dakota and discovered there was something more than sunshine and rain required, we decided it would be best not to go into the other States.

The next largest item is the item of printing, duplicating, stamps, telegrams, and so on. I made this summary after I came in here and saw what you were driving at. That summary is \$26,050. My rent is \$480, my traveling expenses for myself and my assistant publicity man is \$1,371, and my furniture is approximately \$300. That, generally, covers all of these various items. I would be very glad, if this committee desires it, to make a transcript of the entire cash book, and give it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that is necessary. You have not spent a very large sum of money?

Mr. JONES. We spent a very small sum. We came to some rather definite conclusions after our visit to South Dakota. We changed the plan of our campaign altogether, and decided not to enter any more States, and counseled with our Democratic friends not to enter any more, because of the efforts that were put forth on the part of two or three Republican candidates who were then in South Dakota, and were spending money in a way that I know of no Democrats who could spend money in that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find evidence of that in South Dakota?

Mr. JONES. A great many. They have a peculiar primary law there, and really if you desire to enter in South Dakota you must do it very early. They have what they call proposal men's convention.

That is composed of three men from each county from each party, paid by the people to go to that proposal men's convention and announce platforms, candidates, and all sorts of things, and these two candidates began their activity away back of that proposal men's meeting. They held their convention, I think, about the 1st of December. I was there and saw what they were spending, and it was rather a shock to my altruistic notion of a presidential primary.

Then when I was there later, and Judge Gerard and myself visited the towns of Sioux Falls, Watertown, Youngstown, Mitchell, and Aberdeen, in each of those towns there were four for two Republican candidates double headquarters, a headquarters for men and a headquarters for women.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the candidates at those headquarters?

Mr. JONES. Lowden and Wood candidates. In some instances, particularly at Mitchell, Mr. Wood had the entire second floor, as we were informed.

Senator REED. Of what?

Mr. JONES. Of the leading hotel there. I do not just recall the name of it, the Ranford, or some such name as that. I have forgotten the name of the hotel. I saw the output of mail for that day, and knowing as I did, the cost of print paper and postage, and so on, it discouraged me from entering any more presidential primaries, for two reasons, from a party standpoint and from an individual standpoint. There were no Democrats, I am quite sure, or anyone else, with sufficiently large resources to go into a campaign of that sort, and the party would suffer where we did. So it was best not to go into it, not to contest, and we counseled with everybody that we could reach not to go into the presidential primaries, and I really had my notion of it, that until there are some regulatory measures surrounding these presidential primaries, and in some way limiting the expense, they will continue to be the plaything of financial princes.

The CHAIRMAN. You think there should be some method worked out of limiting the expenditures?

Mr. JONES. I think there certainly should be. It is prohibitive to a man of small means, or a man really not of extraordinary means. For our purposes, we figure that those two candidates I speak of in South Dakota spent \$100,000 each in that State.

The CHAIRMAN. You estimate that from what you saw?

Mr. JONES. From what we saw we estimated it. It was just an estimate. Of course, it is valueless, but it was our best estimate, \$100,000. We heard men estimate it as high as \$200,000, men who lived in the State. Judge Gerard said he did not feel he could go into that sort of a campaign without besmirching himself and besmirching the dignity of the presidential office, and that he would not be a party to it, so we limited our campaign and the work we have done to three groups, the newspapers, the democratic organizations in the different States, some 15,000 in all, and the delegates to the San Francisco convention, by letting them know about, whatever the result may be. I think there certainly ought to be some better method of restricting the presidential primaries. Theoretically it is all right, it is correct, but in practice it is chaotic and is, as I have said, the plaything of men and organizations having great resources, and it is prohibitive to men of greater ability but lesser financial strength.

Senator REED. You are sort of getting back to the old fashioned idea of party organization, after all, as being a much better scheme than the reformers have brought forth?

Mr. JONES. Well, I have said, Senator, that the theory is correct, but in practice it does not seem to be——

Senator REED. Well, a theory is never correct that will not work in practice. The trouble is that a theory that will not work is a theory that has left out certain fundamentals.

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Senator REED. And the thing that was left out of the theory of the primary was that it cost an immense amount of money if an appeal was made to people who were not informed and could not be informed without the expenditure of vast sums of money.

Mr. JONES. And with reference to that, Senator, every man having a mercenary motive seizes upon it as the vehicle to give expression to his desires, ambitions, aims, and so on.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

(Whereupon the committee adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock a. m., Thursday, May 27, 1920.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, Edge, Reed, and Pomerene.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. We will first hear from Mr. John R. Davies.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN R. DAVIES.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your full name to the committee.

Mr. DAVIES. John R. Davies.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. DAVIES. 413 West One hundred and forty-first Street, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. DAVIES. Judge of the municipal court of the city of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. We can call you Judge, then. We have to give everybody a title down here.

Mr. DAVIES. They have been paying me for that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you chairman of the campaign of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to find out the contributions and expenses or disbursements of these various campaigns, and we do not want to slight anybody.

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir; and they have even called me for a two-spot to fill up the deck.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to say that. Can you give us your expenses?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir. I can give you a list of them. I prepared it, anticipating your request.

The CHAIRMAN. Just read them, and give us the totals.

Mr. DAVIES. Our contributions, total \$40,550.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the large contributions.

Mr. DAVIES. We have five contributions of \$5,000 each.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the names of those contributors.

Mr. DAVIES. Gano Dunn, \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is an engineer. These gentlemen are all either friends or relatives of Nicholas Murray Butler.

William C. Demorest, \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. President of a realty trust company, friend of Dr. Butler's.

Benjamin B. Lawrence, \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is in the printing business.

C. F. Alstrom, \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is in the printing business.

One of Dr. Butler's brothers, William C. Butler, of Everett, Wash., \$5,000.

We have two contributions of \$2,500 each, one from myself, and one from Dr. Butler's brother, Henry M. Butler, of Paterson, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. The woolen goods business.

We have a \$2,000 contribution from Arthur T. Hardy.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is in the hotel business.

We have a \$1,000 contribution from G. Hinmann Barrett.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is a business man of Bronxville.

We have another \$1,000 contribution from John D. Prince, of Ringwood, N. J.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is one of the professors in Columbia.

Another \$1,000 contribution from A. Bertram Samuels.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is an attorney.

We have another \$1,000 contribution from Edward Marshall.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is a newspaper man.

A contribution of \$1,200 from Harry B. Rosen.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. An insurance man.

Charles A. Moore, \$500.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is an automobile sales agent.

Another \$500 from Archibold Douglas, of Spuyten Duyvil.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is an attorney.

Louis Cohen, \$250.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He is an attorney.

William I. Walter, \$250.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. I don't know what his business is. He is a friend of the Doctor's.

Another \$250 from F. L. Babbott.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. DAVIES. He lives in Brooklyn. He is retired, and a friend of the Doctor's.

There are twelve \$100 contributions from friends of Mr. Rosen. Do you want those names?

The CHAIRMAN. I guess not. Who is Mr. Rosen?

Mr. DAVIES. He is an insurance man in the city and a friend of the Doctor's. There are three or four other \$100 contributions from friends of mine. It totals \$40,550. These contributions are all made by men who are friends of Dr. Butler, and believe in the idea that he ought to be a candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any promises of any further contributions?

Mr. DAVIES. No, sir. We have still, contrary to what we have been reading in the papers of some of the others, a balance that will be ample for our needs in Chicago.

Senator SPENCER. How much?

Mr. DAVIES. We have spent \$34,730. and we have a balance of \$6,820.

Senator SPENCER. That leaves you enough for the jubilation in Chicago after the convention?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you headquarters in Chicago?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir; we have two rooms in the Congress Hotel.

Senator EDGE. That will cost \$1,000 a day, will it not?

Mr. DAVIES. No, sir; \$100 a day each.

Senator EDGE. You are on the inside.

Senator SPENCER. Were those expenditures largely for publicity?

Mr. DAVIES. Entirely so.

Senator SPENCER. You did not enter into any State contests?

Mr. DAVIES. No, sir. Dr. Butler took the stand in the very beginning that he would not go into any of the primaries; that his campaign was going to be one entirely of general publicity; and if there was a call for him, he would respond, and if there was not, he would not have to. I can tell you fully our expenditures.

We started on December 1, 1919, and this represents six months. We have had headquarters in the Hotel Commodore in New York City, and all of our activities have been from that, as the publicity office. Our printing was \$9,600; postage and express for sending out literature, etc., \$6,285; traveling, people going around to interview the various State leaders, \$4,800; headquarters, clerical services, clerks and stenographers, secretaries, etc., for six months, \$7,000; the rent at the Hotel Commodore for 25 weeks was \$2,500; we paid the Western Newspaper Union for plate matter \$1,000. We were trying to educate the people up in Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get any results?

Mr. DAVIES. I will tell you better two weeks from now.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not need to spend any money educating the people in Iowa. They are educated now.

Mr. DAVIES. We have a college men's league, to which we paid, in sending out literature and stuff like that, \$1,635; the women's league was \$500; the business men's league was \$500; telephone and telegraph bill, \$500; newspaper clippings, \$350. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That statement will be inserted in full at this point.

(The statement referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

Contributions:

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Gano Dunn, 139 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York City | \$5,000 |
| William C. Demorest, 213 Broadway, New York City | 5,000 |
| Benjamin B. Lawrence, 170 West Fifty-ninth Street, New York City | 5,000 |
| C. F. Alstrom, 33 West Forty-second Street, New York City | 5,000 |
| William C. Butler, Everett, Wabs | 5,000 |
| John R. Davies, 360 West One hundred and twenty-fifth Street, New York City | 2,500 |
| Henry M. Butler, Paterson, N. J. | 2,000 |
| Arthur T. Hardy, Hotel Lucerne, New York City | 2,000 |
| G. Hinmann Barrett, Bronxville, N. Y. | 1,000 |
| John D. Prince, Ringwood, N. J. | 1,000 |
| A. Bertram Samuels, 601 West One hundred and fifteenth Street, New York City | 1,000 |
| Edward Marshall, 255 West End Avenue, New York City | 1,000 |
| Harry B. Rosen, 12 East Forty-fourth Street, New York City | 1,200 |
| Charles A. Moore, 201 West Seventy-ninth Street, New York City | 500 |
| Archibold Douglas, Spuyten Duyvil, New York | 500 |
| Louis Cohen, 302 Broadway, New York City | 250 |
| William I. Walter, 112 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York City | 250 |
| F. L. Babbott, 149 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 250 |
| Louis Bergiman | 100 |
| Edward Aisenstair | 100 |
| George Storm | 100 |
| George R. Rosenthal, jr. | 100 |
| Bernard R. Morris | 100 |
| Leon Schlmasl | 100 |
| Julius Goldman | 100 |
| Joseph Schenick | 100 |
| Harry Cahane | 100 |
| Henry C. Selgal | 100 |
| C. Lionel Marcus | 100 |
| Harry Lowe | 100 |
| Arthur Knox, 23 Broadway, New York City | 100 |
| Val J. Hahn, 254 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City | 100 |
| John T. McNeill, 600 West One hundred and forty-second street, New York City | 100 |
| Harry W. Moness, 100 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City | 100 |
| | <hr/> \$40,550 |

Expenditures Dec. 1, 1919, to May 26, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| Printing | \$9,600 |
| Postage and express | 6,285 |
| Traveling | 4,800 |
| Headquarters clerical services | 7,000 |
| Headquarters' rent, Hotel Commodore | 2,500 |
| Western Newspaper Union, plate matter | 1,000 |
| College Men's League | 1,635 |
| Telephone and telegraph | 500 |
| Women's League | 500 |
| Business Men's League | 560 |
| Clipping bureau, newspaper | 350 |
| | <hr/> 34,730 |
| Balance | <hr/> 6,820 |

Senator SPENCER. Did you have any State organizations?

Mr. DAVIES. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. The only organization is the New York organization?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir. We send our letters all over the country from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that is a pretty effective kind of a campaign?

Mr. DAVIES. I can tell you better in two weeks from now. I do believe it is, because we consider we have a splendid candidate to work with, and with the matter we have been sending out the newspapers have responded splendidly to his candidacy. That has been the nature of his campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. You are conducting the campaign on the theory that a man's qualifications can be placed before the people for a reasonable sum, and then let the country judge.

Mr. DAVIES. I think that is the only way that a campaign should be carried on for the dignified office of President of the United States.

Senator EDGE. You would not consider it undignified to send four or five hundred thousand copies of the platform of the candidate, or something of that kind, through the mails with first-class postage, would you?

Mr. DAVIES. I think that is the proper form of publicity.

Senator EDGE. Do you realize, to cover the entire country, it would cost at least a million dollars to do that, and then you would not reach all the voters?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir; but that is a method of educating the public.

Senator EDGE. Yes; but to even carry out the policy you approve, in reaching the voters directly, it would cost a million dollars, under a two-cent stamp for each one.

Mr. DAVIES. That cost would be justified for such activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, you are a pretty thoughtful kind of man, have you given any consideration as to how these great campaign expenses can be remedied, or whether the line should be drawn? As you say, publicity is desirable, and it costs a large amount of money to carry on a publicity campaign over the whole United States.

Mr. DAVIES. It does.

The CHAIRMAN. And yet, a poor man, unless he has some rich friends, could not carry on that kind of a campaign. I imagine that Dr. Butler could not carry on that kind of a campaign without help from some of his wealthy friends.

Mr. DAVIES. He could not. As a matter of fact, he has not contributed a cent to his campaign. I thoroughly agree with you in that. We have a list of all the candidates, all the national and county committee members in the Republican organization in the United States, and that totals 95,000 names.

Senator POMERENE. All of the county chairmen?

Mr. DAVIES. No, sir; county committeemen, district committeemen, precinct captains—whatever they are called.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a heavy item of expense to circularize them.

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir; just once.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you thought out anything in the way of a Federal law that might be helpful, or do you think campaign expenses should be curtailed at all?

Mr. DAVIES. If you have real publicity, I don't see how you can pass any act which will reasonably place a limit on it. Of course, I have naturally given a good deal of thought to this, as to what our activities should be, even with the limited means at our disposal. As long as we have these open primaries—I am not making any attack on them—but as long as we have them, if candidates are going to go in and make a fight in these open primaries, you know what that means when you get right down to it. You have got to practically organize in every district, not only every State or county, but every voting district, and do it effectively, and with the present high cost of living, you also have the high cost of employing help to man the polls and carry on the activities; that is, where you deal with the leaders personally. If you want to get their personal services and take them away from their employment you have to pay them.

Senator EDGE. The high cost of living is reflected in the high cost of Presidents.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have conventions you have to educate the people about the same, do you not?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir; but not so far as the element of personal service is concerned in activities around the polls. You know there used to be the time when a man thought he was being well paid at \$25 a week. Now they do not look particularly pleased at \$100 a week. Answering your question fully, just the moment you have to employ the personal services of men, such as you have to do in comprehensive primary fights, that costs a lot of money.

Senator EDGE. Is it your conviction that the open primary system for the selection of delegates has greatly increased the legitimate and necessary expense of the campaigns?

Mr. DAVIES. It certainly has.

Senator SPENCER. How many voting precincts have you in the State of New York?

Mr. DAVIES. I don't know. There are 1,400 in New York City, I would say 4,000 or 5,000.

Senator SPENCER. If you have one man in each precinct for one day, and pay him \$5 a day, you would have \$25,000.

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir; but you can not get them for \$5 a day any more. It is either a case of getting voluntary service, patriotic service, or else you have to pay them a full day's pay, and that is \$10. That is the market value.

Senator POMERENE. Assuming, for the purposes of the question, that Dr. Butler is an ideal candidate—and he is a very high-class man, there is no question about that—would you think you were pursuing an idealistic method, assuming you were able to do so, if you would contribute \$500,000 toward his election?

Mr. DAVIES. You are using the word "idealistic" advisedly?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I am.

Mr. DAVIES. I distinguish between idealistic and practical.

Senator SPENCER. What Senator Pomerene has in mind, I presume, is, supposing you had \$500,000 offered you for your publicity work, could you have used it along the line of publicity, or would you have thought it desirable to have used it?

Mr. DAVIES. I will say frankly I would not have taken it. I say that because one of the conditions of Dr. Butler entering the cam-

paign was there were to be no large amounts of money raised or expended in aid of his candidacy.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, if he were nominated and elected, he might fear that he would be placed under an undue obligation to any man who would contribute that large amount to his campaign?

Mr. DAVIES. I don't think he would feel that way, but he would not want the other man to think there was any possibility of it. He is absolutely opposed to it, and made a statement to that effect at the very beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose that is the only way a poor man could get publicity, would you see any objection to taking the large subscription?

Mr. DAVIES. Dr. Butler as a candidate——

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get away from that for a moment. We are talking about a situation. Divorce yourself from Dr. Butler's candidacy.

Mr. DAVIES. I think it is simply a matter of policy and taste on the part of the candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. You advocate the fullest publicity?

Mr. DAVIES. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. If it was to be used for educational purposes, then how would you answer Senator Pomerene's question?

Mr. DAVIES. I would say from the standpoint of policy it would not be advisable, because you are attempting to appeal to the public of this country, and the American public are opposed to the use of enormous sums of money, and that is a large sum of money.

Senator POMERENE. That leads to another question. Would it be in keeping with good public morals to have large contributions of that type or of that amount?

Mr. DAVIES. I do not think it would. It would savor, just as I say, in the idea of the public, in the public mind, of buying an election. The public would not analyze just what that money was used for. They would say at once it was being used to get away with the nomination or election, and it would have a bad effect on the public mind.

Senator SPENCER. Is your judgment against the amount, or against such a large amount coming from a single individual?

Mr. DAVIES. It is against the amount, and, of course, the second reason also.

Senator SPENCER. How many States did you actually send your publicity matter into?

Mr. DAVIES. Every one of the States, and particularly of the Northern and Western States, what we term the Republican States.

Senator SPENCER. Do you think that the cost that would be incident to putting that information into the hands of every voter would be a disadvantage greater than any advantage accruing from every individual voter having the information? You could not put it in the hands of every individual voter except at the expense of some hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. DAVIES. No; you could not. There are about 20,000,000 voters.

Senator EDGE. An average of 25,000 to a State would only permit you to send out a little over 500,000 pieces of mail at 5 cents each,

which is the estimated cost from several witnesses, I believe, including postage, clerical hire, printing, etc.

Mr. DAVIES. There would not be 20,000,000 of those Republicans, or 20,000,000 Democrats.

Senator SPENCER. That would lessen the amount, but still it would be up in the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Mr. DAVIES. Oh, yes.

Senator SPENCER. Is it your judgment that the disadvantage of using so large a sum of money is greater than the advantage that would come to the candidate from having his claims presented in pamphlet form or other public means to every voter?

Mr. DAVIES. I think the policy of it would be bad. You are dealing with the public, and I think it would be a bad policy.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, that should be from the standpoint of the public, and not from the standpoint of the candidate, whether he is a poor man or a rich man?

Mr. DAVIES. Absolutely, because you are appealing to the public for their support.

Senator EDGE. It is not a question of justification; it is a question of the influence on the public?

Mr. DAVIES. It is.

Senator EDGE. You do not question the justification of sending out the candidate's platform?

Mr. DAVIES. No; I do not question the justification of sending out a platform.

Senator EDGE. But you do believe that the effect is bad upon the public, even though justified?

Mr. DAVIES. It is. The appeal is made to the public. Of course, the public has got to feel right about it and must be kept feeling right about it.

Senator SPENCER. That would finally bring us to this situation, would it not: That your judgment would be in the State of Pennsylvania, for example, it would be good policy and a wise thing to send 50,000 or 70,000 or 100,000 documents or platforms to such names as are represented by that number of people, but that it would be poor policy to send the same platform to every Republican voter in the State of Pennsylvania, in order that they might be informed about it?

Mr. DAVIES. As a matter of policy; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think there could be any feasible method worked out by the Government toward some kind of publicity pamphlet, giving equal space to each candidate, or something of that kind, being sent to the voters? Of course, we do not want to limit publicity in this country in any way, but what would you think of the idea of doing something along that line and then prohibiting anything but certain kinds of expenditures?

Mr. DAVIES. There are so many avenues for publicity now. You can do it by means of moving pictures. I have had that suggested to me.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the best ways, is it not?

Mr. DAVIES. I had it suggested to me by means of using aeroplanes or dirigible balloons.

Senator SPENCER. You could not reach the individual voters in that way.

Mr. DAVIES. No, sir; some candidates seem to think having their names on high poles is good publicity.

Senator POMERENE. Balloon candidacies are suggestive.

Mr. DAVIES. They are usually quick of collapse.

The CHAIRMAN. I think after we get through with the details of this matter the committee will take up the question of the law and hear from some of the best thinkers in the country, who have given it some thought. We have several bills pending on the subject.

Senator EDGE. Can you figure out any way by which a candidate can carry on an educational campaign without spending money?

Mr. DAVIES. It would be very difficult.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Davies. We are very much obliged.

TESTIMONY OF MR. BURRUS JENKINS.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the committee.

Mr. JENKINS. Burrus Jenkins.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in Kansas City?

Mr. JENKINS. Kansas City.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. JENKINS. I am a minister of the gospel, and publisher of the Kansas City Post.

The CHAIRMAN. Minister and editor?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I may say that he does both with great distinction.

Senator REED. Also a politician?

Mr. JENKINS. Very amateur.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a delegate at large to San Francisco?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. I can understand the combination of the two, but not of the three.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, we have been trying to find out about the McAdoo campaign. It seems to be something that has no organization, according to the evidence here, and no funds, a sort of spontaneous affair, and it was called to our attention, according to the newspapers—I do not know how much faith you put in newspaper articles——

Mr. JENKINS. It depends on the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this was not in the Kansas City Post, but the statement was made that you had been called here to confer with friends of McAdoo in the Capital. Yes, it is in the Post; so we must believe that. The St. Louis Globe Democrat, May 22, had an article with the following headline: "Missourian asked to nominate McAdoo. Burrus Jenkins sounds St. Louis Democrats on advisability of putting name of Wilson's son-in-law before convention." We thought if you had been asked to nominate Mr. McAdoo, that might lead us to where the McAdoo organization is. Were you asked to nominate Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Jouett Shouse wrote me about it. He is Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, not an appointee of Mr. McAdoo.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the present Assistant Secretary of the Treasury?

Mr. JENKINS. He went in after Mr. McAdoo resigned.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come here at his request to confer, as this article says, with friends of Mr. McAdoo at the Capital?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir. Fortunately I have Mr. Shouse's letter with me. May I read a paragraph from that invitation?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. JENKINS. "We want you to be able to say that there has been no organization, and that not a dollar has been spent to obtain the nomination for McAdoo, and for that reason we are not even going to offer to pay your expenses on the trip here, because the statement above suggested can be truthfully made, according to our best knowledge and belief at this time."

The CHAIRMAN. That is something he wants you to say in your nominating speech?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That not a dollar has been spent in the campaign for Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, with whom have you conferred here as to the McAdoo candidacy?

Mr. JENKINS. A number of his friends.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. JENKINS. Is that part of this inquiry?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JENKINS. If I can remember the names of all of them, I will give them to you. I have seen Mr. Shouse, Mr. Roper, Mr. Frank Wilson, of New York, publicity director of the Liberty loan, Mr. Woolley. That is all I happen to remember now.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Woolley?

Mr. JENKINS. One of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Roper was formerly Commissioner of Internal Revenue?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that at some meeting you had?

Mr. JENKINS. We met together informally last night.

Senator EDGE. What are Mr. Wilson's connections?

Mr. JENKINS. He is a publicity man. He was publicity man in the Liberty loan.

Senator EDGE. Is he not connected in some way, or has he not been, with the Federal administration? Have they not all been connected with the Federal administration?

Mr. JENKINS. I am not sure about Mr. Wilson.

Senator EDGE. You are not sure about Mr. Wilson, but the others have been officials under the present administration?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not Mr. Wilson hold some position with the Democratic national committee?

Mr. JENKINS. No, sir. He is now connected with Mr. Griffith, the motion picture man.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he formerly with that committee?

Mr. JENKINS. I do not know of it.

The CHAIRMAN. He was publicity man in the last Democratic national campaign, was he not?

Mr. JENKINS. I never heard of it. I do not think so. He may have been.

The CHAIRMAN. I think he had some connection. I am not sure what position he occupied.

Senator EDGE. You say he is now with Griffith, the moving picture man?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. That is quite a powerful organization, is it not?

Mr. JENKINS. I suppose it is.

Senator EDGE. Speaking of publicity, I do not suppose you know anything about whether Mr. McAdoo has been thrown on the screen in the moving picture houses throughout the country in any way in the last three or four month?

Mr. JENKINS. I have never seen him, and I go quite a good deal to motion pictures.

Senator EDGE. Then you have probably seen the distinguished governor of New Jersey, Gov. Edwards, on the screen?

Mr. JENKINS. I never have.

Senator POMERENE. Or his predecessor?

The CHAIRMAN. Has your paper received any documents or literature of the McAdoo campaign?

Mr. JENKINS. I do not recollect that we have, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you received any from other candidates?

Mr. JENKINS. Oh, yes; quite a good deal.

The CHAIRMAN. What other candidates?

Mr. JENKINS. Nearly all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Republicans as well as Democrats?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that plate matter sent to you for the Democratic candidates?

Mr. JENKINS. I am not informed about what comes to the managing editors. What comes through my mail is pamphlet stuff, speeches, and things of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you received any from the McAdoo headquarters?

Mr. JENKINS. I do not recollect having received any. I do not know of any McAdoo headquarters at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these gentlemen with whom you met last night maintaining any headquarters anywhere?

Mr. JENKINS. I think not.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Chairman, did you not send for Mr. Roper?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator EDGE. What was his reply?

The CHAIRMAN. I have his letter. I will put it in the record later. Senator Pomerene also has a letter from him.

Senator EDGE. Perhaps it would be well to have Mr. Roper come here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. If we keep following along we may find it after a while.

Senator EDGE. If we have a candidate that is the spontaneous selection of a great body of people, I think it should be clearly established, do you not?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the Missouri delegation to San Francisco are Federal officeholders?

Mr. JENKINS. I could not say, Senator. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of the district attorneys members of the delegation?

Mr. JENKINS. I am not acquainted with all the delegates. The delegates at large are the governor, one United States district judge, and one Missouri Supreme Court judge.

Senator SPENCER. Who is the United States district judge?

Mr. JENKINS. Judge Farrington.

Senator SPENCER. He is judge of the Springfield Court of Appeals?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes; that is true. The delegates at large are the governor, one Missouri Supreme Court judge, one judge of the Springfield Court of Appeals, and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Is one of the judges of the State supreme court a delegate at large?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And one of the delegates of the court of appeals at Springfield?

Mr. JENKINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you a question, throwing some light on the question just asked. During the Roosevelt and Taft administrations, was it an unheard of thing to have Federal officials as delegates to the conventions?

Mr. JENKINS. I am not much of a politician, and I was not in the newspaper game at that time, and so I am not informed.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not affect the question here, even though it was the custom before. I would like to find out how near you have followed that custom.

Senator POMERENE. I suppose there are some delegates, and I hope there are, who have enough interest in Democracy to take an interest in the presidential campaign. I do not think it is a crime, either.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think it is a crime, but I would like to know about it from both parties.

You say you can not give us the names of the Missouri delegation who are Federal officeholders?

Mr. JENKINS. No, sir. I doubt if there are any. I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Or who are in the Internal Revenue Service?

Mr. JENKINS. I do not know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Or who were under the Treasury when Mr. McAdoo was Secretary?

Mr. JENKINS. I do not know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not know anything about it?

Mr. JENKINS. My information may be very limited in respect to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any funds being received at all for the McAdoo campaign?

Mr. JENKINS. No, sir. On the contrary, I heard those gentlemen say last night that they had no funds.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Doctor.

Mr. JENKINS. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. S. DARST, CHARLESTON, W. VA.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name to the committee.

Mr. DARST. J. S. Darst.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home?

Mr. DARST. Charleston, W. Va.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. DARST. I am auditor of state.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any connection with the present campaign in West Virginia?

Mr. DARST. Yes; I was manager of the Wood campaign in that State.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any contributions from outside sources?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much, and from where?

Mr. DARST. Senator, I have here every item of expense put down, and the total amount I have expended in West Virginia is \$4,438.36. That includes Gen. Wood's trip of four days through the State, the cost of opera houses, paying for speakers, brass bands and the like.

(The statement of receipts and expenditures referred to by the witness is here printed in full, as follows:)

Campaign expenses, J. S. Darst, manager State of West Virginia, for Leonard Wood.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|---|---------|
| Feb. 20 | Postage stamps..... | \$25.00 |
| 29 | Do..... | 10.00 |
| Mar. 13 | Advertising, Charleston Mail..... | 14.40 |
| 3 | Advertising, Daily Gazette, Charleston..... | 11.25 |
| 6 | Advertising, Robert Morris..... | 25.00 |
| 10 | Personal trip to Chicago, J. S. Darst..... | 54.00 |
| 10 | Advertising, Wheeling Register..... | 13.68 |
| 10 | Advertising, Daily Gazette..... | 13.05 |
| 10 | Advertising, Huntington Herald..... | 9.80 |
| 10 | C. R. Morgan..... | 5.00 |
| 13 | Advertising, Mountain Echo..... | 15.50 |
| 13 | Advertising, Telegram..... | 11.70 |
| 13 | Advertising, Marlinton Journal..... | 8.25 |
| 13 | Advertising, Nicholas News..... | 10.00 |
| 13 | Advertising, C. H. James..... | 5.00 |
| 13 | Advertising, Jackson Herald..... | 2.20 |
| 13 | Advertising, Daily Gazette..... | 9.65 |
| 13 | J. E. McLothlin, expenses advertising, Parkersburg..... | 15.00 |
| 13 | Postage stamps..... | 35.00 |
| 13 | Do..... | 64.00 |
| 13 | Intelligencer Publishing Co., advertising..... | 34.00 |
| 13 | Postage stamps..... | 20.00 |
| 22 | Do..... | 20.00 |
| 24 | Do..... | 45.00 |
| 24 | Hughes Sign Co..... | 25.00 |
| 24 | Stamps..... | 60.00 |
| 25 | Advertising, Daily Gazette..... | 27.00 |
| 25 | Band, Albert Wright..... | 30.00 |
| 27 | Postage stamps..... | 10.00 |
| 27 | Do..... | 20.00 |
| 27 | D. G. Lazelle, Morgantown, organizing club..... | 25.00 |
| 27 | Advertising, Marlinton Journal..... | 9.75 |
| 27 | Postage stamps..... | 30.00 |
| 27 | McClure Bros., printing..... | 77.75 |
| 30 | Stamps..... | 5.00 |
| 30 | Do..... | 20.00 |
| 31 | Advertising, Charleston Gazette..... | 10.80 |
| 31 | Advertising, Charleston Mail..... | 34.60 |
| 31 | Postage stamps..... | 20.00 |

Campaign expenses, J. S. Darst, manager State of West Virginia, for Leonard Wood—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|--------|--|---------|
| Apr. 1 | Advertising, Fayette Journal..... | 84.30 |
| 1 | J. S. Darst, Parkersburg trip..... | 15.00 |
| 1 | Advertising, Marlinton Post..... | 4.30 |
| 2 | Advertising, Daily Gazette..... | 2.45 |
| 2 | Advertising, Huntington Herald Co. | 31.50 |
| 2 | Advertising, Parkersburg Sentinel..... | 6.25 |
| 2 | Advertising, Clarksburg Telegram..... | 10.00 |
| 2 | Advertising, Fairmont West Virginian..... | 16.40 |
| 2 | Postage stamps..... | 10.00 |
| 3 | Advertising, Wheeling Telegraph..... | 25.20 |
| 3 | Postage stamps..... | 20.00 |
| 3 | Advertising, S. S. Buzzard..... | 1.65 |
| 3 | Advertising, Ravenswood News..... | 3.40 |
| 3 | Advertising, Nicholas News..... | 2.00 |
| 5 | J. S. Darst, Court Clay and Pocahontas..... | 20.00 |
| 6 | J. S. Darst, Marion County trip..... | 25.00 |
| 6 | Postage stamps..... | 55.00 |
| 6 | Distributing bills, W. A. Johnson..... | 5.00 |
| 6 | Advertising, Marlinton Journal..... | 4.90 |
| 12 | Parkersburg News, advertising..... | 28.40 |
| 12 | Fairmont Times, advertising..... | 10.00 |
| 12 | J. S. Darst, Monroe County trip..... | 15.00 |
| 12 | Stamps..... | 31.00 |
| 14 | Do..... | 40.00 |
| 14 | Advertising, Jackson-Herald Co..... | 4.00 |
| 14 | Advertising, Times-Record..... | 17.40 |
| 15 | Postage stamps..... | 30.00 |
| 15 | J. S. Darst, traveling expenses..... | 20.00 |
| 15 | Dr. Kearns, expenses of organizing club at Weston..... | 20.00 |
| 15 | Postage stamps..... | 20.00 |
| 19 | Advertising, West Virginian-Fairmont..... | 10.00 |
| 19 | Advertising, West Virginia News..... | 4.40 |
| 19 | Advertising, St. Albans Herald..... | 4.40 |
| 19 | Advertising, Daily Gazette..... | 6.00 |
| 19 | F. A. Gillespie, typewriter..... | 65.00 |
| 26 | J. S. Darst, mileage book..... | 32.40 |
| 22 | J. S. Darst, expenses, trip to panhandle..... | 25.00 |
| 22 | Dr. Kearns, salary..... | 250.00 |
| 22 | Advertising, Intelligencer Publishing Co..... | 12.50 |
| 26 | Expenses, Wood Club, Wheeling..... | 27.00 |
| 26 | Advertising, Morgantown Post Co..... | 4.00 |
| 26 | Expenses, Dr. Kearns..... | 29.00 |
| 26 | Do..... | 24.25 |
| 29 | Traveling expenses, Dr. Kearns..... | 135.30 |
| 29 | Expenses, W. H. C. Curtis..... | 74.92 |
| 29 | Western Union Telegraph Co..... | 10.00 |
| 29 | J. S. Darst, expenses, Wood campaign, sundries..... | 22.50 |
| 29 | Postage stamps..... | 10.00 |
| May 1 | Advertising..... | 30.45 |
| 1 | Postage stamps..... | 10.00 |
| 1 | Advertising, Raleigh Herald..... | 3.40 |
| 1 | Postage stamps..... | 5.00 |
| 1 | Oil Review Publishing Co., advertising..... | 5.00 |
| 1 | Wheeling News Co..... | 4.50 |
| 1 | Postage stamps..... | 10.00 |
| 1 | Do..... | 10.00 |
| 6 | Advertising, Daily Gazette..... | 12.35 |
| 6 | Postage stamps..... | 10.00 |
| 6 | Advertising, Charleston Gazette..... | 25.40 |
| 6 | J. S. Darst, Chicago trip..... | 90.00 |
| 6 | Services, F. M. Kearns..... | 170.00 |
| 6 | Typewriting and other expenses..... | 300.00 |
| 6 | W. B. Donnally Co., freight..... | 1.75 |
| 6 | Postage stamps..... | 10.00 |
| 6 | Advertising, C. M. Hanna, Parkersburg..... | 24.00 |
| 13 | Advertising, Parkersburg News..... | 16.00 |
| 14 | Postage stamps..... | 20.00 |
| 14 | Advertising, St. Albans Herald..... | 7.30 |
| 14 | Postage stamps..... | 25.00 |
| 14 | Stamps, A. B. Woodyard, Logan..... | 5.00 |
| 14 | Expenses, Wood meeting..... | 25.00 |
| 14 | Keyser Echo, advertising..... | 20.00 |
| 14 | Postage stamps..... | 25.00 |
| 14 | J. S. Darst, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 14 | J. S. Darst, mileage book..... | 34.00 |
| 14 | C. M. Hanna, Parkersburg, advertising..... | 25.00 |
| 17 | Dr. Kearns..... | 20.00 |
| 18 | Postage stamps..... | 20.00 |
| 18 | Sign company..... | 6.00 |
| 18 | Other expenses, sundries..... | 15.00 |
| 18 | Chas. Bell, advertising..... | 62.12 |

Campaign expenses, J. S. Darst, manager State of West Virginia, for Leonard Wood—
Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|------------|--|----------|
| 18 | T. H. B. Dawson, expenses, Roosevelt meeting, rent of hall, band, etc..... | \$145.00 |
| 18 | Advertising, Mount Echo..... | 20.00 |
| 24 | Jos. Hensen, expenses, Roosevelt meeting, including band, hall, etc..... | 266.50 |
| 24 | Advertising, Hampshire Review..... | 6.45 |
| 24 | R..... | 50.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 4.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 10.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 12.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 17.50 |
| 24 | A..... | 11.25 |
| 24 | A..... | 18.45 |
| 24 | A..... | 4.80 |
| 24 | A..... | 15.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 15.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 7.75 |
| 24 | A..... | 8.25 |
| 24 | A..... | 7.50 |
| 24 | A..... | 20.00 |
| 24 | M..... | 13.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 5.00 |
| 24 | L..... | 2.00 |
| 24 | D..... | 75.00 |
| 24 | A..... | 50.00 |
| 23 | E..... | 211.80 |
| 23 | A..... | 3.20 |
| 23 | T..... | 250.00 |
| Total..... | | 4,438.30 |

Senator EDGE. Was there any other money raised in West Virginia that did not come through your committee?

Mr. DARST. Not a dollar. I think I handled every dollar.

Senator POMERENE. You have given the amount of your expenditures, but I did not hear you state what contributions have been made.

Mr. DARST. I have received \$6,500. I think possibly I have not received all the bills for advertising in 65 papers the day before the primary. To send out, as you gentlemen know, an article eight inches long in a column of a newspaper costs \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you sent some of those out?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir. I have not got all the bills in. There will be bills amounting to \$1,500 or \$2,000 in addition to that.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say that sending out that kind of an article would cost \$1,000.

Mr. DARST. I spent that in the last notices that we sent to the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. In each paper it cost \$1,000?

Mr. DARST. All of them put together. It is a very small amount of advertising you get for that.

The CHAIRMAN. I should think so.

Mr. DARST. Very small.

The CHAIRMAN. Then your total expenditures were how much?

Mr. DARST. Up to date—that was yesterday when I received your telegram, and I put this right on the typewriter—it amounted to \$4,200 and something. It will probably amount to \$2,000 more than that when all the bills are received.

Senator EDGE. Did you receive the \$6,500 from the outside or was it contributed locally?

Mr. DARST. No; the \$6,500 was sent me from Mr. Wood's headquarters by Mr. Burke.

Senator EDGE. The New York headquarters?

Mr. DARST. No; the Chicago headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any counties organized and carrying on a campaign independent of yours?

Mr. DARST. None whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. And no money was raised independent of you?

Mr. DARST. None whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. For halls or parades or anything of that kind?

Mr. DARST. Senator, in Ohio County and in a number of counties that we visited with Gen. Wood in the last few days, that was taken care of by the friends of the general in the town. Outside of the advertising, everything was taken care of in the city of Wheeling. The halls and bands and so forth were paid for by the friends of Gen. Wood. There was a good deal of work of that kind done.

The CHAIRMAN. Your expenses were largely for advertising?

Mr. DARST. My expenses were largely for postage stamps, advertising, and clerical force.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you spend for postage stamps?

Mr. DARST. I have got it all down here each time. I have not figured it up by itself. It will probably amount to a thousand dollars, maybe more. It would take that much money in any county to make the race for sheriff. That would be considered a very small sum indeed, all that I have spent in the entire State.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these circulars sent from Chicago?

Mr. DARST. Some of them were and some of my own dope that I printed myself was put in.

Senator POMERENE. Let me understand you. You say it would take \$4,438.36, the amount of your expenditures, to conduct a campaign for sheriff?

Mr. DARST. That would be in one of the smallest counties in the State. A United States Senatorship costs in my State no doubt \$100,000 for years past.

Senator POMERENE. That depended on the candidate, did it not?

Mr. DARST. Our people have been educated up. If you will pardon me, you can't get a man to look at you down there for less than \$10 or \$15 a day. Why, pshaw.

The CHAIRMAN. Senatorships come high there, do they?

Mr. DARST. You bet. Of course, I could not make a campaign on that amount in my State. What I have done, I done myself, with the assistance of my friends. I was the whole shooting match. If I had had \$30,000 I could have carried the State by 50,000, and that would be a conservative amount in a State like West Virginia, to go into 55 counties and look the people in the face and make a few speeches. It takes more than advertising; it takes the power of the human voice and the man that can use it to carry the primary in any State.

Senator POMERENE. Did I understand correctly from your statement that there was at least \$50,000 expended in the Wood campaign in your State?

Mr. DARST. Oh, no. I said that he could have spent that if he wanted to make a decent campaign and organize counties. Senator, 55 counties, at \$1,000 to the county, in my State would be a very humble amount; very, very.

Senator EDGE. What was the result in West Virginia?

Mr. DARST. That is very much in doubt. I think the Wood delegates were all elected. I am a delegate at large, and I was elected by a big majority.

Senator POMERENE. Let me understand you. You say there are 55 counties, and it requires \$1,000 in each county to conduct a decent campaign?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You conducted a decent campaign, did you not?

Mr. DARST. I tried to. I have been elected three times to a four-year term as auditor and practically without opposition, and spent that much money to help the movement along, put my announcement in 55 papers.

Senator POMERENE. From your knowledge of campaigning in West Virginia, what, in your judgment, was the amount of money expended in behalf of Gen. Wood's candidacy in each county?

Mr. DARST. Oh, Senator, if you will look this over you will find that money was spent for nothing but advertising in the newspapers and for postage stamps, and that like.

Senator POMERENE. You have just told the committee that in Ohio County—of which Wheeling is the county seat?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That the expenditures for halls and bands, and I assume all the expenditures incident to Gen. Wood's visit there——

Mr. DARST. No.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I will withdraw that then. The expenses of the halls and of the bands——

Mr. DARST. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And the expense of entertainment there, was taken care of by Gen. Wood's friends?

Mr. DARST. No; we took care of the entertainment.

Senator POMERENE. What items of expense were cared for locally?

Mr. DARST. The items of expense cared for locally would be the hotel bills, and such as that. They were not very much. All the advertising I paid myself. That was the big item. You get in three daily papers an article, just a little notice, 10 by 12, you know what that would cost, of course. In two daily papers it would mean quite a good deal, probably cost two or three hundred dollars. When we get it in three papers it is probably \$400.

Senator POMERENE. Was it three or four or five hundred dollars that it cost in that county?

Mr. DARST. That is one of the lowest ones.

Senator POMERENE. That is one of the lowest ones?

Mr. DARST. I am not speaking of the campaign in general for six weeks that was carried on.

Senator POMERENE. How much did the five or six weeks' campaign cost in Ohio County?

Mr. DARST. I sent in Ohio County, Senator, the same dope that I sent in the other counties. Ohio County is the largest county or the most populous county in the State, and naturally I sent a good deal of literature. Outside of that I do not recall any particular expense there.

Senator POMERENE. Let us confine that to Ohio County.

Mr. DARST. All right.

Senator POMERENE. Did I understand that your advertising in the Wheeling papers was limited to a part of a column, as you have described?

Mr. DARSH. We never had as much as a quarter of one page in any paper in the State. We could not afford it.

Senator POMERENE. The statement was made here some time ago that you had half-page and even full-page advertisements.

Mr. DARST. The same fellow that made that statement was flying flying machines around the country.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know who made the statement. Why do you say that?

Mr. DARST. I think I read that in the paper. Excuse me, maybe I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. I am asking you whether that was the fact.

Mr. DARST. Absolutely untrue.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any such advertising as that in any of the other counties?

Mr. DARST. Not to my knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. Would you have known it if that had been done?

Mr. DARST. I think I would, unless somebody else paid the bill.

Senator POMERENE. Were there any other advertisements paid for by local committees in any county?

Mr. DARST. Not to my knowledge, not a dollar.

Senator POMERENE. Was any accounting ever made of any money expended in any of the counties other than you have given here?

Mr. DARST. Not a dollar; that is all there was.

Senator POMERENE. Let us not misunderstand one another about this. I am asking you whether there was any other money collected and expended in these other counties.

Mr. DARST. No; not a dollar to my knowledge. And I think I would know if there was \$2 spent.

Senator POMERENE. Let us go to another branch of the case.

Mr. DARST. All right.

Senator POMERENE. Senator Sutherland was a candidate in that State for the nomination for President, was he not?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Could you give us any information as to the amount of money spent in his behalf?

Mr. DARST. I only know what his manager told me in January, in my office. I said to him, "Doctor, how much money have you spent up to date?" He said, "I have spent \$8,000 so far."

Senator POMERENE. Who was that gentleman?

Mr. DARST. Dr. Hersey.

Senator POMERENE. He told you in January, in our office, that up to that date it had cost him \$8,000?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir; I might be mistaken \$500. That is a good while ago; I will say right along there.

Senator POMERENE. If \$8,000 had been expended up to January, how much has been expended since that time? Have you any information in regard to that?

Mr. DARST. Only what I have seen in the newspapers in the way of advertisements in the last few weeks.

Senator POMERENE. What have you seen?

Mr. DARST. The kind of advertisement that would cost in West Virgini \$350 to \$400.

Senator POMERENE. What papers have you seen it in?

Mr. DARST. All of them.

Senator POMERENE. Name them.

Mr. DARST. Senator, I take 55 county papers, and as they come along I throw them over and look in them, and I saw their advertisement in all of them in the last week, as far as I know. I might have missed a few.

Senator POMERENE. Was that advertising, or was it such publicity as is often given by newspapers.

Mr. DARST. They don't give it in my State. That is the trouble.

Senator POMERENE. They have been better trained, have they?

Mr. DARST. You bet, you. That is why it costs so much.

Senator POMERENE. What arrangement is there in your State for the filing of accounts of receipts and expenditures of candidates?

Mr. DARST. They must file their receipts and expenditures of all candidates, but the law does not compel candidates for President of the United States. While there was no law compelling me, I made a sworn statement, itemized, and filed it with the secretary of state, of the money I had spent for Gen. Wood. I expect, as soon as I get this together, to make a final sworn statement and file it, although there is no law compelling me to.

Senator POMERENE. Let us be a little more explicit about that. Do I understand from your statement that neither the candidate for presidential favor in your State, nor his manager, is required to make any accounting?

Mr. DARST. Absolutely not. It excepts the President.

Senator POMERENE. Do I understand you also that the candidates for delegates, either at large or by districts, are not required to file any accounting?

Mr. DARST. They are not required to as far as I know.

Senator POMERENE. Your corrupt practices act applies only to State and county officers and senatorial and congressional candidates?

Mr. DARST. Well, Senator, it excepts the President of the United States. As far as candidates for delegate at large, I am not posted on that. I have not made any canvass at all.

Senator POMERENE. Did you spend any money in your own behalf, outside of these funds that were sent to you?

Mr. DARST. No, sir. I have simply given five months of hard work—the very hardest in my life. That has been my contribution, without a cent.

Senator POMERENE. What has been the result, so far as the presidential preference is concerned, in your State?

Mr. DARST. It is very doubtful. Probably Mr. Sutherland has carried the State, but Wood has the delegates. They have been Wood delegates, I think; at least 9 out of 11.

Senator SPENCER. Let us get that. You had a State-wide primary on Tuesday?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you nominate State officers at that time?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir; nominated State and county officers.

Senator SPENCER. What were they voting on in connection with the presidential situation?

Mr. DARST. We were voting direct for Senator Sutherland and Gen. Wood, also voting for delegates from the districts and delegates at large.

Senator SPENCER. Did the whole State vote on the district delegates?

Mr. DARST. No; just the congressional districts. The four at large were voted on by the entire State. As far as my information goes, and it is limited, we have elected three out of the four Wood delegates at large.

Senator SPENCER. Does that mean that three out of the four Wood delegates received more votes in the primary?

Mr. DARST. Absolutely. I ran away ahead of Gen. Wood. In Ohio County he carried it by about 1,400, and I think I carried it by about 1,500. You see where the sentiment was. It was a complimentary vote to the Senator. That is true all over. Our State is for Wood, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you elected a delegate?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. If you and your three associates were elected as Wood delegates, will you get your credentials as Wood delegates?

Mr. DARST. Oh, no; I am elected as a delegate by the people at large. The people expressed their sentiment—if they have done so. It is very close; and if they want Senator Sutherland, I shall vote for Senator Sutherland, you understand, if his name is before the convention. So will every delegate from West Virginia. We are in honor bound to do that and are glad to do it.

Senator POMERENE. Does the law make that equivalent to an instruction?

Mr. DARST. No, sir; but I feel a moral obligation which is higher than any other which would carry that out. But if Senator Sutherland has no show, you see, we will all vote for Leonard Wood.

Senator SPENCER. You were elected?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And the district delegates were elected?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. As delegates?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. In regard to your election, so far as your being voted upon is concerned, there were no indications as to whom you should vote for, or anything else, was there? You were simply elected as delegates?

Mr. DARST. Absolutely.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say that, as a matter of fact, the most of the delegates, both the district and the State, that were elected were men who in their judgment and in their hearts sympathized with Gen. Wood.

Mr. DARST. Certainly.

Senator SPENCER. In addition to your election as delegates, there was at the same time an expression of the opinion of the people of the State upon the presidential candidates?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And your judgment is that that expression has resulted in a majority for Senator Sutherland?

Mr. DARST. Otherwise, there is no need of the people to vote at all, you know. We all want to carry that out.

Senator SPENCER. And you have, under your procedure and law, a moral obligation to support the preference of the people?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir; certainly.

Senator REED. As long as Senator Sutherland, in your judgment, has a chance to win?

Mr. DARST. Absolutely.

Senator REED. Do you think that he has a chance to win?

Mr. DARST. Not no more than myself.

Senator REED. You are already absolved from your moral obligation, then, are you not?

Mr. DARST. That is my opinion about it, you know. He might have a chance to win, and if he can demonstrate it, if he can show strength, all right, I am with him.

Senator REED. If you got more votes than Gen. Wood, why should you not be the candidate for President and Gen. Wood the delegate?

Mr. DARST. I have got too much sense.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you would make a good candidate, all right.

Mr. DARST. I was going to ask the privilege to tell the committee what I think about the expenditure of money, if I may. I have been in a good many campaigns. I have held public office for 24 years. Under the present system of electing men, how are you going to hope for any support whatever if you do not get the facts to the people of your State? Is there anybody hurt, Mr. Chairman, if \$100,000 is spent in West Virginia to get that campaign of education to the people; get the facts to the people? If \$100,000 is spent in that way, wouldn't it be well spent? Should not the people vote intelligently? If that money is used for educating the people, what is the harm? In my State thousands and thousands of people are absolutely voting in the dark, and it is dangerous to vote in the dark. What harm is it going to do to let the people know the facts about a candidate? The people of my State don't know Leonard Wood. There is only 1 in 20 that knows anything about him. How could he hope to win, unless we could get the facts to the people? And is anybody hurt by that? And whose money is it?

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we are trying to find out.

Mr. DARST. If you will take that statement and look it over, if that is to be used for educating the people, it seems to me it is the finest education in the world. Why should not we get the facts to the people?

Senator REED. The object you had in view was to simply enlighten the people as to Gen. Wood and his qualifications?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And there was only 1 in 20 that knew anything about him?

Mr. DARST. Hardly that.

Senator REED. So that the task was rather large?

Mr. DARST. It was.

Senator REED. Suppose you had had a candidate who had rendered such service to his country that his name was known and his services were known to the American people, you would not have had to have so much money, would you?

Mr. DARST. I will say in that respect, this man's light has been hid under a bushel, and he has not been in the limelight, and we have to get the real story to the people of West Virginia.

Senator REED. Yes; I know it has been hid under a bushel. He has done more advertising than all the rest of them put together.

Mr. DARST. Wasn't it in education of the people? I beg your pardon, Senator.

Senator REED. The people of West Virginia are just as intelligent as the people of any other State, I take it?

Mr. DARST. Yes.

Senator REED. So we can take it that not 1 person in 20 in the United States knows anything about Leonard Wood's qualifications for President, and they have to be taught, hence the need of a large sum of money. That is because his light has been hid under a bushel?

Mr. DARST. Yes.

Senator REED. Unfortunately, I missed a part of your testimony, which I regret very much, but when I came into the room, you were saying that it took the power of the human voice to carry a primary in West Virginia?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And it takes the power of the human voice plus money to carry a primary in your State, I take it?

Mr. DARST. Well, a little. It takes a little money.

Senator REED. I thought I heard you say it took \$1,000 per county to make any kind of a reasonable campaign.

Mr. DARST. Organization, Senator, down to the voting precinct, it would. That is a small amount.

Senator REED. And that you had made some campaigns yourself, and they always cost you that much.

Mr. DARST. Oh, no; I beg your pardon. I never spent that much money.

Senator REED. It cost somebody that much, did it not?

Mr. DARST. No, sir. I paid every cent. Nobody ever paid anything for my campaigns.

The CHAIRMAN. You used the voice without the money.

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir. I lived 20 years in that State. I was in the senate and the house, three terms in the house and one in the senate, and I campaigned that State for 20 years, every county in the State.

Senator REED. What did it cost you?

Mr. DARST. I did not have any opposition. It cost me \$4,000 or \$5,000, and I was glad to put it up, and if I had had a real campaign, with any opposition, it would have cost me \$25,000 or \$30,000.

Senator EDGE. What did you spend that for?

Mr. DARST. Newspapers, \$1,500; traveling expenses, \$1,500 and all the other expenses that you have. You fellows know about that. Talk about cost.

Senator REED. What is the population of West Virginia?

Mr. DARST. We have close to 2,000,000, I think.

Senator REED. Fifty-three counties?

Mr. DARST. Fifty-five.

Senator REED. You had better look over the transcript of your testimony, because I am very certain you stated the campaign in West Virginia could not be made for less than \$50,000, and it had always cost you that much.

Mr. DARST. I beg your pardon, Senator.

Senator REED. I suggest that you look over the transcript. If you did not mean to say it, you have a right to correct it. That is the reason I say you had better look at it.

Mr. DARST. I haven't got anything to look over, but I want to correct that right now, if anyone got any impression of that kind, because that was a slip of the tongue, if I said it at all, which I have no recollection of. But I do say, Senator, if you will pardon me, that no man, however popular he may be, can go in there and make what we call an organization, in 55 counties, under present conditions, with the high cost of living, traveling expenses, and the men you have got to carry in your organization, for less than a thousand dollars a county. That is a very small amount, if you get anywhere.

Senator REED. Did I understand you to say that the people of your State had been trained up to the point where they expected to be paid for those political services?

Mr. DARST. No; I say it has been the habit in West Virginia, even in a sheriff's race, in the gubernatorial fights in the past, and senatorial fights in the past.

Senator REED. And in presidential fights in the past?

Mr. DARST. Great sums of money have been spent.

Senator REED. And as the result of that, you said the people had been educated up to expect money?

Mr. DARST. Certainly they have.

Senator REED. Newspapers expect money to publish notices of meetings?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Everybody expects money?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Workers at the polls expect money?

Mr. DARST. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. When a man goes out to the polls and works, he expects money?

Mr. DARST. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. If a man goes out and polls the precinct, he expects money?

Mr. DARST. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. If a man goes out as a watcher at the polls he expects money?

Mr. DARST. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. And the man that stands at the polls and distributes ballots, if you have that system—or do you have that?

Mr. DARST. No, sir. Senator, will you pardon me just a minute! At the prices paid clerks in the elections, and the different officers in our State, you can hardly get them at all. Labor is so high in our State that you can not get men at all. They won't serve. What else is there to do? We have to raise the pay and raise additional money, to get men to serve, in addition to what the county pays.

Senator REED. I am not speaking about the clerks of election. I am speaking about the auxiliary forces, the flying squadron, the precinct workers, etc. You pay them, do you not?

Mr. DARST. Oh, yes.

Senator EDGE. Does the law provide that you can pay challengers and poll men?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The law provides that you shall pay them?

Mr. DARST. Oh, yes; they are all paid; I don't know how much.

Senator REED. Under that law?

Mr. DARST. Yes.

Senator REED. Who pays them?

Mr. DARST. The county court, I think, of each county.

Senator REED. I am not talking about those officers whom the government pays, the government of your State or your county; I am talking about the political organizations. As I understand you, the reason that it takes this money is because practically everybody who does anything in politics in your State expects to be paid, and has to be paid.

Mr. DARST. I would not like to make it that broad. I want to answer that in this particular case by saying that in every county in the State they had chairmen that gave their services without a dollar; \$25 was the only money that I put up to help organize a club.

Senator REED. That is not what I am talking about.

Mr. DARST. All right.

Senator REED. I will ask you to please confine yourself to answering questions for a moment, and it will not take so much time.

Mr. DARST. Certainly, Senator, I will do so.

Senator REED. I suppose in your State, if you are going to have an election, you will have to have some people to organize and see that the vote is gotten out and brought to the polls.

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That class of men are generally paid, are they?

Mr. DARST. I have no knowledge of that. I do not have anyway of knowing.

Senator REED. I am talking about the custom in the State, not in this particular election. In your State it has been the custom to have a certain organization?

Mr. DARST. Oh, yes. The organization I am talking about—can I answer your question in this way? Suppose you would come into a county or I would go in a county, and say, "Here, I want you to go and work for me. You are for Gen. Wood and I want you to get out and help in this county." I would have to pay that kind of a man. He could not give his time for a week or two without pay. I could not ask him to do it.

Senator REED. Did you do that?

Mr. DARST. One man. One man I had was Dr. Kerns. He would go out and round up in a county certain people that believed in Wood, or maybe two counties. He would telegraph me on Thursday. I would leave my office on Thursday and go out there and hold them two meetings by Saturday night, organize the club and come back home.

Senator REED. I am speaking about men who get the vote on primary day.

Mr. DARST. I did not have any men. I did not have the money. That would cast \$20,000 or \$25,000 on election day alone.

Senator REED. You have spoken of the fact that your people are educated up to the expenditure of money on elections in your State.

Mr. DARST. In campaigns.

Senator REED. Is it customary to pay these workers at the polls?

Mr. DARST. I can not state from personal knowledge about that. I presume so.

Senator REED. You know what the custom is, do you not?

Mr. DARST. I presume they pay them. I never say they pay for anything.

Senator REED. You never saw them, but you have been in politics 20 years, and you know what they are doing?

Mr. DARST. Lots of fellows have so much interest in the ticket that they will give lots of time.

Senator REED. But the ordinary worker is paid, and expects to be paid?

Mr. DARST. I think so. I think he should be paid for his time.

Senator REED. When was this custom of commercialized patriotism established in your State? When did it begin to grow up?

Mr. DARST. Long before my time. I have been in it 20 years, and it was going on then.

Senator REED. And you say that large sums of money have been expended there in senatorial fights?

Mr. DARST. I think so.

Senator REED. There was a good deal spent in the last one, was there not?

Mr. DARST. Yes; I think there was.

Senator REED. Most everybody got some money in that, did they not?

Mr. DARST. Well, I do not know about that. It was a big campaign, you know. I do not mean, when I say that, that there was money paid to purchase votes at all.

Senator REED. I did not say that.

Mr. DARST. I mean for legitimate expenses.

Senator REED. It is perfectly legitimate, in your opinion, to hire a man to canvass a precinct, and pay him for it, is it?

Mr. DARST. I think there is nothing wrong about that.

Senator REED. And it is perfectly legitimate to hire a man to work at the polls on election day and pay him for it?

Mr. DARST. I do not see anything wrong with it.

Senator REED. I suppose it is legitimate to hire a man to go from county to county in the State and perfect the general organization?

Mr. DARST. I think it is.

Senator REED. What is the general price paid men for doing that kind of work you have been speaking of? You say you have to pay them more than common wages?

Mr. DARST. Pardon me. I told you a while ago I had been in campaigns for 20 years. I never paid a man a penny in my life, and I can not speak for anybody else.

Senator REED. I do not say you did, but you have done campaigning, and you must have had some knowledge of funds that have been raised and something about their expenditure.

Mr. DARST. I never was in that part of it. I have always given my services without a dollar. That part of it I was not in touch with the details at all. I didn't care to interest myself in it.

Senator REED. I understood you to say a few moments ago that that was the custom in your State, that prices were higher than common labor, and you had to have these men.

Mr. DARST. All I know about that is my own observation in the State.

Senator REED. That is what I have been asking you to give me. What have been your observations generally in regard to these prices paid for that class of work?

Mr. DARST. I told you I didn't do any of the disbursing of that money.

Senator REED. You know the prices paid are higher than the prices for ordinary wages?

Mr. DARST. Oh, necessarily.

Senator REED. Now, in speaking of the established custom in West Virginia, did it ever occur to you that a man could be just as well bought by hiring him to work on election day as by hiring him to vote on election day, and that his influence could just as well be controlled in that way?

Mr. DARST. No; I didn't look at it in that way.

Senator REED. You never thought of that? That is all.

Senator EDGE. There were some questions asked a few moments ago in regard to whether there was a good deal of money spent in the last senatorial campaign in West Virginia. Where was the successful candidate during that time?

Mr. DARST. I don't know whether he got that question right. I didn't particularly refer to the last senatorial campaign. That was just in a general way, in the campaigns in the past.

Senator EDGE. Speaking of the last senatorial campaign, where was the successful senatorial candidate while the campaign was being conducted?

Mr. DARST. In Europe.

Senator EDGE. In Europe?

Mr. DARST. He was abroad.

Senator EDGE. He was in France?

Mr. DARST. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. He was not even here until weeks after the election!

Mr. DARST. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Darst. We are very much obliged to you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. H. M. DAUGHERTY.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I hope you have not been inconvenienced by this delay. I have been ill, and this is the first day I have been able to be out for 10 days.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all.

You know the general scope of this inquiry, do you not?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I do, Mr. Chairman, and if the committee will permit me, I would like to make a statement at the outset and then submit my itemized statement of receipts and expenditures, and then submit to any questions these statements may bring out or that any member of the committee wishes to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the manager of the Harding campaign in Ohio?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir; the manager of the national campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well. You may proceed with your statement.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. When Senator Harding's candidacy for the Presidency was decided upon he expressed a desire that there should be no highly financed or expensive campaign conducted. It was not expected that there would be any contest in Ohio. Republican committees in at least 85 counties of the State indorsed Senator Harding and requested him to become a candidate for President. The Republican State organization unanimously indorsed his candidacy. A very largely attended convention of Republicans from all over the State unanimously and enthusiastically indorsed him, and practically every Republican newspaper in the State and some newspapers claiming to be Republican papers also indorsed him. It was not expected, therefore, in the event he should be a candidate that there would be any expense to speak of as far as Ohio was concerned. Later on a contest was brought on. We were compelled to make something of a campaign. We had no paid organization; we used no billboard advertising or newspaper advertising, except a small amount in Cincinnati, the cost of which was about \$750. Indiana is a neighbor State and there were many invitations for Senator Harding to present his candidacy there.

Besides under the laws of Indiana any candidate receiving a majority of the votes at the primary could hold the delegates to vote for him and away from any other candidate until the convention was over. It was therefore more or less necessary that practically all of the candidates should enter Indiana. In all of the other primary States we notified them that we would not enter the primaries on account of the expense of conducting a primary campaign. This was true in the States of Michigan, Oregon, Montana, New Jersey, and South Dakota. We also refused to engage in any political activities in resident States of other candidates for the Presidency. In States where there were no State primaries we made something of a campaign of publicity, speaking, and sending literature somewhat extensively.

By the detailed statement of receipts, it will be observed that from time to time, during the campaign, the neighbors of Senator Harding, living in his home town of Marion, contributed practically

one-third of the amount expended in connection with the Senator's campaign, and practically all of the balance of the money was contributed by residents of the State of Ohio, personal friends of the Senator, in small amounts, comparatively speaking.

We have headquarters at Columbus, Washington, Indianapolis, and Kansas City. We had no auxiliary organizations collecting or disbursing any money. All of the funds used in Senator Harding's campaign were used under my direction. There is, perhaps, connected with the campaign expenditures in Ohio, something over \$35,000, which must be classified as general expenses inasmuch as all the literature and campaign material furnished all the headquarters and sent out all over the United States was paid for through the Columbus headquarters. This included the expense of preparation, publication, and circulation, postage, etc. There were in a few localities some small insignificant amounts collected to pay the expenses of local meetings which I have no account of and which did not come through our hands.

In this connection, I submit to the committee a detailed statement of the receipts, giving the amounts, the dates in every instance, I think, the post-office address of the contributors, and a detailed statement of the disbursements.

Senator EDGE. Please give us the two totals.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. The total amount of receipts for the whole campaign, including Ohio and every place else, was \$113,109.50.

Senator POMERENE. Those were the contributions?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Those were the contributions, and comprised all the contributions made in connection with his campaign every place that went through our hands. Now, as I say, there were a few meetings held where they locally raised the money, but they were small amounts and at not very many places.

Senator EDGE. Is that confined to Ohio?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. It is practically confined to Ohio.

Senator EDGE. What were your disbursements?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. The disbursements up to day before yesterday were \$107,709.86. The balance in my hands is \$5,399.64.

Senator EDGE. Will you read some of the individual contributors?

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing below \$100.

Senator POMERENE. The entire statement will go in the record, but just call our attention to the amounts of \$100 or over.

Senator EDGE. Just read it, and we can ask you questions as you go along.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. The first contributor is Mrs. Anna Norton Battelle, of Columbus, Ohio. Mrs. Battelle is a resident of the city of Columbus, quite a well-to-do lady, and wife of Col. Battelle, a great friend of Senator Harding. She subscribed \$1,000.

J. H. Frantz, also a resident of Columbus, and a prominent business man, contributed \$1,000.

The next contribution is one of my own, in the amount of \$1,000.

E. M. Poston, a particular friend of mine and a resident of Columbus, contributed \$1,000.

George H. Barker, a friend of Senator Harding's and a resident of Columbus, contributed \$100.

H. H. Heiner, a gentleman living in Columbus, contributed \$100.

The next subscription, you will note, is from the citizens of Marion, who contributed \$5,000.

Senator EDGE. Marion is Senator Harding's home town?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Marion is Senator Harding's home town, and that contribution was sent by check, and they collected that money from time to time and sent it to me. It was a pretty general contribution of the citizens of his own town, and altogether the contributions by the citizens of Marion composed nearly one-third of the entire amount of money that has been expended in connection with this enterprise.

The next contribution was on January 6, 1920, James G. Darden, of Washington D. C., a friend of Senator Harding and myself, who contributed \$1,000.

The next two items, dated January 8 and 27, respectively, are both from the citizens of Marion, Ohio, for \$5,000 each.

Senator EDGE. How large a city is Marion?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I would imagine about 30,000 inhabitants. It is a very enterprising city.

Senator EDGE. And you say they have contributed about one-third of the entire amount?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. They have contributed about one-third of the entire amount. They did so voluntarily. I could not give you the names of the individual contributors at this time. I will be very glad to furnish the committee with their individual names, but they were none of them very large, because it was a general contribution. I can furnish anything the committee may want in connection with this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. You need not do that unless we ask for it.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I will be glad to bring them in or send them in for the record.

Shall I read the \$100 contributions?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. W. W. Wood, of Piqua, is the next contributor, who gave \$500. He is a son of a manufacturer over there. He and his father are in partnership.

Then here are several other contributions from Piqua. Mr. L. M. Flesh gave \$300, Mr. M. C. Burrell contributed \$300, Mr. J. P. Spiker contributed \$150, and Mr. F. M. Shipley contributed \$250. These gentlemen all live in Piqua, are business men and thorough-going Republicans and good friends of Senator Harding. Their contributions are modest as compared with their ability to subscribe. They met there and raised this money and sent it over to me.

On February 14 Mrs. Anna Norton Battelle, of Columbus, contributed another \$1,000. On the same date I gave another \$1,000.

On the 15th we have two subscriptions from Cleveland, Mr. George B. Harris, \$500; and Mr. C. W. Walters of \$200. Mr. Harris is a member of the State Republican committee, and was himself a candidate for delegate to the national convention in the interest of Senator Harding.

On the 16th we have a contribution by S. G. Dowds, for the citizens of Mt. Vernon. Mr. Dowds was a candidate for delegate from that district. It is not far from Senator Harding's home. They raised \$854.50 and sent that to me. I can get the committee the

names of the contributors, but the amounts are small \$25, \$35, and \$50.

On the 17th Mr. Clinton Poston, of Athens, contributed \$1,000.

On the 18th Myron T. Herrick and his son, Parmelee Herrick, \$1,000; M. Andrews, \$2,500; L. C. Hanna, jr., \$1,000. These gentlemen are all residents of Cleveland.

The next several items, aggregating something like \$975, were contributions made by citizens of Athens, Ohio. Two hundred dollars was contributed by Mr. Henry Zenner, who has a general store there, and is a friend of Senator Harding. Two hundred and fifty dollars was contributed by Mr. D. H. Moore, who is a banker and a friend of Senator Harding, and a good Republican. They run from \$25 to \$50, except those two.

On February 20 Carmi A. Thompson, of Cleveland, contributed \$5,700. He is a well-to-do man, and a great friend of Senator Harding.

Senator REED. He made several subscriptions, did he not?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Two or three. I will read them all, Senator.

Senator REED. I know you will.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. C. W. Thompson, of Columbus, contributed \$200. He is a business man in Columbus, and a friend of the Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Carmi Thompson is a former secretary of state, is he not?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Carmi Thompson is a former secretary of state and former speaker of the house. He has been living in the Northwest for some years.

Senator REED. He is a very wealthy man, is he?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. He is supposed to be a pretty wealthy man. I do not know what his wealth is.

Senator REED. He is able to make these subscriptions in his own right?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Certainly; and made them, and could make very much larger ones. I think Senator Pomerene will agree with me as to that.

Senator POMERENE. I know nothing about his financial affairs; but he is a good, clean man.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. H. L. Thompson, of Toledo, contributed \$1,000. He is a business man in Toledo. I think his business is called the Thompson-Balk Co., a hardware concern.

Earl Costin, of Cincinnati; \$200. These are all men who know Senator Harding personally; are Republicans, and are his friends.

Eli M. West, of Columbus, contributed \$200. He is a retired business man. He was receiver of a railroad. Senator Pomerene will know the most of these.

R. Grosvenor Hutchins, of New York City, for years a resident of Ohio, came into the office and made a contribution of \$2,500 one day when he was in Columbus. He was connected with the Jeffrey Manufacturing Co., a son of the president, and has been a good friend of the Senator, and all of us, in a personal and political way all his life.

The next contributions are a number of contributions from Cleveland—from business men: F. G. Grasselli, \$500; his brother, E. R. Grasselli, \$500; Michael Gallagher, \$1,000, a candidate for delegate; S. H. Robbins, \$500; C. E. Sullivan, \$500; F. B. Richards, \$500; Wm. Collins, \$500; C. F. Thie, \$250. These are all business men in Cleve-

land, and those contributions were received by Mr. Carmi Thompson, who transmitted them to me, and I sent receipts to them individually. They are Republicans and well-known men in the State of Ohio.

Mr. Jess W. Smith, a business man of Washington Court House, a good friend of Senator Harding, contributed \$500.

The next one on the list is another contribution from Carmi A. Thompson, of Cleveland, for \$3,250. May I say at this point that Mr. Thompson has been a good friend of Senator Harding and all of us in Ohio for many years, and before this enterprise was decided upon Mr. Thompson took some responsibility in connection with the matter and said he would help finance it, and he has done his share.

Mrs. David Tod, of Youngstown, \$500. She is the widow of David Tod.

Senator POMERENE. Former State senator?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Former State senator.

Senator POMERENE. Grandson of old Gov. Tod?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Grandson of old Gov. Tod.

The next is Frank W. Wyborg, of New York City, \$200.

W. W. Ross, Columbus, \$500. Mr. Ross is president of a large supply company, a Republican, and a friend of the Senator.

The next one, omitting the \$100 contributions, is John Boylan, of New York, who contributed \$200. I don't know who he is.

L. H. Brush, of Salem, \$700. He is a newspaper publisher; publishes a paper in Salem, and one in East Liverpool.

Carmi A. Thompson, of Cleveland, again gave \$5,000. I think Mr. Thompson's contributions aggregate about \$13,000.

W. H. Mullins, of Salem, contributed \$1,000.

I am doing what you want me to do, in telling you who these people are, am I?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Mr. Mullins was a candidate for delegate in the Steubenville district. He sent his check for \$1,000.

On March 22 and March 27 the citizens of Marion sent us two checks of \$5,000 each.

Joseph G. Butler, jr., \$500. Mr. Butler lives at Youngstown, and is a delegate from the Youngstown district, a very well-known man and a good Republican; one of the best citizens in the State of Ohio.

On April 5 Senator Harding himself gave me a check for \$1,000. That is the only contribution that Senator Harding has made to this fund, except that at some times he has paid some expenses in connection with his campaign, which, as a general thing, we did not want him to do. He is a man of moderate means, and his friends are willing to finance this enterprise in a modest way, which they have done.

On April 5 the citizens of Marion also sent us another check for \$2,500.

On the same date Mr. W. H. Thompson, a lawyer and friend of mine and friend of Senator Harding's in Columbus, contributed \$1,000.

On the 12th of April Mr. R. B. Creager, Brownsville, Tex., and F. E. Scobey, of San Antonio, Tex., each contributed \$500. Scobey was elected as a delegate. He used to live in Ohio. I think Mr. Creager is a delegate, too, but he is a well-known man down there.

Mr. James G. Darden, of Washington, on the 12th contributed

\$5,000. On the 13th I contributed \$5,000 myself. On the 14th the citizens of Marion sent another check for \$2,500.

On the 15th, Mr. Frank A. Davis, of Columbus, \$200; Mr. E. R. Sharp, \$200. They are friends of mine. Mr. Sharp is president of the bank that loaned me some of the money I put up, and I thought he ought to contribute some little, so he contributed \$200. L. K. Hagerty, of my office, contributed \$100.

On April 18 H. S. Firestone, of Akron, contributed \$1,000. Mr. Firestone is of the Firestone Rubber Tire Co.

On the 21st I contributed \$7,500, and Mrs. Battelle, of Columbus, contributed another \$2,000.

On the 23d William P. Leech, of New York City now, formerly living at Cleveland, a newspaper man in Ohio, gave a check for \$500.

Senator POMERENE. Formerly editor of the Cleveland Leader?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. He used to be. He moved to New York some years ago.

F. E. Starek, of New York City, a friend of Senator Harding, sent me \$2,000 on the 24th.

On the 25th J. H. Frantz, of Columbus, who had previously given \$1,000, contributed \$4,000 more.

On the 26th W. H. B. Ward, of Warren, contributed \$1,000. Mr. Warren, who was a candidate for delegate from that district, was a colleague of Mr. Butler.

Mr. John Sherwood, of Cleveland, contributed \$2,500 on the 27th. He is a Cleveland banker and a friend of Senator Harding.

Mr. E. L. McLain, of Greenfield, contributed \$500 on the 27th. He is a manufacturer in Greenfield, a small town. He manufactures most of the collars and sweat pads.

On the 22d A. G. Bean, of Elyria, contributed \$1,000. On the same date Wade H. Ellis, of Washington, contributed \$500.

Frank L. Stewart, Phoenix, Ariz., who used to live in Ohio and sell buggy whips, contributed \$250. I haven't got that date, gentlemen.

Mr. F. W. Shumacher, a retired business man of Columbus, contributed \$200.

A. H. Eisey, of Newark, who is a manufacturer at Newark, contributed \$200.

James D. Brown, \$300. Mr. Brown is a banker at Athens. That check was sent from Florida, where he was at that time. I think he is at home now.

I have read some of the \$100 contributions, and all over that.

Senator REED. Mr. Chairman, in order to save time, I would like to make this suggestion: I have looked through the items of collection, and I suggest the entire statement of contributions be put in the record, and that we put in following that the items of disbursements. Most of them are small, comparatively. There are some considerable items in connection with the Columbus headquarters.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I want to explain that.

Senator REED. Just a moment. There are some very considerable items in Indianapolis, which I suppose cover the clerical force there, and maybe cover other matters. I thought if we inquired about what they covered, we might save going through the long list.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I will say to the committee that the Columbus

headquarters had charge of the preparation of all of the circulars, all of the literature that was sent over the country. We have many pieces of literature, some of it very expensive. I think the printing bills that we paid from the Columbus office would make up a good deal of it. I will give the committee in form they can use and make any examination they desire to make what expenditures were made by the Columbus office. The amount of money given to the Columbus headquarters you will find something like \$46,000. Out of that money these payments were made.

Senator POMERENE. Will you allow me to interrupt you there, for the purpose of making the matter clear?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You have described yourself as having been chairman of the national committee in connection with Senator Harding's campaign, and you have spoken also of the Columbus headquarters. Is that the headquarters that had charge of the national campaign, as contradistinguished from the Ohio campaign?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Are the Ohio expenditures included in the Columbus headquarters' expenditures?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I consider the headquarters down here as the national headquarters.

Senator REED. Here in Washington?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Here in Washington. But all the printing of circulars and literature was under the direction of what I termed the Ohio headquarters. The Columbus headquarters and the Ohio headquarters are the same. There were no headquarters except the Columbus headquarters, in the Beshler Hotel. The expenditures of the Columbus headquarters, or the Ohio headquarters, I am now about to give you, and we have no other headquarters in Ohio, so that all the money I refer to as having been paid to the Columbus headquarters, or the Ohio headquarters, has reference to the same place. Mr. Halley was in charge. The amount of money I collected and turned over to the Ohio headquarters was about \$46,000. The amount of expenditures I am about to give you were made by the Ohio headquarters, or the Columbus headquarters, and is all the money that the Ohio campaign cost Senator Harding or his friends. There was no auxiliary organization collecting or distributing any money. That comprises the whole of the expense in Ohio. I should imagine that a fair proportion of the expenses of the Ohio campaign, out of that \$46,000 that we expended, would be from \$18,000 to \$20,000, and the balance of it would be considered general expenses, literature, postage, clerical help, etc., for the whole country. All the lithographing and buttons and badges and all the printing were paid for there.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have headquarters in other cities, to take charge of district campaigns?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We did not.

Senator POMERENE. I think there was a statement made here the other day by some witness to the effect that both the Wood managers and the Harding managers had headquarters in the city of Youngstown.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We have no headquarters in the city of Youngstown. I don't know anything about it, but I imagine perhaps some

one there used somebody's office in a local campaign, but we had nothing to do with it. I don't know that they raised or expended any money.

Senator POMERENE. Would that remark be true of any other headquarters that there may have been?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir. We have no other headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. Then, if I understand you correctly, what you mean by saying that there were no other headquarters is that your State or national committee did not have any other headquarters in Ohio?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. But whatever offices there were were chosen by and paid for by local managers and contributors.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. If there were any.

Senator EDGE. I think you made the qualification in your earlier testimony that you believed that there were some small disbursements on the part of local candidates in some parts of the State.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I think so. The reason I wanted the committee to understand that is they would have a meeting, for instance, at Youngstown, and somebody would raise enough money to pay for the hall; or they would have a meeting in Columbus, and somebody would raise enough money to pay for the hall. I don't know how many cases of that kind there are.

Senator EDGE. I so understood your early testimony.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Now, Senator Reed was inquiring particularly about this.

Senator REED. Before you get to that, I have another question. I understood you to say that the total expense of the Harding campaign in Ohio, outside of these small expenses that were borne by local people for meetings, was approximately \$18,000?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I would say \$18,000 or \$20,000. The Columbus headquarters, according to these correct statements, is chargeable with about \$46,000; but I haven't any doubt but the expense borne by that headquarters for campaigning outside, general distribution over the United States, would be \$26,000 to \$28,000. I will read committee my disbursements of those expenses in the Ohio campaign, as nearly as it can be made, which accounts for that \$46,000:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Traveling expenses..... | \$795.75 |
| Advertising..... | 867.87 |
| Rental, fixtures..... | 251.00 |
| Rental, headquarters..... | 1,835.06 |
| Salaries, stenographers and typists..... | 4,123.64 |

We have had only two men who received any compensation. These are mostly girls and women. Two men have received compensation. One of them was my secretary, a young man, and the other is a general publicity director.

Senator EDGE. What is the salary paid the general publicity director?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. \$300 a week and his expenses in traveling throughout the country with Senator Harding.

Senator POMERENE. Who is he?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Mr. R. B. Armstrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any writers employed?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We pay nothing to any writer. We prepare what literature we use, and do not pay a dollar to anybody. The only expense connected with publicity that we pay for is what we pay Mr. Armstrong. The general preparation of literature is done by ourselves and the friends of Senator Harding, and we paid nothing for it. We have no man drawing any compensation any place except these two men who I have named.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|
| Express | \$454. 00 |
| Engraving..... | 485. 46 |
| Multigraphing and addressing..... | 913. 19 |
| Lithographs | 1, 624. 26 |
| Buttons | 375. 00 |
| Office supplies | 909. 55 |
| Plate matter..... | 967. 51 |
| Clipping service..... | 628. 00 |
| Postage | 4, 339. 23 |
| Telephones | 597. 86 |
| Telegrams..... | 1, 410. 13 |
| Printing..... | 25, 074. 07 |
| To assist in getting out vote..... | 1, 900. 00 |
| Total..... | 47, 349. 50 |

That \$1,900 in that last item, \$1,000 of that was sent to Cleveland for the purpose of paying some expenses of a meeting and getting out the votes, and \$900 to Dayton, and that is the only money sent any place by us in connection with getting out the vote.

Senator POMERENE. I see you have an item for printing of \$25,000.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Does that include newspaper advertising?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir. The newspaper advertising was \$865, and of that \$750 was in Cincinnati. That was the only newspaper advertising that we had.

Senator REED. Was that advertising a meeting or advertising the candidate?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. That was a sort of a preelection advertisement, such as you will see a few days before a primary election, pictures of Senator Harding and some of his accomplishments.

Of that \$25,000 for printing, some was for printing the life of Senator Harding, several pamphlets, booklets, speeches of Senator Harding, for distribution generally over the United States. I happen to remember one bill for printing one speech alone, without the expense of distribution, was nearly \$4,000.

Senator POMERENE. That included a large portion of the fund which was expended at Columbus for literature sent outside of the State.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir. Nearly all that literature was sent outside the State.

Senator REED. Mr. Daugherty, you spoke about the national headquarters being at Washington. I find very few items appearing here from Washington.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. You will find those expenses from Washington will be the hotel bills at the Willard and the hotel bills at the Ebbitt Hotel. We had three or four rooms in the Ebbitt Hotel for several months that we used as headquarters, and we used the Willard Hotel as a place to live.

Senator REED. Your great expense was at the Ohio office?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. The greater portion of it.

Senator REED. You had pretty large headquarters in Indianapolis, did you not?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We had pretty active headquarters there, and that was pretty extensive and ran along for several weeks.

Senator REED. I notice a number of items of considerable size from there.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir. They were paid by me for the Indiana campaign.

Senator REED. You were trying to conduct a pretty active campaign in Indiana, were you?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We were trying to. We had a speaking campaign there. I think Senator Harding made probably 50 or 60 speeches there.

Senator REED. Did you have any hired speakers?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We did not.

Senator REED. Did you have any men hired to write articles for publication?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We did not.

Senator REED. Did you have any hired workers at the polls?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We did not. We did not hire anybody.

Senator REED. Did you send any money to any place to be used in carrying the election?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We did not.

Senator REED. All the money that has been expended was simply in trying to bring Senator Harding before the people in as favorable a light as possible?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. That is all.

Senator REED. And to do that you got as many articles published in the papers without paying for them as you could, and you sent out Senator Harding's speeches and sketches of his life and other literature?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir; literature and lithographs and statements of the Senator's position on various important questions, whether it was something we thought would be to his advantage, or whether it was something upon which his position might be criticized. In addition to that the Senator made a pretty extensive speaking campaign in Texas, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Ohio, and I suppose he made 50 speeches in Indiana.

Senator REED. I notice you sent a man to the South?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. A publicity man?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you undertake to organize in the South—carry on a campaign in the Southern States?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We didn't organize much. We undertook to get the situation in the South and to get in touch with the prominent Republicans and leaders that were likely to have something to do with the selection of delegates or would have influence with the delegates when chosen. That man made a good many trips to Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina, and Indiana and Oklahoma.

Senator REED. You did not send any money down there to colored politicians, to secure their influence and help in any of the Southern States, did you?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir.

Senator REED. You did not have anybody on your pay roll down there that you sent as much as \$9,000 to, any colored politician?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir; not any color.

Senator EDGE. You have been in politics too long?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I have been in four or five national conventions. We did not do that.

I have the checks, all except seven or eight, and the bank book has not been balanced in the last week. I have the checks for all these expenditures of money, if the committee wants them at any time.

Senator SPENCER. Have you got them here?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I think they are here now.

The CHAIRMAN. If we want them, we will ask for them.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. You can have them at any time.

Senator SPENCER. I notice one item of expenditure of \$1,250, to a gentleman named Cole—L. C. Cole, of St. Louis. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I know all about it.

Senator SPENCER. Who was he?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. He is the chairman of the State committee there.

Senator SPENCER. His name is W. L. Cole?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. That is the man.

Senator SPENCER. Chairman of the State committee?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. We thought of making a campaign in your State, and he had gathered some people together for a conference there, and that amount of money was sent to him.

Senator REED. You sent that amount of money there to do what with?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. That was planned to pay the expenses to the several district conventions for delegates who were elected.

Senator REED. Pay whose expenses?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Mr. Cole and others who might be interested in Senator Harding's campaign, if we made a campaign to secure district indorsement.

Senator REED. Did you make that campaign?

Senator HARDING. We made something of a campaign.

Senator REED. Was any of the money ever returned to you?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Was any accounting ever made of it?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir; but I suppose it was all accounted for.

Senator SPENCER. Did you and Mr. Cole have any conferences about it?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Yes, sir; I talked with him at St. Louis.

Senator SPENCER. Did you regard him as one of your friends there?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I thought he was friendly to Senator Harding, and I still think he is friendly to Senator Harding.

Senator REED. Did you use any billboard advertising?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir.

Senator REED. What evidence did you see of the expenditure of money by other candidates in the State of Ohio, or by their friends? I do not mean by the candidates individually.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I know of no candidate, except Gen. Wood and his friends, who used any billboard advertising or any newspaper advertising, outside of the small amount we had in Cincinnati, which I have referred to.

Senator REED. What about the expenditures by Gen. Wood's friends?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. You understand, Senator, I was never in Gen. Wood's headquarters, or any of them, and I was not in Ohio very much at the time the campaign was going on, and the newspaper advertising and billboard advertising and such other activities as they may have engaged in is purely the result of my observations.

Senator REED. Certainly it was just observations, but I have heard you talk long enough to know that if you were running a campaign for me in Ohio you would pretty well know what the other fellow was doing, and I am asking you, not to tell how much was expended, but to tell what their activities were. How about this newspaper advertising?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. They used newspaper advertising, I think, quite frequently. To what extent I do not know, Senator. I saw their advertisement in a good many papers.

Senator REED. What was the size of them? Were they small or large, generally speaking?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Some of them were pretty good sized.

Senator REED. What do you mean by that?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Some of them were more than a half page. I don't know but some of them were a full page. I did not read many of the Ohio newspapers. I read the papers from my home town, and Cleveland, and Cincinnati.

Senator REED. What papers did you see those advertisements in?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus. I think they were pretty generally in all the papers in the State.

Senator REED. Can you name some of the papers you saw them in?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Columbus Dispatch, Columbus Journal, Ohio State Journal.

Senator REED. Did they appear only once or several times?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Several times.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the cost of a half-page advertisement in those papers?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I do not.

Senator REED. Or the bill-board advertisements?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I think it is rather expensive in Columbus.

Senator REED. Did they use a good deal of it there?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I think they did.

Senator REED. How was it through other parts of the State?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Pretty extensive, I think. I noticed their advertisements as I was going through the State, but I wasn't keeping tab on it. I know we used none.

Senator REED. What were your impressions as you went through that fight—that you were up against a campaign fund something like your own, or a much larger one? Tell us what you know about it, Mr. Daugherty.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. I don't know anything about it. I know nothing of their expenditures. It was quite a campaign which Gen. Wood and his friends conducted. I imagine it was a pretty ex-

pensive campaign. Now, Senator, considering the fact that I represent the opposing candidate, and it would only be a matter of guesswork, I hardly think it quite the nice thing for me to guess. You can guess better than I can, or as well as I can, and I would rather not make a guess.

Senator REED. What about the comparative expenses, as far as they were visible, or evidence of them? How did they compare with yours? I mean the evidence of activities that was manifested—newspaper publicity, meetings that were held, evidence of organization, etc.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Well, if I had the figures I suppose I could make that comparison. I suppose you have examined them. You have our figures. Of course, we didn't conduct anything like a campaign in Ohio, such as we generally do. We depended on the fact that Senator Harding was an Ohio man and was well known, and on the fact that he had been unanimously indorsed by practically every political organization. We depended a good deal on that. We didn't advertise in any newspapers, except in these in Cincinnati in a small way. We had no billboard advertising, no paid organization of any kind. I don't know what they had. I know that we had quite a contest in Ohio.

Senator REED. Are you willing to say how much more their campaign apparently cost than yours, or how many times more?

(The statement of receipts and disbursements referred to by the witness is here printed in full, as follows:)

Receipts and disbursements on account Harding campaign for the Presidency.

RECEIPTS.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|-------------|--|------------|
| 1919 | | |
| Dec. 15 | Mrs. Anna Norton Battelle, Columbus, Ohio..... | \$1,000.00 |
| 17 | J. H. Frantz, Columbus, Ohio..... | 1,000.00 |
| 20 | H. M. Daugherty, Columbus, Ohio..... | 1,000.00 |
| 20 | E. M. Poston, Columbus, Ohio..... | 1,000.00 |
| 27 | George H. Barker, Columbus, Ohio..... | 100.00 |
| 27 | H. H. Heiner, Columbus, Ohio..... | 100.00 |
| 30 | Citizens of Marion, Ohio..... | 5,000.00 |
| 31 | Henry Nelson Rose, Columbus, Ohio..... | 25.00 |
| 1920 | | |
| Jan. 5 | Walter B. Floyd, Columbus, Ohio..... | 100.00 |
| 6 | James G. Darden, Washington, D. C..... | 1,000.00 |
| 8 | Cl..... | 5,000.00 |
| 27 | ..... | 5,000.00 |
| Feb. 4 | P..... | 100.00 |
| 4 | G..... | 100.00 |
| 12 | W..... | 500.00 |
| 12 | L..... | 300.00 |
| 12 | M..... | 300.00 |
| 12 | J..... | 150.00 |
| 12 | F..... | 250.00 |
| 14 | M..... | 1,000.00 |
| 15 | H..... | 1,000.00 |
| 15 | G..... | 500.00 |
| 15 | C..... | 200.00 |
| 15 | F..... | 50.00 |
| 16 | S..... | 854.50 |
| 17 | Contributors, Mount Vernon, Ohio..... | 1,000.00 |
| 17 | Cl..... | 1,000.00 |
| 18 | M..... | 2,500.00 |
| 18 | M..... | 1,000.00 |
| 18 | L. C. Hanna, Jr, Cleveland, Ohio..... | 1,000.00 |
| 20 | Henry Zenner, Athens, Ohio..... | 200.00 |
| 20 | L. G. Worstell, Athens, Ohio..... | 50.00 |
| 20 | C. D. Hopkins, Athens, Ohio..... | 25.00 |
| 20 | C. H. Beasley, Athens, Ohio..... | 50.00 |
| 20 | James Ginnin, Athens, Ohio..... | 50.00 |
| 20 | W. A. Carpenter, Athens, Ohio..... | 50.00 |
| 20 | F. L. Alderman, Athens, Ohio..... | 50.00 |

Receipts and disbursements on account Harding campaign for the Presidency.—
continued.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|---|----------|
| 1920. | | |
| Feb. 20 | D | 8250 00 |
| 20 | F | 50 00 |
| 20 | C | 5,780 00 |
| 21 | C | 200 00 |
| 21 | E | 1,000 00 |
| 22 | E | 200 00 |
| 22 | L | 25 00 |
| 23 | F | 200 00 |
| 25 | F | 2,500 00 |
| Mar. 2 | F | 500 00 |
| 2 | F | 500 00 |
| 2 | M | 1,000 00 |
| 2 | A | 500 00 |
| 2 | C | 500 00 |
| 2 | P | 500 00 |
| 2 | W | 500 00 |
| 2 | W | 20 00 |
| 2 | C | 250 00 |
| 3 | C | 100 00 |
| 3 | J | 300 00 |
| 3 | Ohio | 3,250 00 |
| 5 | C | 100 00 |
| 13 | D | 500 00 |
| 15 | M | 200 00 |
| 17 | P | 300 00 |
| 18 | W | 300 00 |
| 19 | C | 100 00 |
| 20 | H | 100 00 |
| 20 | J | 200 00 |
| 22 | F | 80 00 |
| 22 | J | 100 00 |
| 23 | L | 700 00 |
| 24 | C | 5,000 00 |
| 24 | L | 100 00 |
| 24 | W | 1,000 00 |
| 25 | C | 5,000 00 |
| 27 | Do. | 5,000 00 |
| 30 | Scott Hayes, New York City | 100 00 |
| Apr. 3 | Chas. G. Wilson, Richmond, Va. | 100 00 |
| 4 | James Campbell, Youngstown, Ohio | 200 00 |
| 4 | Joseph G. Butler, Jr., Youngstown, Ohio | 500 00 |
| 5 | Warren G. Harding, Marion, Ohio | 1,000 00 |
| 5 | Citizens of Marion, Marion, Ohio | 2,500 00 |
| 5 | Geo. A. Archer, Columbus, Ohio | 50 00 |
| 5 | W. H. Thompson, Columbus, Ohio | 1,000 00 |
| 12 | R. B. Creager, Brownsville, Tex. | 500 00 |
| 12 | F. E. Scobey, San Antonio, Tex. | 500 00 |
| 12 | James G. Darden, Washington, D. C. | 5,000 00 |
| 13 | H. M. Daugherty, Columbus, Ohio | 5,000 00 |
| 14 | Citizens of Marion, Marion, Ohio | 2,500 00 |
| 15 | Frank A. Davis, Columbus, Ohio | 200 00 |
| 15 | E | 200 00 |
| 15 | W | 100 00 |
| 15 | L | 100 00 |
| 15 | J | 10 00 |
| 15 | H | 1,000 00 |
| 19 | Jo | 25 00 |
| 19 | Ja | 200 00 |
| 21 | H | 7,500 00 |
| 21 | M | 2,000 00 |
| 23 | W | 1,000 00 |
| 23 | T | 50 00 |
| 24 | K | 100 00 |
| 24 | F | 2,000 00 |
| 25 | J | 4,000 00 |
| 26 | W | 1,000 00 |
| 27 | W | 25 00 |
| 27 | J | 2,500 00 |
| 27 | E. L. McClain, Greenfield, Ohio | 500 00 |
| 28 | A. G. Bean, Elyria, Ohio | 1,000 00 |
| 28 | Wade H. Ellis, Washington, D. C. | 500 00 |
| | C. L. Sebring, Sebring, Ohio | 50 00 |
| | F. H. Sebring, Jr., Salem, Ohio | 50 00 |
| | F. E. Hurley, Findlay, Ohio | 50 00 |
| | A. T. White, Clay City, Ky. | 50 00 |
| | O. M. Evans, Columbus, Ohio | 100 00 |
| | C. A. Albrecht, Columbus, Ohio | 50 00 |
| | E. B. Cappellari, Mansfield, Ohio | 100 00 |
| | J. B. Hall, Lexington, Ky. | 50 00 |
| | S. A. Webb, Columbus, Ohio | 25 00 |
| | Frank L. Stewart, Phoenix, Ariz. | 200 00 |

Receipts and disbursements on account Harding campaign for the Presidency.—
continued.

RECEIPTS—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|-------|--|--------------|
| | F. W. Schumacher, Columbus, Ohio..... | \$200. 00 |
| | John B. Clingerman, Springfield, Ohio..... | 25. 00 |
| | A. H. Heisey, Newark, Ohio..... | 200. 00 |
| | S. G. Brown, Columbus, Ohio..... | 100. 00 |
| | Frank L. Packard, Columbus, Ohio..... | 50. 00 |
| | Jas. D. Brown, Athens, Ohio..... | 300. 00 |
| | Total receipts..... | 113, 109. 50 |
| | Total disbursements..... | 107, 709. 86 |
| | Balance on hand..... | 5, 399. 64 |

DISBURSEMENTS.

| | | | |
|-------|----|---|------------|
| 1919. | | | |
| Dec. | 2 | H. M. Daugherty, expense, trip to Washington, D. C..... | \$100. 00 |
| | 7 |do..... | 75. 00 |
| | 8 | H. M. Daugherty and others, expense, trip to Washington and New York..... | 350. 00 |
| | 16 | H. M. Daugherty, expense to Washington, Philadelphia, and New York..... | 320. 00 |
| | 23 | Tickets, Ohio Society Banquet, New York..... | 100. 00 |
| | 23 | S. A. Kinnear, postmaster, Columbus, Ohio, stamped envelopes..... | 54. 70 |
| | 26 | H. M. Daugherty, railroad fare..... | 43. 53 |
| | 26 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 500. 00 |
| | 27 | W. S. Scarborough, traveling expense..... | 100. 00 |
| | 30 | W. A. Boyle, agent, Columbus, Ohio, railroad tickets..... | 50. 54 |
| 1920. | | | |
| Jan. | 2 | H. M. Daugherty, expense, eastern trip..... | 200. 00 |
| | 2 | S. A. Kinnear, postmaster, Columbus, Ohio, stamps..... | 20. 00 |
| | 7 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel bill..... | 200. 00 |
| | 13 | W. A. Boyle, agent, Columbus, Ohio, railroad tickets..... | 19. 80 |
| | 13 | J. A. Arnold, publisher..... | 1. 50 |
| | 19 | H. M. Daugherty, expense, western trip..... | 200. 00 |
| | 15 | Western Union Telegraph Co, Columbus, Ohio, telegrams..... | 17. 06 |
| | 15 | Central Union Telegraph Co., Columbus, Ohio, tolls..... | 20. 90 |
| | 15 | Ohio State Telegraph Co., Columbus, Ohio, tolls..... | 24. 00 |
| | 19 | Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., hotel account..... | 141. 21 |
| | 20 | L. C. Cole, St. Louis, Mo., publicity and campaign expense in Missouri..... | 1, 250. 00 |
| | 21 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 2, 000. 00 |
| | 26 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 50. 00 |
| | 29 | Geo. B. Christian, Washington, D. C., incidental expenses..... | 100. 00 |
| | 30 | Robert B. Armstrong, salary publicity representative..... | 300. 00 |
| Feb. | 6 | Ralph W. Tyler, traveling expense..... | 100. 00 |
| | 6 | J. T. Oatneal, traveling expense..... | 50. 00 |
| | 7 | R. B. Armstrong, salary, publicity representative..... | 300. 00 |
| | 7 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., multigraphing..... | 33. 99 |
| | 7 | C. A. Cottrell, Toledo, Ohio, traveling expenses..... | 60. 00 |
| | 7 | H. M. Daugherty, Columbus, Ohio, traveling expenses..... | 100. 00 |
| | 7 | Jess W. Smith, traveling expenses..... | 175. 00 |
| | 7 | Sudworth Printing Co., Washington, D. C., stationery..... | 36. 00 |
| | 7 | Underwood Typewriter Co., Washington, D. C., repair of typewriter..... | 18. 00 |
| | 7 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Washington, D. C., telegrams..... | 12. 62 |
| | 7 | Perfection Printing Co., Washington, D. C., stationery..... | 13. 25 |
| | 7 | Hotel Ebbitt, Washington, D. C., office furniture..... | 136. 80 |
| | 7 | Hotel Ebbitt, Harding headquarters account..... | 102. 05 |
| | 7 | May Farrell, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 25. 00 |
| | 7 | Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., hotel account..... | 202. 82 |
| | 9 | Roy King, Columbus, Ohio, stenographic and traveling expenses..... | 121. 37 |
| | 9 | E. Mont Rely, Kansas City, Mo., western headquarters expense..... | 500. 00 |
| | 10 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Columbus, Ohio, telegrams..... | 33. 96 |
| | 10 | Ohio State Telephone Co., Columbus, Ohio, tolls..... | 18. 50 |
| | 10 | Central Union Telephone Co., Columbus, tolls..... | 26. 10 |
| | 10 | Tibbitts Printing Co., Columbus, Ohio, printing..... | 3. 40 |
| | 11 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Ind., headquarters expense..... | 2, 500. 00 |
| | 11 | Estelle K. Turner, Washington, D. C., stenographer..... | 14. 00 |
| | 12 | Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., Washington, D. C., telephones..... | 25. 00 |
| | 11 | H. M. Daugherty, expenses to Richmond and Indianapolis..... | 75. 00 |
| | 13 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, D. C., stamps..... | 10. 00 |
| | 13 | United States Railroad Administration, railroad tickets, Columbus, Ohio, H. M. Daugherty and Jess W. Smith..... | 38. 30 |
| | 14 | W. H. Miller, Columbus, Ohio, traveling expenses and publicity, self and others, Western and Southern States..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| | 14 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., salary, publicity representative..... | 300. 00 |
| | 14 | H. B. Gauss, Washington, D. C., salary, publicity representative..... | 33. 32 |
| | 14 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., mimeographing..... | 52. 76 |
| | 14 | May Farrell, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 30. 00 |
| | 14 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 100. 00 |

*Receipts and disbursements on account Harding campaign for the Presidency.—
continued.*

DISBURSEMENTS—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|---|----------|
| 1920. | | |
| Feb. 16 | W. H. Miller, Columbus, Ohio, traveling expenses, Indiana, Alabama, and Georgia. | \$250.00 |
| 19 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel account..... | 200.00 |
| 19 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,000.00 |
| 19 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel account H. M. Daugherty and Jess W. Smith.... | 178.43 |
| 19 | Public Printer, Washington, D. C., Harding speeches..... | 134.08 |
| 19 | W. D. Campbell Co., Washington, D. C., office furniture..... | 150.00 |
| 19 | Hotel Ebbitt, Washington Harding headquarters account..... | 201.47 |
| 19 | Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C., publicity photographs..... | 93.00 |
| 20 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana headquarters expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 20 | N. W. Ayer & Sons, Philadelphia, newspaper directory..... | 10.00 |
| 20 | J. P. Lynch, Indianapolis, expense trip to Washington, D. C..... | 90.00 |
| 20 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, D. C., salary and expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 20 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, D. C., petty office expenses..... | 20.00 |
| 20 | Robt. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., traveling expenses and salary, publicity representative..... | 400.00 |
| 20 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., mimeographing..... | 104.06 |
| 20 | May Farrell, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 30.00 |
| 21 | Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., hotel account..... | 294.27 |
| 21 | E. Mont Reily, Kansas City, western headquarters expense..... | 500.00 |
| 24 | Jess W. Smith, traveling expense..... | 100.00 |
| 25 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., Harding party, western trip expense..... | 500.00 |
| 25 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., salary, publicity representative..... | 300.00 |
| 26 | May Farrell, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 30.00 |
| 28 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana, headquarters expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 28 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 28 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,000.00 |
| Mar. 1 | W. A. Boyle, agent, Columbus, Ohio, railroad ticket, Washington, D. C., H. M. Daugherty..... | 19.80 |
| 1 | H. M. Daugherty, check for R. B. Armstrong, two weeks' salary, publicity representative..... | 600.00 |
| 4 | Hotel Ebbitt, Washington, D. C., Harding headquarters expense..... | 218.11 |
| 4 | Remington Typewriter Co., Washington, rent of typewriter..... | 3.00 |
| 4 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 250.00 |
| 4 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,000.00 |
| 5 | Sudworth Printing Co., Washington, D. C., stationery..... | 185.25 |
| 5 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Washington, D. C., telegrams..... | 55.98 |
| 5 | May Farrell, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 30.00 |
| 5 | Willard Hotel, Washington, hotel account..... | 92.30 |
| 5 | do..... | 79.63 |
| 6 | Jess W. Smith, H. M. Daugherty, and Jess W. Smith, traveling expenses, western trip..... | 500.00 |
| 6 | Hotel Deshler, Columbus, Ohio, hotel account..... | 70.75 |
| 6 | H. M. Daugherty, account Waldorf-Astoria and traveling expenses..... | 500.00 |
| 8 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Columbus, Ohio, telegrams..... | 20.55 |
| 8 | W. H. Miller, Columbus, Ohio, Southern States expense..... | 750.00 |
| 9 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, salary publicity representative..... | 300.00 |
| 10 | Ohio State Telephone Co., Columbus, tolls..... | 10.60 |
| 10 | Central Union Telephone Co., Columbus, tolls..... | 8.90 |
| 10 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana headquarters' expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 13 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, traveling expenses Harding party western and southern trip..... | 500.00 |
| 13 | H. M. Daugherty and others, traveling expenses..... | 350.00 |
| 15 | W. H. Miller, Columbus, Ohio, Indiana headquarters' expense..... | 2,600.00 |
| 15 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,250.00 |
| 16 | May Farrell, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 30.00 |
| 16 | H. D. Mannington, cash advanced to Wm. McGinness, traveling expenses..... | 150.00 |
| 16 | J. W. Trigg, Washington, D. C., traveling expenses to Tennessee..... | 62.00 |
| 16 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., mimeographing..... | 173.16 |
| 18 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., publicity representative, expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 19 | Wm. McGinness, Washington, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 20 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, salary..... | 150.00 |
| 20 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, petty office expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 20 | May Farrell, Washington, salary..... | 30.00 |
| 20 | H. D. Mannington, Frank McMillen, traveling expenses..... | 150.00 |
| 20 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,000.00 |
| 22 | W. A. Boyle, agent, Columbus, Ohio, railroad ticket to Washington, D. C..... | 19.80 |
| 22 | Wm. McGinness, Washington, D. C., traveling expenses western trip..... | 100.00 |
| 23 | Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 23 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., traveling expenses Harding speaking tour western trip..... | 500.00 |
| 27 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., mimeographing..... | 54.68 |
| 27 | Lydia K. Nash, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 150.00 |
| 27 | May Farrell, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 30.00 |
| 27 | Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, D. C., Harding headquarters account..... | 224.82 |
| 27 | Lanman Engraving Co., Washington, D. C., electrotypes..... | 24.60 |
| 27 | Underwood Typewriter Co., Washington, D., rent of typewriter..... | 5.00 |
| 27 | H. K. Advertising Service, Washington, D. C., multigraphing..... | 6.95 |

*Receipts and disbursements on account Harding campaign for the Presidency.—
continued.*

DISBURSEMENTS—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|---|----------|
| 1920. | | |
| Mar. 27 | Corona Typewriter Co., typewriter..... | \$51.00 |
| 27 | Henry Romeike, New York, clipping service..... | 20.84 |
| 27 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel account..... | 108.16 |
| 27 | Postal Telegraph Co., Washington, D. C., telegrams..... | 2.73 |
| 28 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,500.00 |
| 28 | H. D. Mannington, traveling expense..... | 200.00 |
| 28 | Wm. McGinness, Washington, traveling expense..... | 100.00 |
| 29 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,900.00 |
| 29 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 29 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana headquarters expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 31 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 500.00 |
| 31 | W. S. Scarborough, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| Apr. 1 | Mr. Crawford, Washington, D. C., messenger..... | 50.00 |
| 2 | J. W. Coon Co., Columbus, Ohio, printing..... | 19.00 |
| 2 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, traveling expenses, Harding, Armstrong, and others..... | 500.00 |
| 3 | Hotel Deshler, Columbus, Ohio, hotel account..... | 69.03 |
| 3 | May Farrell, Washington, salary..... | 30.00 |
| 3 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 100.00 |
| 3 | Frank E. McMillen, Washington, D. C., traveling expense..... | 100.00 |
| 5 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,500.00 |
| 5 | Do..... | 1,500.00 |
| 5 | H. C. Smith, Cleveland, Ohio, traveling expenses..... | 30.00 |
| 5 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana headquarters expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 5 | R. H. Holland, Colorado, expense publicity and meetings Harding campaign, Colorado..... | 1,000.00 |
| 5 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Columbus, Ohio, telegrams..... | 17.01 |
| 6 | Walter Boyle, agent, Columbus, Ohio, railroad tickets..... | 25.22 |
| 6 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 6 | W. E. Halley, Columbus, Ohio, headquarters expense..... | 500.00 |
| 6 | Mary A. Shilton, Washington, D. C., stenographer..... | 34.75 |
| 6 | Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, D. C., Harding headquarters expense..... | 206.40 |
| 6 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel account..... | 212.04 |
| 6 | Deshler Hotel, Columbus, Ohio, hotel account..... | 48.35 |
| 6 | Willard Hotel, Washington, hotel account..... | 312.89 |
| 6 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, traveling expenses and salary, publicity representative..... | 500.00 |
| 6 | Hotel Deshler, Columbus, currency for Columbus office expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 7 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, petty expenses Washington headquarters..... | 100.00 |
| 8 | May Farrell, Washington, salary..... | 30.00 |
| 8 | Edmonston Studio, Washington, campaign photographs..... | 202.46 |
| 8 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Washington, telegrams..... | 50.08 |
| 9 | F. Bogardus, Washington, D. C., traveling expenses..... | 75.00 |
| 9 | Central Union Tel. Co., Columbus, tolls..... | 25.80 |
| 9 | Ohio State Tel. Co., Columbus, tolls..... | 8.30 |
| 10 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, expenses, campaign tour Senator Harding and others..... | 500.00 |
| 11 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 500.00 |
| 11 | L. C. Laylin, Columbus, Ohio, traveling expenses and hotel bills, Washington, D. C..... | 150.00 |
| 12 | Walter Boyle, agent, Columbus, Ohio, railroad tickets..... | 25.20 |
| 12 | H. A. Clark, Washington, D. C., salary and traveling expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 12 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 2,000.00 |
| 12 | H. D. Mannington, traveling expense..... | 100.00 |
| 12 | Wm. McGinness, Washington, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 12 | W. L. Gates, Washington, D. C., stenographer..... | 7.50 |
| 12 | H. K. Advertising Service, Washington, D. C., printing..... | 6.60 |
| 12 | Underwood Typewriter Co., Washington, D. C., rent of typewriter..... | 5.00 |
| 12 | Postal Telegraph Co., Washington, D. C., telegrams..... | 22.63 |
| 12 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana headquarters, expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 14 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, salary, publicity representative..... | 300.00 |
| 14 | May Farrell, Washington, salary..... | 30.00 |
| 14 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, mimeographing..... | 67.79 |
| 14 | Underwood Typewriter Co., Washington, rent of typewriter..... | 5.50 |
| 15 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters, expense..... | 2,000.00 |
| 15 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana headquarters, expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 15 | Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., Washington, D. C., telephones..... | 80.82 |
| 16 | F. E. McMillen, Washington, D. C., traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 17 | Otto Pfeiffer, Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati expense..... | 500.00 |
| 17 | F. Bogardus, Washington, D. C., traveling expense..... | 25.00 |
| 17 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel account, H. M. Daugherty..... | 100.00 |
| 18 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, salary, publicity representative..... | 300.00 |
| 18 | H. D. Mannington, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 19 | H. A. Clark, Washington, D. C., salary and traveling expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 20 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, salary..... | 175.00 |
| 20 | Lydia K. Nash, Washington, salary..... | 150.00 |
| 20 | Wm. McGinness, Washington, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 20 | W. E. Halley, Columbus, headquarters expense..... | 4,000.00 |
| 21 | H. A. Clark, Washington, traveling expenses..... | 20.00 |

Receipts and disbursements on account Harding campaign for the Presidency.—
continued.

DISBURSEMENTS—Continued.

| Date. | Item. | Amount. |
|---------|---|------------|
| 1920. | | |
| Apr. 21 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Ind., headquarters expense..... | \$2,500.00 |
| 21 | Henry Romeike, New York, clipping service..... | 56.96 |
| 21 | Washington Post, Washington, D. C., news service..... | 8.28 |
| 21 | Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, Harding headquarters account..... | 207.86 |
| 21 | A. W. Lowden, Buckeye Republican Club, Columbus, Ohio, concert tickets..... | 4.00 |
| 22 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 22 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,000.00 |
| 22 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel account..... | 288.00 |
| 23 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, traveling expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 23 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 2,000.00 |
| 23 | Otto Pfeiffer, Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati expense..... | 250.00 |
| 23 | Jess W. Smith, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 100.00 |
| 24 | F. A. Clark, Washington, D. C., salary and traveling expenses..... | 45.00 |
| 24 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expense..... | 100.00 |
| 28 | H. M. Daugherty and others, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 24 | Jess W. Smith, for Geo. U. Marvin, traveling expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 24 | Washington, D. C., Herald, reader..... | 10.00 |
| 24 | Sudworth Printing Co., Washington, D. C., newspaper clippings..... | 30.75 |
| 24 | J. T. Oatneal, expense Dayton trip..... | 25.00 |
| 26 | Wm. McGinness, Washington, traveling expenses..... | 50.00 |
| 26 | Vernon W. Van Fleet, Indianapolis, Indiana headquarters expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 27 | Underwood Typewriter Co., Washington, D. C., rent of typewriter..... | 5.00 |
| 27 | Hotel Deshler, Columbus, Ohio, hotel account..... | 245.67 |
| 28 | H. D. Mannington, for Wm. McGinness, railroad fare..... | 20.00 |
| 28 | H. D. Mannington, traveling expense..... | 100.00 |
| 28 | Helen Bishop, Columbus, Ohio, extra stenographic service..... | 100.00 |
| 28 | Mary Alice Culhan, Columbus, Ohio, extra stenographic service..... | 50.00 |
| 28 | Wm. McGinness, Washington, traveling expense..... | 50.00 |
| 28 | Jess W. Smith, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 100.00 |
| 28 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 3,000.00 |
| 30 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, salary publicity representative..... | 200.00 |
| 30 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 1,000.00 |
| 30 |do..... | 2,500.00 |
| 30 | Mary Yeager, Washington, salary..... | 140.00 |
| 30 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, traveling expense..... | 200.00 |
| 30 | Waldorf-Astoria, New York, hotel account..... | 91.50 |
| 30 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expense..... | 100.00 |
| 30 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, mimeographing..... | 21.93 |
| May 3 | Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, D. C., Harding headquarters, account..... | 207.00 |
| 3 | Evening Star, Washington, D. C., reader..... | 22.50 |
| 5 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 5,000.00 |
| 6 | Washington Times, Washington, D. C., advertising..... | 20.00 |
| 6 | H. K. Advertising Service, Washington, multigraphing..... | 21.15 |
| 6 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 2,000.00 |
| 7 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Washington, D. C., telegrams..... | 91.55 |
| 7 | Central Union Telephone Co., Washington, D. C., tolls..... | 12.90 |
| 8 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, salary publicity representative..... | 300.00 |
| 8 | Postal Telegraph Co., Washington, D. C., telegrams..... | 16.95 |
| 8 | H. D. Mannington, Chicago expenses..... | 200.00 |
| 10 | W. H. Miller, Indiana headquarters expense..... | 1,100.00 |
| 10 | Geo. U. Marvin, balance traveling expenses..... | 9.00 |
| 10 | Western Union Telegraph Co., Columbus, Ohio, telegrams..... | 2.30 |
| 10 | Central Union Telephone Co., Columbus, tolls..... | 3.50 |
| 10 | Ohio State Telephone Co..... | 6.85 |
| 10 | Mary Yeager, Washington, salary..... | 75.00 |
| 11 | Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., hotel account..... | 541.79 |
| 11 | Ebbitt Hotel, Washington, D. C., Harding headquarters, account..... | 68.45 |
| 11 | H. K. Adv. Service, Washington, multigraphing..... | 4.90 |
| 11 | H. Romeike, New York, clipping service..... | 50.72 |
| 14 | W. H. Miller, Columbus, Ohio, traveling expenses Southern States..... | 500.00 |
| 14 | H. M. Daugherty, traveling expenses..... | 100.00 |
| 15 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., salary publicity representative..... | 300.00 |
| 15 | Chesapeake & Potomac Tel. Co., Washington, D. C., telephones..... | 24.67 |
| 15 | Fred Patterson and party, traveling expenses, Cleveland and Dayton..... | 75.00 |
| 15 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 2,500.00 |
| 15 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., mimeographing..... | 20.85 |
| 19 | Edmonson Studio, Washington, D. C., framed campaign photographs..... | 456.15 |
| 21 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., mimeographing..... | 20.85 |
| 22 | W. Frank Gibbs, Washington, D. C., salary..... | 175.00 |
| 22 | Batt-Bates Co., Washington, D. C., mimeographing..... | 8.75 |
| 22 | R. B. Armstrong, Washington, D. C., salary publicity representative..... | 300.00 |
| 22 | Congress Hotel, Chicago, hotel account..... | 126.57 |
| Feb. 14 | Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., revenue stamps..... | .25 |
| May 23 | W. E. Halley, Columbus headquarters expense..... | 2,000.00 |
| | Total..... | 107,749.86 |

Approximate expenditures Harding headquarters, Columbus, Ohio.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Travelling expense | \$595. 73 |
| Advertising | 865. 81 |
| Rental fixtures | 251. 00 |
| Rental headquarters | 1, 835. 06 |
| Salaries, stenographers and typists | 4, 123. 64 |
| Express | 454. 00 |
| Engraving | 485. 46 |
| Multigraphing and addressing | 913. 19 |
| Lithographs | 1, 624. 26 |
| Buttons | 375. 00 |
| Office supplies | 909. 55 |
| Plate matter | 967. 51 |
| Clipping service | 628. 00 |
| Postage | 4, 339. 23 |
| Telephones | 597. 86 |
| Telegrams | 1, 410. 13 |
| Printing | 25, 074. 07 |
| To assist in getting out vote | 1, 900. 00 |
| Total | 47, 349. 50 |

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. Do you have to leave to-day, Mr. Daugherty?

Mr. DAUGHERTY. No, sir; I am at your service. I can be here to-morrow.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will ask you to suspend temporarily. Mr. King, I understand, has to leave at 1 o'clock.

Mr. DAUGHERTY. Very well. I can be here to-morrow.

The CHAIRMAN. You will be excused until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN T. KING.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name to the committee.

Mr. KING. John T. King.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. KING. Bridgeport, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. You were formerly a member of the Republican national committee, were you?

Mr. KING. I am still a member.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are a delegate from Connecticut to the national convention?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the inception of the Wood campaign, did you have charge of it?

Mr. KING. Gen. Wood came to me about a month after Mr. Roosevelt died, in New York, and asked me to take hold of the campaign. That was about February of last year.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did take hold and continue to act in that capacity?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Wood came to you personally?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. KING. I think we met at the Harvard Club, in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you have charge of the Wood campaign?

Mr. KING. Until the early part of January of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. During that time, can you tell us of the contributions and disbursements of the Wood campaign?

Mr. KING. I have got to talk largely from memory. I got this notice to appear here when I was in Washington, and I have not been home to get my accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you those accounts?

Mr. KING. I quit politics in January, after I got out of the Wood campaign, and I cleaned out most of my things, but I think I have some memoranda around some place which I can send to you.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you give us from memory?

Mr. KING. I received about \$91,000; \$30,000 came from contributions, \$50,000 came from my own note, and \$11,000 they owed me when I quit, which they sent me a check for and assumed the note.

Senator POMERENE. Your \$50,000 note?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You got \$91,000?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was all the money you received?

Mr. KING. That is all the money I received.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did this \$30,000 come from?

Mr. KING. One of them was \$15,000, one was \$10,000, and there were two of \$2,500 each.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the names of the parties making those contributions.

Mr. KING. I can't remember the names of the two who contributed the \$2,500 each. The names didn't mean anything to me. I didn't know them. Most of them were friends of Gen. Wood. The \$15,000 and the \$10,000 were cashiers' checks.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did they come from?

Mr. KING. That I don't know. I was told by one of the young men friends of Gen. Wood in Chicago that I would get checks for \$25,000.

Senator REED. Who was that young man?

Mr. KING. Maj. Hooker.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know who contributed that?

Mr. KING. I do not.

Senator EDGE. It simply came to you as cash from the Chicago office?

Mr. KING. No, sir; it came to me in the mail.

Senator EDGE. In the form of cashiers' checks?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. No letter accompanying them?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Hooker's name?

Mr. KING. H. S. Hooker.

Senator SPENCER. Where is he now?

Mr. KING. With Gen. Wood in Chicago.

Senator SPENCER. Is he in the service?

Mr. KING. He had been.

Senator SPENCER. He is out now?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any parties who were to underwrite the campaign?

Mr. KING. I would like to make this statement in regard to that: I have been credited with having made the statement that the Wood campaign fund was underwritten. I never knew anything about that until I read it in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Somebody told us you could probably give us that information.

Mr. KING. Yes; I read that. I understood somebody said I could give you that information. I don't know anything about it except what I have heard around the hotels.

Senator REED. What was it?

Mr. KING. Substantially what was in the newspapers.

Senator REED. I did not see that. What newspaper was it? Was it the New York World?

The CHAIRMAN. You know nothing about that except as a rumor?

Mr. KING. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever sit down with any gentlemen representing financial interests and discuss the matter?

Mr. KING. No, sir; there was none of that in my time at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you know nothing about the truth of that statement?

Mr. KING. Absolutely nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the \$11,000—what was that for?

Mr. KING. That comes from a number of items, which I can send you a list of—money I advanced myself, office expenses and publicity, and things of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you disburse of that fund?

Mr. KING. All of it.

The CHAIRMAN. In what way?

Mr. KING. Office expenses, traveling expenses, publicity, furnishings of the office.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that system of cashiers' checks? I do not quite understand it.

Mr. KING. What do you mean—what is a cashier's check?

The CHAIRMAN. How is that handled in a campaign? Is that a method of covering up donations?

Mr. KING. I don't think I could qualify to answer that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not enlighten me in regard to that?

Mr. KING. I can not.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know who sent these cashiers' checks?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator EDGE. Do you mean they were New York drafts, where a man could go into Chicago and give his check for \$15,000 and get a draft on New York, which is the same as cash? Is that the way it was done?

Mr. KING. I didn't pay attention, except that they were \$15,000 and \$10,000, and I deposited them.

Senator EDGE. It was an ordinary banking transaction?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any large contributions to the Wood campaign since that time?

Mr. KING. I do not; none, Senator. When I got through, I got through. I have had no communication with the Wood people or anybody sympathetic with them.

Senator POMERENE. Let us be a little more specific. Certain statements have been made here to the effect that there was a meeting of certain gentlemen some months ago who undertook to underwrite the Wood campaign, and that meeting was said to have taken place at the home of the late Henry C. Frick, and that you were among those gentlemen. The story goes further in substance to the effect that each one of perhaps half a dozen or more gentlemen said that he would be responsible for \$100,000. Do you know of any such meeting as that?

Mr. KING. There is not a scintilla of truth in that, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Did you attend any such meeting as that?

Mr. KING. The only thing I attended was a dinner Mr. Frick gave to Gen. Wood, who is an old time social friend of his.

Senator POMERENE. When was that?

Mr. KING. I should say that was about a year ago, now.

Senator POMERENE. Who were present?

Mr. KING. I can't recall that. There were a good many men there I did not know. I would say there were 25 or 30 or 40 men there. There was no discussion of politics, none whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Let us get at that in an orderly way. Did you know any of the men who were there?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Name one.

Mr. KING. George Perkins.

Senator POMERENE. George W. Perkins?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir. I remember him being there.

Senator POMERENE. Who else?

Mr. KING. I think there was a man named Blair, from New Jersey; C. Ledyard Blair.

Senator POMERENE. Name any others that you can.

Mr. KING. I am trying to be perfectly straight with you, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I do not doubt that.

Mr. KING. It is not clear to me who were there.

Senator POMERENE. Do you not recall? You say there must have been 25 or 40. Do you not recall any others who were there?

Mr. KING. There were a lot of them I didn't know. There were friends of Mr. Frick and Gen. Wood. I just went up with Gen. Wood and Mr. Frick. I knew both of them very well.

Senator POMERENE. What was the special occasion for that dinner?

Mr. KING. It was merely a habit Mr. Frick had of inviting his friends up to have dinner and look at his gallery.

Senator POMERENE. Was Gen. Wood the guest of honor that evening?

Mr. KING. I imagine he was. The dinner was gotten up for these men to meet him.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any discussion of the political situation or political candidates in the future?

Mr. KING. Not the slightest reference at all.

Senator POMERENE. Nothing said about the financing of the campaign when you were there?

Mr. KING. Nothing whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Could there have been such conversations among groups of these guests that evening without your being a party to it or having knowledge of it?

Mr. KING. I don't believe so.

Senator POMERENE. Then, so far as your connection with that story is concerned, it is pure fiction?

Mr. KING. Absolutely.

Senator EDGE. You were a guest at a social dinner at which Gen. Wood was also a guest?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir. He was an old friend of Mr. Frick's. As a matter of fact, Mr. Frick was not for Gen. Wood for President. I didn't mean to be volunteering that.

Senator POMERENE. That is all right. Anything that will shed any light on this subject we are glad to get. This committee wants the facts.

Mr. KING. As a matter of fact, Mr. Frick was opposed to Gen. Wood for President.

Senator REED. He gave that dinner to Gen. Wood, did he not?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How did you come to meet Gen. Wood that time and go up there with him?

Mr. KING. Mr. Frick invited me to come. I was a friend of Mr. Frick's.

Senator REED. But you met Gen. Wood and went up with him, did you not?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir; we went together.

Senator REED. How long had you known Gen. Wood at that time?

Mr. KING. I didn't know him until we met in New York at the Harvard Club.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. KING. That was in February, last year.

Senator REED. That was the time Gen. Wood asked you to take charge of his campaign?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was that your first meeting?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How did you come to meet him?

Mr. KING. I think Dan Hanna brought us together.

Senator REED. Was Mr. Hanna present when you and Gen. Wood talked over your becoming his manager?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. How did Mr. Hanna come to bring you and Gen. Wood together? What was the purpose and object of it?

Mr. KING. Mr. Hanna called me from Stockbridge, Mass., where he lived, and asked me if I would call at the St. Regis Hotel, in New York, and I did. He said he was very anxious to get into a movement to make Wood President. I asked him about the Ohio situation, in case Senator Harding became a candidate. He said if Senator Harding became a candidate he would not interfere and would not do anything in Ohio for Gen. Wood. I said, "On that basis I am very willing to look into it and to meet Gen. Wood."

Senator REED. And you did meet Gen. Wood, did you?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Mr. Hanna and you together met him?

Mr. KING. No; I met him alone.

Senator REED. Were you introduced to him? Was Mr. Hanna in New York at that time?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How did you get acquainted with Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. He introduced me to him at the St. Regis Hotel, and then Gen. Wood and I met later.

Senator REED. You arranged with him for a meeting?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir. I think Gen. Wood was there to attend a meeting of the Roosevelt Memorial that same night.

Senator REED. That was February of this year?

Mr. KING. Last year.

Senator REED. At that meeting which you had there with Gen. Wood, you and he were alone, were you?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Nobody else was there?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. And you talked over the question of his becoming a candidate?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you talked over the matter of your becoming his manager?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know whether your name had been suggested to him as manager by Mr. Hanna?

Mr. KING. By Mr. Hanna and William Loeb, so Gen. Wood told me.

Senator REED. Is Mr. Loeb a banker?

Mr. KING. He was the former secretary to Mr. Roosevelt when he was President.

Senator REED. You were at this time a Republican national committeeman, were you?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. For Connecticut?

Mr. KING. - Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You had been active in politics prior to that, and had some reputation as a worker?

Mr. KING. I was working with Mr. Roosevelt for two years prior to that.

Senator REED. How soon after that talk you had with Gen. Wood at the St. Regis Hotel did you go to the Frick dinner?

Mr. KING. I don't recall, Senator. I rather imagine that so-called dinner was in May.

Senator REED. Did you see Gen. Wood in the meantime?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir. I didn't agree that day to become his manager. We had several other visits.

Senator REED. When did you next see him?

Mr. KING. I don't recall. I would imagine it was two or three weeks.

Senator REED. Did you communicate with him in writing in the meantime?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Or in any other way?

Mr. KING. By telephone.

Senator REED. How often did you talk with him over the phone?

Mr. KING. In that interval?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KING. Once.

Senator REED. Where were you and where was he?

Mr. KING. I was in New York and he was in Chicago.

Senator REED. What was the object of that conversation?

Mr. KING. I told him I would agree to go ahead.

Senator REED. How long was that after your first meeting?

Mr. KING. I would say about three weeks.

Senator REED. That would bring you from February probably until March?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then you did not see or communicate with him again until you met him in New York, when you were going to the Frick dinner?

Mr. KING. I didn't say that.

Senator REED. I was asking that.

Mr. KING. Yes; I think I did. He came to see me on several occasions.

Senator REED. Did you meet him on several occasions?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir; every time he came to New York.

Senator REED. And you were talking over the plan of his campaign?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir; nothing definite about the plans.

Senator REED. What were you talking about?

Mr. KING. I mean we did not go into any specific or definite plans.

Senator REED. No; but you talked in a general way about the campaign, did you not?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And I suppose in a general way you discussed the political situation?

Mr. KING. I advised Gen. Wood not to have any campaign. I advised putting the matter into cold storage, so called.

Senator REED. At that time?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you put it in cold storage?

Mr. KING. I thought I did.

Senator REED. When you say "cold storage" you mean in your opinion it was premature to begin a campaign so early?

Mr. KING. Exactly.

Senator REED. Was there any talk in any of these conversations before you went to the Frick dinner, about the financing of the campaign?

Mr. KING. There was.

Senator REED. Was that with Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. No; it was with Dan Hanna.

Senator REED. What was said about that?

Mr. KING. Hanna agreed to raise a half million dollars.

Senator REED. Did you discuss that with Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Never?

Mr. KING. Never.

Senator REED. It never was mentioned?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who else was present when Mr. Hanna agreed to raise a half million dollars?

Mr. KING. Nobody else.

Senator REED. Where were you and Mr. Hanna when he agreed to raise a half million dollars?

Mr. KING. The St. Regis Hotel.

Senator REED. How much did Mr. Hanna say he would give?

Mr. KING. He didn't say. He agreed to go out and gather up a half million dollars, which he thought would be necessary for the 18 months' work.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a friend of Mr. Proctor?

Mr. KING. I don't know whether he was or not, Senator.

Senator REED. Did you discuss finances with anybody else?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. When did you get your invitation, or how did you get your invitation, to the Frick dinner?

Mr. KING. I got it from Mr. Frick.

Senator REED. Where were you when you got it?

Mr. KING. I don't know. I presume I was at my home in Bridgeport. I have been to many dinners at his house.

Senator REED. Was it a written invitation?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir. I think it was typewritten. I don't think it was an engraved invitation.

Senator REED. It might have been by word of mouth?

Mr. KING. No; I had a letter.

Senator REED. I am not concerned with whether it was engraved or embossed.

Mr. KING. I didn't know whether you meant by telephone or not.

Senator REED. Before you went to the Frick dinner had you met Mr. Perkins and talked to him about the campaign for Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you, after you went to the dinner, ever talk to Mr. Perkins about the campaign?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. You never have talked to Mr. Perkins about the campaign?

Mr. KING. No, sir. Mr. Perkins and I do not have any dealings with each other at all.

Senator REED. Who did you talk with about the Frick dinner before you went there?

Mr. KING. I didn't consider it of concern enough to talk to anybody that I recall.

Senator REED. You met Gen. Wood. How did you come to meet him and go to the dinner with him?

Mr. KING. I presume I knew he was going to be there, and we hitched up together.

Senator REED. How did you know it?

Mr. KING. I knew of his movements in coming to New York.

Senator REED. That does not imply that he was going to that dinner. Were you not informed that was a dinner given to meet Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. Of course, that was stated in the letter. There wasn't anything secret about it.

Senator REED. I did not suppose there was, Mr. King. I am not insinuating there was anything wrong about it. Mr. Frick had a national reputation, did he not?

Mr. KING. And as a reputable citizen as well.

Senator REED. Absolutely. I would not cast a single aspersion or reflection on him, and I do not. He had a right to have a candidate for President, the same as anybody else.

Mr. KING. Wood was not his candidate, Senator, in fairness and justice to Mr. Frick.

Senator REED. I do not want to do him an injustice.

Mr. KING. Mr. Frick was not for Gen. Wood for President.

Senator REED. Who else did you meet and go up to dinner with?

Mr. KING. Gen. Wood and I went alone.

Senator REED. And you can only remember Mr. Perkins, of all the people who were there?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was Mr. Hanna there?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Was the question of public politics, public business, discussed at all that night?

Mr. KING. There was no discussion about anything, Senator Reed. We all sat down to dinner, and there were no speeches at all.

Senator REED. I am not speaking about speeches. They do not count, anyway.

Mr. KING. I agree with you on that.

Senator REED. Practical men do not pay much attention to them.

Mr. KING. There was nothing to it, except a group of men sat down to dinner and discussed general subjects.

Senator REED. I wanted to know if the question of presidential candidates was talked over there at that dinner.

Mr. KING. I did not even hear it discussed, Senator.

Senator REED. I understood you had the dinner to meet Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. Mr. Frick was very fond of entertaining his friends, and Gen. Wood was an old-time friend, and I think the occasion was when he was coming there to meet the troops coming home. Gen. Wood came over to meet them, and Mr. Frick took occasion at that time to invite him to dinner.

Senator REED. Had there been any further talk up to that time about the question of financing the campaign?

Mr. KING. No, sir. The only people I talked with was Mr. Hanna.

Senator REED. And you discussed it with him when?

Mr. KING. I don't think more than once. It may have been on several occasions.

Senator REED. Did Mr. Hanna ever raise the money and turn it over to you?

Mr. KING. Not a nickel.

Senator REED. What was the reason?

Mr. KING. I never could find out. I tried to.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now nearly 1 o'clock. We will take a recess until half past 1.

(Whereupon, at 12.40 p. m., the committee took a recess until 1.30 p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

At 1.30 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN T. KING—Resumed.

Senator REED. Did you ever get any money by the hand of Mr. McGraw?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk to him about finances?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. After you had your talk with Mr. Hanna, in which he said that he would raise \$500,000, you had several other talks with him before you relinquished your chairmanship, I think you said. What reason did he give? What did he tell you about this money, and why he did not raise it?

Mr. KING. He did not give any explanation at all.

Senator REED. Did he tell you at any time he had any agreement with any person or any number of persons to underwrite or guarantee that fund?

Mr. KING. No; he never even discussed that at all. He said he would raise it, but he did not go into details or names of individuals at all.

Senator REED. Who was the first man you talked with about money; that is, aside from Mr. Hanna?

Mr. KING. I never talked with anybody.

Senator REED. Oh, yes; you said this morning you had a talk about getting some money, and gave the name of the gentleman who was connected with the Chicago headquarters.

Mr. KING. You mean the time of the campaign?

Senator REED. Who was the first man you talked with about it?

Mr. KING. I think Hooker.

Senator REED. Where did you see Hooker?

Mr. KING. In Chicago.

Senator REED. Was that before you took the active management?

Mr. KING. No; after.

Senator REED. When you took the active management you had no funds?

Mr. KING. No; none at all.

Senator REED. Or funds promised?

Mr. KING. None, except what Hanna had promised.

Senator REED. About when did you see Mr. Hooker in Chicago?

Mr. KING. I think late in the summer.

Senator REED. Of 1919?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. During all that period, from the early winter, matters had just drifted and nothing active had been done?

Mr. KING. Nothing.

Senator REED. Do you know of any other organization being created for Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. No; no organization. I knew quite a few people who were sympathetic with him, and talked about making an organization for him.

Senator REED. Who were some of those people?

Mr. KING. I do not know that I could describe the names. I could tell you, though, they were men associated with him in the Plattsburg movement, the military training camp association.

Senator REED. Nobody else?

Mr. KING. No. The understanding was that there was to be no organization until the fall. My theory was that we had better do nothing at all; it was too far ahead of time.

Senator REED. Where did you meet Mr. Hooker at the time you talked to him and he finally agreed to give you some money?

Mr. KING. In the Congress Hall, in my rooms there.

Senator REED. Had you gone there on the Wood movement?

Mr. KING. I would go in and out. I did not have any established headquarters at all.

Senator REED. Were not your headquarters then in Chicago?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. How did you come to get in touch with Mr. Hooker?

Mr. KING. I met him through Gen. Wood. He is a personal friend of Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Was Gen. Wood there at the time?

Mr. KING. Gen. Wood was never about when we discussed money.

Senator REED. I understand, of course not; but he was in Chicago and introduced you to Mr. Hooker?

Mr. KING. Yes. I think I met Mr. Hooker originally in New York.

Senator REED. Mr. Hooker and you got to talking about money, and what was Mr. Hooker to do?

Mr. KING. Mr. Hooker had not agreed to do anything at all.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. King, I do not want to take your time and my time going into details. Tell us how you came to get in touch with Mr. Hooker, where you were, and about the money you agreed to raise.

Mr. KING. He did not agree to raise any money.

Senator REED. What did you say about money?

Mr. KING. I do not understand your question. I am not trying to parry with you now.

Senator REED. I hope not. I am not trying to haggle with you. You had an arrangement with Mr. Hooker about some money, ultimately. I want to know when that arrangement was made.

Mr. KING. I think it was about in August or September.

Senator REED. You met him in Chicago?

Mr. KING. I met him in Chicago.

Senator REED. What did Mr. Hooker tell you at that time he could do?

Mr. KING. He did not make any definite promise at all, Senator.

Senator REED. What did you talk about?

Mr. KING. I needed money to run the campaign.

Senator REED. Did he say he would give some?

Mr. KING. I reminded him that Hanna had not done the things he agreed to do.

Senator REED. Had not gotten the money?

Mr. KING. Had not gotten the money.

Senator REED. What did Mr. Hooker say he would do, or try to do?

Mr. KING. He said he would look into it; that was all. He did not go into anything definite at all as to the matter of arrangements.

Senator REED. Did you have anything definite with Mr. Hooker before you got these checks or drafts?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. The next thing you knew you got a check or draft for \$10,000?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. Then you got another one of \$15,000?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. They came in envelopes addresses to you without any letter of communication?

Mr. KING. Exactly.

Senator REED. Had you talked with Mr. Hooker about forwarding you any money?

Mr. KING. Over the phone he told me I might expect some help; that is all.

Senator REED. Exactly. That was financial help, of course?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. Shortly after that conversation you got these drafts or checks?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know why a man sent you that large sum of money, or the paper representing it, without a note of memorandum or letter?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. Was that never explained to you or talked over in any way?

Mr. KING. I did not ask any explanation of it.

Senator REED. Did you assume this money came from Mr. Hooker?

Mr. KING. I did not assume it came from him personally: no.

Senator REED. But that he had gathered it up?

Mr. KING. I imagined he influenced it: I do not know whether he gathered it up or not.

Senator REED. Were these drafts cashier's checks made directly to you, or were they made to somebody else, and indorsed by you?

Mr. KING. No; they were made directly to me, as I recall it. I am rather hazy about that part of it, but I think directly to me.

Senator REED. What was there about that money, or the source of that money, that made it desirable or necessary that the contributor should be concealed?

Mr. KING. That I can not answer; I do not know.

Senator REED. What was there about your relations with Mr. Hooker that made it desirable that money should be forwarded, or the equivalent of money, without even a letter of transmission?

Mr. KING. I do not know.

Senator REED. That is somewhat unusual, is it not, Mr. King?

Mr. KING. I imagine so. I did not look into it at all.

Senator REED. Did you ever write Mr. Hooker or communicate with Mr. Hooker and tell him you got these drafts?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. Never up to this time did you let Mr. Hooker know you got those drafts?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. Whom did you tell that you got those drafts?

Mr. KING. I have told here the first time this morning.

Senator REED. Told here?

Mr. KING. For the first time this morning.

Senator REED. You told somebody you had some money, though, did you not?

Mr. KING. No; I never discussed money matters with people.

Senator REED. You must have discussed money matters with somebody?

Mr. KING. You mean did I tell some people I had money?

Senator REED. You told somebody you got this money, did you not—or some money?

Mr. KING. No; I never mentioned it.

Senator REED. I am not talking about going out gabbing around the streets; but you finally had a settlement with some people who agreed to pay the deficit of over \$11,000, and agreed to assume the note for \$50,000?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. You told them, did you not, that you had got this money?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. Who were those people?

Mr. KING. Mr. Loeb.

Senator REED. And Mr. Loeb—what is his connection with the Wood campaign?

Mr. KING. I think he has just been a Gen. Wood adviser. I do not think he has any title or office.

Senator REED. But he is in the Wood movement?

Mr. KING. He is working for Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Where did you see Mr. Loeb?

Mr. KING. I talked with him over the telephone.

Senator REED. Where was he?

Mr. KING. He was at his office

Senator REED. Where were you?

Mr. KING. In my office.

Senator REED. Where is his office; in what place?

Mr. KING. His office is in New York City—the Equitable Building—and my office is in New York City, up town.

Senator REED. When did you have that talk?

Mr. KING. I do not remember the date; I think it was sometime in February, a month or so after I got out.

Senator REED. Did you have any talk with anybody connected with the Wood movement, and tell them that you borrowed this large sum of money at the bank?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. You just went and borrowed it yourself?

Mr. KING. I borrowed the money myself.

Senator REED. You had no agreement with anybody to recompense you or reimburse you?

Mr. KING. I had hopes I would be able to collect it, or most of it.

Senator REED. But you did not know from whom?

Mr. KING. No; I was too busy on other things to get acquainted with that end of it.

Senator REED. Nobody connected with Wood had agreed to pay it?

Mr. KING. Not at the time I discounted the note.

Senator REED. Did they afterward?

Mr. KING. After I severed my connection with the Wood campaign they did; yes.

Senator REED. Who was it that agreed to take care of the \$50,000?

Mr. KING. Mr. Loeb told me that Col. Proctor would take care of it.

Senator REED. Did Col. Proctor take care of it, or is it still merely an assumed obligation?

Mr. KING. Well, I do not know. The note has matured, and I have not paid it, and it has not been protested, and I assume it has been paid. I never had any connection with it at all, Senator Reed. I did not look into the matter after that.

Senator REED. I can not understand how you could get out of a campaign in this way, with \$50,000 indebtedness in the bank, and with no settlement, no adjustment, or anything.

Mr. KING. That bothered me, too.

Senator REED. How did you come to get out?

Mr. KING. You mean what lead to the so-called rupture?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KING. Merely the matter of disagreement as to policy.

Senator REED. Whom did you disagree with?

Mr. KING. Gen. Wood and Col. Proctor.

Senator REED. What was the trouble with the policy? You had put up \$50,000 of your credit?

Mr. KING. I think the whole situation broke on this, that I very strongly advised against having any general committee. I maintained that no candidate had ever been nominated in either party by a committee. I objected to pretentious headquarters, and I organized publicity with the idea of a straight movement. My theory was that the best interests of the candidate and the party would be along the lines of the party expressing a sentiment for Gen. Wood, without its being either manufactured or accumulated. I thought that was the best policy.

Senator REED. And that led to a rupture?

Mr. KING. That led to a rupture.

Senator REED. That is the whole of that story?

Mr. KING. That is the whole story.

Senator REED. When they proposed to take the campaign out of your hands, you told them, of course, that you had advanced this money?

Mr. KING. Yes; I told Col. Procter.

Senator REED. Did you ever make an accounting to them of the moneys you had expended?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Have you ever made any to anybody?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. Then, I am going to ask you whether you did use this \$91,000 in the interest of Gen. Wood?

Mr. KING. Of course, I did.

Senator REED. In what way did you expend it?

Mr. KING. Well, I said to the committee this morning that I would submit as much of a detailed report as possible. I am talking here purely from memory. I would rather not hazard my memory at all.

Senator REED. Tell me from memory, and it will be subject to correction when you get to your books. I am not asking you to state every item, but I am asking to know now what you did with \$90,000, in a general way.

Mr. KING. Well, it went in furnishing an office, railroad expenses, hotel expenses, some publicity, and some funds advanced in various States.

Senator REED. Exactly. Now, into how many States did you send funds?

Mr. KING. Well, my recollection is about this, but I want to emphasize that I am talking from memory purely.

Senator REED. Exactly, but, of course, if you sent a considerable sum into a State you would not forget that. You might be mistaken in a few hundred dollars, but a man of your acumen would know what States you sent money into.

Mr. KING. I sent money into Oregon, Nebraska, Florida, Georgia, and Massachusetts. Five.

Senator REED. You do not remember any other States?

Mr. KING. I do not remember any other. There may have been one other.

Senator REED. Whom did you have your transactions with in Oregon?

Mr. KING. Dow Walker, who is managing the Wood campaign.

Senator REED. How much did you send him?

Mr. KING. I think it was \$5,000.

Senator REED. When did you send that?

Mr. KING. Some time in December.

Senator REED. Did you ever send any more than that?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. What was he to do with that \$5,000?

Mr. KING. Organize the campaign.

Senator REED. What was his political connection?

Mr. KING. What do you mean by political connection?

Senator REED. Did he have any connection of a political nature in Oregon?

Mr. KING. Was he a member of the State committee or anything of that kind?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KING. I do not know. He was active in Portland politics, city politics, in the election of mayor, or something like that.

Senator REED. Did he ever account to you for what he had done with this money?

Mr. KING. I never saw him from that day to this.

Senator REED. Did you give him this money personally?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. KING. In Portland.

Senator REED. You went out there?

Mr. KING. I was there.

Senator REED. Did you give it to him in cash or by check?

Mr. KING. Check.

Senator REED. Drawn on what bank?

Mr. KING. The Chase Bank of New York.

Senator REED. Is that where you had deposited your money?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. Is that where you had your \$90,000?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was it from the Chase Bank that you borrowed the \$50,000?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Have you ever had any business transactions with it before?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. Had you borrowed from them before?

Mr. KING. No; I never borrowed from them before. I was a stockholder in the bank.

Senator REED. You had an established credit there?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. Nebraska?

Mr. KING. F. P. Corrick.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. KING. Lincoln.

Senator REED. How much money did you send him?

Mr. KING. \$5,000.

Senator REED. Did you send it to him or give it to him?

Mr. KING. I do not recall now.

Senator REED. Did you visit Lincoln yourself?

Mr. KING. No; he visited me in Chicago.

Senator REED. About when?

Mr. KING. I should say that would be about October or November, last year.

Senator REED. You gave him the money at that time. What was he to do with it?

Mr. KING. Organize the campaign.

Senator REED. In Nebraska?

Mr. KING. In Nebraska.

Senator REED. Coming to Florida, whom did you give money to there?

Mr. KING. George W. Bean.

Senator REED. How much did you give him?

Mr. KING. \$5,000.

Senator REED. What was he to do with it?

Mr. KING. Organize a campaign.

Senator REED. What date, about, did you give him that?

Mr. KING. I think that was in December.

Senator REED. Coming to Georgia, whom did you give money to there?

Mr. KING. Roscoe Pickett.

Senator REED. How much did you give him?

Mr. KING. I think it was \$3,000.

Senator REED. Where did you see Mr. Pickett?

Mr. KING. Chicago.

Senator REED. Where does he live?

Mr. KING. Jasper, Ga., I think.

Senator REED. Is he a white man?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you give any money, or do you know of any money being given to colored gentlemen in Georgia?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator REED. What was Mr. Pickett's political connection?

Mr. KING. Chairman, Republican State committee.

Senator REED. Massachusetts?

Mr. KING. \$1,100.

Senator REED. To whom?

Mr. KING. Robert Bottomley.

Senator REED. Where did you give him that?

Mr. KING. In my office in New York.

Senator REED. Mr. Bottomley lives where?

Mr. KING. Boston.

Senator REED. Is that all the money now that you sent in or carried into the various States?

Mr. KING. It is all I can recall.

Senator REED. That makes a total of \$19,000. What did you do with the rest of the \$90,000?

Mr. KING. Most of it was in office expenses and traveling, hotels. I was going 11 months.

Senator REED. Did you have headquarters open anywhere?

Mr. KING. New York City.

Senator REED. Where were they?

Mr. KING. 8 West Fortieth Street.

Senator REED. How much headquarters did you have?

Mr. KING. Three rooms.

Senator REED. How much help did you have there?

Mr. KING. Four clerks.

Senator REED. What were your expenses for running the office force?

Mr. KING. I think, all told, it would run around \$2,500 a month.

Senator REED. You had it how long?

Mr. KING. Eleven months.

Senator REED. So that that would approximate —

Mr. KING. No; I think I had that office about eight months.

Senator REED. That would approximate \$10,000 for rent and office help.

Mr. KING. About \$20,000.

Senator REED. How much a month?

Mr. KING. Eight months, at \$2,500 a month.

Senator REED. You traveled around, and, of course, spent some money for hotel bills, etc. What would you say that amounted to?

Mr. KING. I would not dare estimate that.

Senator REED. Can you not come within \$5,000 of it?

Mr. KING. I do not think so.

Senator REED. Can't you?

Mr. KING. There were so many items—hundreds of items on the different dates. I was living on sleeping cars. I would not dare to approximate it at all.

Senator REED. How much did you expend in publicity?

Mr. KING. I think about \$15,000.

Senator REED. What was the character of that publicity?

Mr. KING. Two kinds. There was a man named Moore, who is at the present time the publicity agent of the Wood campaign in New York, and an Edward B. Clark, who is attached to Gen. Wood's headquarters in Chicago.

Senator REED. They were your two publicity agents?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator REED. What did they do? Did they travel about from State to State?

Mr. KING. I think Clark did, but I do not think Moore did. I think Moore operated from New York.

Senator REED. Were they salaried men?

Mr. KING. Yes; that includes salaries. That was for themselves alone. Moore was with me a very short time. I had made an agreement to do certain things, and I lived up to it, but I had very little contact with him.

Senator REED. What were the certain things you agreed to do?

Mr. KING. I paid him the amount of money I agreed to pay.

Senator REED. How much was that?

Mr. KING. I think it is stated there; about \$10,000.

Senator REED. How much were you to pay him? Were you to pay him a lump sum, or pay him per diem?

Mr. KING. He thought that the amount of money that would be required to the 1st of January would be——

Senator REED. \$15,000?

Mr. KING. No; about \$10,000.

Senator REED. You do not know just what he did with it?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. Well, that leaves a very considerable balance. Did you have any other publicity?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator REED. The rest of the money, then, was absorbed in traveling around?

Mr. KING. I expect so.

Senator REED. That is as near as you can account for it?

Mr. KING. Yes; as near as I can account for it. I cleared completely out of this thing; and when I got out quit politics and everything else. I have not even thought about it, or hashed it over in my own mind.

Senator REED. Have you quit politics if you are a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. KING. Well, I am just a delegate.

Senator REED. I have never seen anybody who got inoculated with this political bug who has not had the disease recur at intervals throughout his life. I include myself in that.

Mr. KING. Yes; some of us come back.

Senator REED. Yes; we get out and come back. I am interested in knowing, when you turned over the \$5,000 to Mr. Dow Walker, of Oregon, what Mr. Walker told you he was going to do with that money. You had a plan, and a man like that has a plan.

Mr. KING. No; I did not. I picked a man and let him make his own plans. I did not have any plans or details at all.

Senator REED. How did you account for his getting \$5,000?

Mr. KING. He thought he would need that to start with.

Senator REED. How much was he going to need to finish with?

Mr. KING. He did not get to that. I lost my job soon after.

Senator REED. When you made the first ante of \$5,000, you knew what the limit of the game was going to be, did you not?

Mr. KING. No; I would not have placed any limit on it.

Senator REED. You would have played it wide open?

Mr. KING. I think so.

Senator REED. I guess that is the way they have been doing. Your idea had not been publicity, and going out and having headquarters, but to quietly go around from State to State and drop little sums of \$5,000 here and there?

Mr. KING. No, no, no; not at all.

Senator REED. Well, you said, as I understood you, Mr. King, that you objected to a publicity campaign, and you objected to expensive headquarters, that you believed in letting public opinion express itself, and then I asked you what you had done, and the specific things you did was to travel from State to State, and here and there you did drop \$5,000.

Mr. KING. That is quite a different thing from the way you have mentioned it. That is quite different from going around and doing it by dropping \$5,000 here and there. No; not at all.

Senator REED. Leaving the theory out, that is what you did do?

Mr. KING. Very little. I would have done more.

Senator REED. And these were just the original antes—the original first payments?

Mr. KING. These were just the beginnings.

Senator REED. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. King, I believe before the luncheon hour you prefaced what you said here by saying that you were depending upon your memory for certain disbursements.

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. You were very complete, I take it, so far as your contributions were concerned.

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Will you furnish that statement you said you thought you had among your papers somewhere at home?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. A complete statement?

Mr. KING. As accurately as I can.

Senator POMERENE. If you will send that to the chairman of the committee, we will be obliged to you.

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. I want to ask you several other questions. Before the luncheon hour I asked you something about that meeting at the residence of the late Mr. Frick, and your memory was not at all clear as to the persons who were there on that occasion. I wanted to see if I could refresh your memory. You have said, I believe, that Dan R. Hanna was not there.

Mr. KING. He was not there; I am sure of that.

Senator POMERENE. Then any statement which may have been made in the papers to the effect that he was there you think is wrong?

Mr. KING. I do, Senator, and the reason I am so positive about it is that I do not think Mr. Frick knew Mr. Hanna.

Senator POMERENE. Was Col. William Cooper Procter there?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How do you know?

Mr. KING. Because I had not met Mr. Procter at that time.

Senator POMERENE. You have met him since?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir; three times, I think.

Senator POMERENE. And since you have met him you are certain that he was not there?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir; he was not there.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know Ambrose Monel?

Mr. KING. I do.

Senator POMERENE. Was he there?

Mr. KING. He was not. The reason I know that is that I asked Monel if he is going to be up there, and he said he was not invited.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know Edward L. Doheny?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether he was there?

Mr. KING. I do not know the man, so I could not say whether he was there or not.

Senator POMERENE. He is said to be the president of the Mexican Petroleum Co.

Mr. KING. I know who he is, but I have never met him at all.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know Harry F. Sinclair?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was he there?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know his business connections?

Mr. KING. I know he is an oil man.

Senator POMERENE. He was not there?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was H. M. Byllesby there?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know him?

Mr. KING. Yes; I met him in Chicago. The first time I met him was in Chicago in January of this year.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know W. B. Thompson?

Mr. KING. I do.

Senator POMERENE. Was he there?

Mr. KING. He was not there that night. I am not trying to exonerate any of these gentlemen.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, I am assuming you are giving us the benefit of your knowledge on the subject. Do you know E. E. Smathers?

Mr. KING. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Was he there?

Mr. KING. No. I met Mr. Smathers for the first time back in April, with the Wood campaign.

Senator POMERENE. He was not there?

Mr. KING. No.

Senator POMERENE. Was A. A. Sprague there?

Mr. KING. I never met the man.

Senator POMERENE. He is a wholesale grocer, is he not?

Mr. KING. I understand he is a merchant in Chicago. I never met him.

Senator POMERENE. As one of the treasurers of the Wood campaign did you read that newspaper?

Mr. KING. I do not know anything about what I see in the papers.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have a talk at any time with any of these men? Mr. Doheny you say you do not know?

Mr. KING. No; I do not know him.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Ambrose Monel on this subject?

Mr. KING. In reference to Wood?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. KING. I talked with Mr. Monel about two or three minutes about Gen. Wood. We did not get down to finances at all.

Senator POMERENE. Nothing was said about his contributing or raising any fund, or underwriting any fund?

Mr. KING. No. I expected he would some day contribute to the Gen. Wood campaign fund, because he was a close personal friend.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any other reason why you thought he would contribute to the fund?

Mr. KING. I think not. I think Gen. Monel is a genuine friend, and I think he is quite sincere in it, and I trusted he would be for Gen. Wood.

Senator POMERENE. I did not mean to insinuate that he is not, or to cast any aspersions upon him, but what I meant was this: Was there anything in that conversation which would lead you to believe that he would contribute?

Mr. KING. Except that he believed in Wood; he was a man of large means, and was anxious to do anything he could to help Gen. Wood.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Harry F. Sinclair on this subject?

Mr. KING. No, sir. I only met Mr. Sinclair once. That was at the Roosevelt memorial meeting, just long enough to shake hands with him.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with reference to financial matters with H. M. Byllesby?

Mr. KING. No. I met Mr. Byllesby, and knew he was interested in Gen. Wood, but I did not talk finances with him. The young man who had me meet him expected I would talk finances, but I did not talk finances, and at that time, at the time I met him, I was about ready to get through, anyhow.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with W. B. Thompson on this subject?

Mr. KING. No. I always knew Col. Thompson was not for Gen. Wood—I always had a feeling he was not for Gen. Wood—and I never talked finances with him. I talked finances with him as a member of the ways and means committee of the Republican national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever talk with E. E. Smathers on this subject?

Mr. KING. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Or with Mr. A. A. Sprague?

Mr. KING. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Has this examination in any wise refreshed your memory so as to enable you to give the names of other guests at that particular dinner?

Mr. KING. No; it has not. I will tell you why it has not, Senator. I meet a great many of these men around at different dinners. I suppose that if it had been a week or so, around about that time, I would very clearly remember who was there; but the real point about it—now, I might just as well be fair about this thing. That is what we want to be.

Senator POMERENE. Certainly.

Mr. KING. Gen. Wood was invited as an old friend of Mr. Sprague. Mr. Sprague had a great habit of having large dinner parties, and have people look at his gallery. He has a wonderful collection of paintings there. At the time that the invitation was extended to Gen. Wood, some of the New York newspapers commented on it. Gen. Wood told, I think, a Times reporter that he was going up to see Mr. Sprague that night. There was not any secret about it at all.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Sprague was a supporter of Gen. Wood at that time?

Mr. KING. I do not know whether I am warranted in saying that or not. In regard to the real situation, I happen to know that Mr. Sprague was opposed to Gen. Wood.

Senator SPENCER. Was he in favor of some other presidential candidate?

Mr. KING. He did not express himself as being in favor of anybody, but he thought Gen. Wood was not an available man, not having had congressional experience. That was his conversation with me.

Senator POMERENE. We have directed this examination toward one particular dinner referred to in this New York World article, and you have just said that you went to dine frequently, meeting gentlemen out at various dinners. Did you at any of these dinners meet gentlemen with whom you talked on the subject of financing Gen. Wood's campaign?

Mr. KING. I did not, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. So that if I understand you, then, the only gentlemen with whom you had any talk on this subject of financing the Wood campaign was Mr. Dan R. Hanna?

Mr. KING. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And at that time he said he would agree to raise \$500,000?

Mr. KING. That is right. I did not think he would.

Senator SPENCER. Well, Dan Hanna usually keeps his word. I think that is all.

Senator EDGE. Mr. King, I have not heard all your testimony, but aside from the social dinners and the various other side lights that were brought in, which were perhaps sufficiently related to have been discussed, and I am not criticizing that, the net result of your connection, as I understand it, with the Wood campaign, was that your association extended over a period of approximately 11 months, and during that time the funds at your disposal—I do not recall whether they were all expended, or not—amount to approximately \$91,000, of which you expended approximately \$8,000 a month?

Mr. KING. About that.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. EUGENE R. PIKE.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Senator SPENCER. Where is your home?

Mr. PIKE. Chicago.

Senator SPENCER. Whose candidacy are you interested in?

Mr. PIKE. I was not interested in any. I was delegate for Gov. Lowden.

Senator SPENCER. You mean a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. PIKE. The national convention.

Senator SPENCER. District delegate?

Mr. PIKE. Yes; I was included in that, and I am an alternate at large to the convention.

Senator SPENCER. What is your business in Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. Real estate.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have anything to do with the management of the Gov. Lowden campaign?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have anything to do with the collection of any money?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have anything to do with the disbursement of any money?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What district are you a delegate from?

Mr. PIKE. The ninth congressional.

Senator SPENCER. Is that in the city of Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know Wm. B. Thomason?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Were you subpoenaed?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir; I had a subpoena.

Senator SPENCER. Where, here in Washington?

Mr. PIKE. In Chicago.

Senator SPENCER. You came on from Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Are you in the Lowden headquarters?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you ever have anything to do with them?

Mr. PIKE. In what way?

Senator REED. In the Lowden movement?

Mr. PIKE. No; except he asked me, and I told him I was going to run as a delegate, and he asked me if I would run pledged to him, and I said certainly.

Senator SPENCER. Did he put any money in your district?

Mr. PIKE. No.

Senator REED. Are you a district delegate or were you running at large from the State?

Mr. PIKE. I ran as a district delegate. Mr. Lowden asked me as to the advisability of putting money in, and I advised him against it. We had four candidates—Wood and Lowden—and I did not see any necessity of putting any money in.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pike, I was not here, and the senators may have asked you. You live in Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. I live in the twenty-first ward, just off the Lake Shore Drive.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the campaign for the securing of delegates in Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a part of what is known as the Thompson organization in Chicago, are you not?

Mr. PIKE. As former city controller, I managed his first campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you city controller now?

Mr. PIKE. Not at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hold any city office?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were one of the active workers for Mayor Thompson, were you not?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were active in securing the delegates to the national convention, were you not?

Mr. PIKE. Only running myself, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the delegates?

Mr. PIKE. I was defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. You have different factions there, have you not, in the Republican party?

Mr. PIKE. We have.

The CHAIRMAN. Thompson faction and the Brunswick faction, and what is the other one?

Mr. PIKE. And the Deneen faction.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there not a good deal of money spent in your district in the campaign for delegates?

Mr. PIKE. I did not see any.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not Mayor Thompson taking an active interest in the contest?

Mr. PIKE. For the purpose of securing delegates?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PIKE. No; I think not.

Senator REED. Was his organization?

Mr. PIKE. His organization was active in electing our ward committeemen, more than the national delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. You cared more about the ward business than the national forces?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not handle the funds in the campaign for the election of delegates?

Mr. PIKE. Well, I handled my own.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you handle any others?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. None at all?

Mr. PIKE. None at all.

Senator SPENCER. You spoke of your own expenses. Was that money you collected?

Mr. PIKE. No; money I paid out myself.

Senator SPENCER. Out of your own pocket?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Contributed by anybody?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. All of that was in connection with these delegates?

Mr. PIKE. That is all, the delegates and the aldermen and the committeemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was there not associated with you in this work Mr. Frank Brady?

Mr. PIKE. He is in a different district from ours.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a member of the Thompson organization, is he not?

Mr. PIKE. Well, I have nothing to do with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hardy?

Mr. PIKE. He is in the second.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he raise any money for Thompson delegates?

Mr. PIKE. I do not think he raised any, except what he expended himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a candidate for delegate?

Mr. PIKE. He was a candidate in the first congressional district.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there not a large amount of money spent for the election of these delegates?

Mr. PIKE. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Those were not what you would call Lowden delegates? They were Thompson delegates, were they not?

Mr. PIKE. I think 17 were unpledged.

The CHAIRMAN. They were under the mayor's control?

Mr. PIKE. I think they are friendly to the mayor.

The CHAIRMAN. His organization elected those delegates, did it not?

Mr. PIKE. Yes; I should say so.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there Lowden delegates in opposition to those delegates?

Mr. PIKE. There were some; some were in opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe that that organization, in electing those 17 delegates, did not spend any money?

Mr. PIKE. I did not say that. The money that was spent was spent through different congressional districts. I have no personal knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would be the ones that were handling it?

Mr. PIKE. The men who were running for ward committeemen. The fight that we had was made for ward committeemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Not for delegates?

Mr. PIKE. Not for the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the mayor more interested in the ward committeemen than the delegates?

Mr. PIKE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can tell us anything about the money that was spent there?

Mr. PIKE. I should think that Mr. Rohm, the chairman of the county central committee, would know as much as anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. Could Mr. Brady tell us anything about it?

Mr. PIKE. I should not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hardy?

Mr. PIKE. I do not think Hardy could tell you anything except the money he spent himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much he spent?

Mr. PIKE. I know he spent quite a good deal of money in the sixth ward in electing his committeeman there.

Senator REED. How much.

Mr. PIKE. I do not know.

Senator REED. What do you mean by quite a good deal?

Mr. PIKE. I should say \$8,000 or \$10,000.

Senator REED. Electing a ward committeeman?

Mr. PIKE. Ward committeeman.

The CHAIRMAN. What do these ward committeemen do that makes them such valuable men?

Mr. PIKE. It gives us party control in the county.

Senator REED. How much did you spend?

Mr. PIKE. I spent \$5,000 or \$6,000. That was in three fights, one primary and two elections.

Senator REED. Ward committeeman?

Mr. PIKE. Ward committeeman and alderman.

Senator SPENCER. Did you run as a Lowden delegate?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who ran against you?

Mr. PIKE. William Rigley.

Senator SPENCER. As what?

Mr. PIKE. As a Lowden delegate.

Senator SPENCER. Two of you contesting as Lowden delegates?

Mr. PIKE. George F. Porter was a Lowden delegate, and Michael Flaherty was a delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not the contest in those selections over the election of delegates?

Mr. PIKE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not the issue whether Mayor Thompson should control those delegates, or whether they should be wholeheartedly for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. PIKE. No; I think not.

Senator REED. And the line-up out there, Mr. Pike. Tell us about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You know about it. You might as well tell us.

Mr. PIKE. In my own particular district the fight was a three-cornered fight between three factions. The interest I had in the fight was entirely in the selection of ward committeeman.

Senator SPENCER. In the interest of Mayor Thompson?

Mr. PIKE. In the interest of Mayor Thompson. As far as I was personally concerned, I did not even have a card printed or a sign.

Senator EDGE. But they were all for Gov. Lowden, the men running in your district?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. So far as the presidential delegates were concerned, there was no contest in that district?

Mr. PIKE. No contest.

The CHAIRMAN. The delegates were elected on the issue of ward committeemen, were they not?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the issue on which the national delegates were elected, is that right?

Mr. PIKE. Well, we have only got the choice for one man, that is about all they have. There was not any particular campaign made by either side for the election of national delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you defeated by an unpledged delegate?

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Defeated by a Lowden delegate?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you an unpledged delegate?

Mr. PIKE. No; I was a Lowden man.

The CHAIRMAN. There were 17 unpledged delegates elected to the national convention, were there not?

Mr. PIKE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there candidates against the Lowden delegates?

Mr. PIKE. Some of them were, and some were not. In a number of the districts there was no opposition to unpledged delegates.

Senator SPENCER. In your district all the candidates ran pledged to Lowden?

Mr. PIKE. There was one man by the name of Peters who was running unpledged.

Senator SPENCER. Was he elected?

Mr. PIKE. No.

Senator SPENCER. The two men that were elected were pledged to Lowden, just as you were?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. You were both pledged to Lowden?

Mr. PIKE. All four of us were pledged to Lowden.

Senator SPENCER. So far as the presidential candidates were concerned, it did not make any particular difference which one of you won out?

Mr. PIKE. No.

Senator SPENCER. Were the candidates for delegates each associated with a particular candidate for central committeeman? You had your favorite for central committeeman?

Mr. PIKE. My ward had a candidate.

Senator SPENCER. The ninth district would have several wards, would it not?

Mr. PIKE. We had two complete wards, and two parts of other wards in it.

Senator SPENCER. Were the candidates for central committeeman lined up with certain candidates for national delegates?

Mr. PIKE. Yes; the delegates being myself and Mr. Flaherty; each had our candidate for ward committeeman.

Senator SPENCER. You two were running together for national delegate?

Mr. PIKE. For national delegate.

Senator SPENCER. Did you elect your ward?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. In both wards?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You were not elected then, as a delegate?

Mr. PIKE. Not elected; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there very much money spent in Chicago in these primaries?

Mr. PIKE. Not more than usual.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not indicate much.

Mr. PIKE. I think we spent more money this time in literature than we spent before.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this literature in relation to the national situation?

Mr. PIKE. No; it was in relation to the local situation there.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any Wood-Lowden fight in Chicago over delegates?

Mr. PIKE. No. They had a fight on the preferential primary.

The CHAIRMAN. That did not affect the delegates?

Mr. PIKE. That did not affect the delegates.

Senator REED. That was a preferential fight between Wood and others?

Mr. PIKE. Lowden, Wood, and Johnson.

Senator REED. What we want to know is about that preferential fight. Did you take any part in that?

Mr. PIKE. Myself?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. PIKE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who conducted that fight on behalf of Wood's forces?

Mr. PIKE. I think Col. McChesney and Col Bright had charge of that?

Senator REED. For Wood?

Mr. PIKE. For Wood.

Senator REED. Who for Lowden?

Mr. PIKE. The Lowden managers there.

Senator REED. Did you take any part in that fight?

Mr. PIKE. I advised Gov. Lowden once on it.

Senator REED. How much money was expended in that fight?

Mr. PIKE. Gov. Lowden asked me if I thought any money should be put in it, and I told him no; I thought he would have the vote of all the delegates, whether pledged or not, and it would be very foolish to spend any money and he told me he would not spend any.

Senator REED. You do not think he did?

Mr. PIKE. I do not think he did.

Senator REED. How about the Wood forces?

Mr. PIKE. I do not know what they did. They sent out some literature and had some advertising.

Senator REED. Did they have any meetings?

Mr. PIKE. I do not know whether they did or not.

Senator REED. Who financed them?

Mr. PIKE. I am not sure; I do not know.

Senator REED. Was there any money raised for the Lowden fight, at all, in Illinois?

Mr. PIKE. I would not know anything about it. I had nothing to do with the Lowden campaign.

Senator REED. You do know, as a matter of fact, that Mr. Lowden conducted a very active campaign in the whole State of Illinois; that

they held meetings all over the State; that there were advertisements put in the newspapers, and that there was an immense sum of money expended, do you not? You saw the evidence of that with your own eyes, did you not?

Mr. PIKE. I do not think there was very much money spent, in comparison with the Wood money, in Illinois.

Senator REED. In comparison with the Wood money? Well, how much more money did Wood expend than Lowden expended?

Mr. PIKE. I have no means of judging.

Senator REED. You see, you have already given us a comparison by saying that it was not large in comparison with what Wood spent.

Mr. PIKE. That is in Chicago.

Senator REED. You can not compare an unknown quantity with an unknown quantity. The Wood people seemed to spend more money than the Lowden people—that much we know now. Was there not an active campaign carried over the State between those two forces?

Mr. PIKE. I know nothing except about Chicago.

Senator REED. Well, you saw the evidence? You live in that State? You can answer that question, can you not?

Mr. PIKE. I can not tell anything about what happened down State.

Senator REED. Did you not hear of it and know of it as a part of the current history of the times?

Mr. PIKE. I do not know that they made very much effort down State. According to the returns they got all the votes.

Senator REED. They did not make much effort?

Mr. PIKE. I say it did not look as though they had. It looks as if they made more in Chicago than any other place.

Senator REED. You said the expenses for Lowden were very small, compared with the expenses for Wood, and now you have centralized the Wood expenses in Chicago. What was the evidence of expenditures in Chicago? You say that it would take \$10,000 to elect a ward committeeman. How much does it take to carry the election? Mr. Pike, I want to be frank with you. You appear like a perfect gentleman, and I have no doubt you are, but I have found more men who were smart, and men that I would go to in a minute to conduct a political fight, who come in here and do not know anything, than I ever saw in my life. Now, you live in the State of Illinois. Tell us about that thing over there.

Mr. PIKE. I can not tell you anything about down State stuff.

Senator REED. Tell us about Chicago.

Mr. PIKE. The best thing I could tell you would be to refer to the files of the daily papers. They have all that stuff. A man can take the files, if you have got all the papers, and check up on the amount of advertising that was done.

Senator REED. Was there a lot of advertising done there?

Mr. PIKE. That is my information.

Senator REED. That is expensive, is it not?

Mr. PIKE. It ought to be.

Senator REED. We have got to that, a large amount of advertising. You do not know the amount of it?

Mr. PIKE. I do not know the amount. I could not say whether it was put in every day, or in how many papers. That can be readily found out by checking over the daily papers.

Senator REED. You are right there in the game, and know about how it is conducted. What about the methods used to get the voters out in the ward precincts?

Mr. PIKE. Letters; we have no other methods. We sent out letters.

Senator REED. You had your workers in that service?

Mr. PIKE. Yes; we had workers and we had automobiles.

Senator REED. You put up in the fight there, I think you said about \$6,000, and some other gentleman \$10,000. Were other people contributing also?

Mr. PIKE. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. How many of these precincts were there, where there was a committeeman to be elected in Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. They were elected in the wards.

Senator REED. How many wards?

Mr. PIKE. Thirty-five wards.

Senator REED. Would you think that \$350,000 were probably expended there?

Mr. PIKE. More, really.

Senator REED. More in that fight?

The CHAIRMAN. They were Thompson organizations?

Senator REED. Both of them put together?

Mr. PIKE. I do not know how much the others spent. I think probably that much would have been spent, though.

The CHAIRMAN. You might just explain now whether that was in the election of delegates, or in the fight for the election of ward committeemen.

Mr. PIKE. In the fight for ward committeemen. That is practically where all of our money was spent. We sent out a series of 10 letters.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say we, whom do you mean?

Mr. PIKE. The Thompson organization.

Senator EDGE. It seems to me that the witness is trying to make it clear that the biggest fight was in connection with the local situation.

Senator REED. But there was, in addition to that, a preferential vote, was there not, all through the State?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

Senator REED. There were advertisements in the newspapers about that preferential vote, were there not?

Mr. PIKE. All in Chicago.

Senator REED. This expense was not incurred in the election of ward committeemen, but it was incurred in this election for the purpose of expressing itself as for Wood or Lowden?

Mr. PIKE. That would be spent by the Lowden or Wood managers. I know nothing about that.

Senator REED. Did they have hacks or automobiles out on election day?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

Senator REED. How many precincts were you voting at in the city of Chicago that day?

Mr. PIKE. Twenty-two hundred.

Senator REED. You had hacks at those precincts, or several hacks at each precinct, did you not?

Mr. PIKE. No; I do not think they had any hacks.

Senator REED. I mean automobiles. I am so old-fashioned that I still remembers the old seagoing hack.

Mr. PIKE. They had 10 automobiles in my ward; that is, 58 precincts, all volunteers.

Senator REED. How was it in the rest of them?

Mr. PIKE. Well, they had in the twenty-fifth ward over 300 volunteers.

Senator POMERENE. Three hundred automobiles?

Mr. PIKE. Automobiles.

Senator POMERENE. Volunteers?

Mr. PIKE. Yes; volunteers.

Senator REED. Who is it that has the account that shows those expenses of the Thompson people?

Mr. PIKE. I think Virtus Rohm, the chairman of the committee.

Senator SPENCER. Do you not have to file an expense account under the corrupt practices act at all?

Mr. PIKE. No.

Senator SPENCER. Was all this expense in connection with the city campaign?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. When you sent out letters, that was a large part of the expense?

Mr. PIKE. That was most of the expense.

Senator SPENCER. When you sent out those letters there was no mention in those letters of the presidential primary or of the delegates to the national convention, or were they confined alone to the city campaign?

Mr. PIKE. Only in the last letter.

Senator SPENCER. In the last letter there was mention of what?

Mr. PIKE. We sent out a sample ballot.

Senator SPENCER. And that had on it the delegate's name?

Mr. PIKE. That had on it the delegate's name.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any reference in the letter itself to the delegates to the national convention, or to the primary?

Mr. PIKE. I do not remember. I have got a set of those letters, in case you should like to see them.

Senator REED. I would like to have them. Mr. Pike, did you have some meetings in Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. Meetings? Yes, sir; we had about 150.

Senator REED. They all cost some money; did they not?

Mr. PIKE. Not necessarily.

Senator REED. Do you not pay rent for halls in Chicago?

Mr. PIKE. Well, most of them are held in school halls that cost about \$9 or \$10 an evening. The halls in my ward were donated.

Senator REED. I do not understand, then, how a man spent \$10,000 running for committeeman.

Mr. PIKE. We sent out a series of letters to 15,000 voters. We sent out 10,000 letters in my ward to 15,000 voters; 10 letters to 15,000 voters.

Senator SPENCER. That would be a total of 150,000. You mean you sent 10 different letters?

Mr. PIKE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. To 15,000 voters?

Mr. PIKE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That, in the aggregate, would be 150,000?

Mr. PINE. Yes; 150,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Your organization there is fighting there for national committeeman, is it not?

Mr. PINE. I understand so.

The CHAIRMAN. Between Thompson and Sherman. Are the Thompson forces spending a good deal of money in that fight?

Mr. PIKE. Not any.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN W. OWENS.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Owens, you are connected with the Baltimore Sun?

Mr. OWENS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you an article you wrote some time ago in the Sun about the Hoover headquarters in New York?

Mr. OWENS. A part of it is on that page, and some part on page 10 [handing paper to the chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. What was your information as to those quarters at the time?

Mr. OWENS. I simply wrote my impression of the quarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you been in New York?

Mr. OWENS. Yes; I was in New York at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were the headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. At the Vanderbilt.

The CHAIRMAN. How elaborate were these headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. The impression that was made on me was not because of any elaborate political equipment; it was the elegance of the quarters—rather unusual in political headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. They had a whole floor of the Vanderbilt Hotel?

Mr. OWENS. That was my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you there?

Mr. OWENS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What you say here is your impression of what you saw there?

Mr. OWENS. Yes.

Senator REED. Is the article, so far as you are able to state, an accurate statement?

Mr. OWENS. I think so.

Senator REED. You adopt it now as your statement?

Mr. OWENS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any other headquarters that you knew of in New York?

Mr. OWENS. Any other hotel headquarters, or any other political headquarters?

The CHAIRMAN. Any other Hoover headquarters.

Mr. OWENS. Not that I knew of. I do not know about Mr. Hoover's office. That was the Hoover Republican Club, as they called it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have that article inserted in the record.

(The article referred to is as follows:)

G. O. P. PRECONVENTION CAMPAIGN SETS NEW MARK FOR COSTLINESS.

GEN. WOOD'S AND HERBERT HOOVER'S NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS SCENES OF LUXURY, WITH EMPLOYEES SEEMINGLY WITHOUT NUMBER—JOHNSON, ON OTHER HAND, HAS ONLY TWO OR THREE ROOMS AND HANDFUL OF WORKERS.

[By John W. Owens, staff correspondent of the Baltimore (Md.) Sun.]

NEW YORK, April 8.

Not the least of the problems of the hour is the high cost of nominating a Republican candidate for President. It is a problem of various phases. The people's phase is, What does it mean? The phase of one or two of the candidates is, How can I get money? The phase of one or two of the other candidates is, How can I keep it dark?

It has been said, and it probably is true, that more money is being spent in this campaign for the Republican nomination than in any other primary contest ever held in this country. Of course, a dollar goes a shorter distance these days in politics as in other enterprises, but, allowing for that, it still is true that the pending fight is a topnotcher, financially speaking.

How much money is being spent and will be spent no one knows. But it certainly must run well into the millions. Vast sums are being spent by the candidates before one's eyes, so to say. Add to that the expenses that are not apparent (not necessarily illegitimate) and add to that the money being spent from end to end of the country by State and local politicians, each with his own interests bound up with that of some candidate or element, and the total, if it could be ascertained, would stir the imagination even of this country.

\$250,000 "NO MONEY."

A very reliable man was talking to-day about the spending, and he told a story of the fight in the Middle West, in which Gov. Lowden is more active than in this part of the country. It will be recalled that much attention was given the governor's expenditures lately, partly because he happens to be the son-in-law of the late Mr. Pullman. In justice to Gov. Lowden it also should be recalled that he offered to show all his records.

Anyway, the story goes that at the height of the discussion of the Lowden finances, one of the governor's representatives waxed indignant and declared that "no money" was being spent, and that if all the funds which had passed through the Lowden agencies' hands were added the total "would not be more than \$250,000."

That is an example, the words "no money" and a "quarter of a million" linked together. Here in New York there are three active headquarters—Wood's, Hoover's, and Johnson's. In the first two it is apparent that money is no object at all. In Johnson's headquarters the reverse is true. Money is an object. Johnson is said to be a man of some means, but he can not keep pace with the others out of his own pocket, and he does not seem to have many friends who can put up much. It is an open secret that he is hamstrung in many ways and in many places because of lack of money. One report from well-informed quarters is that a week ago he had only \$20,000 for his entire campaign east of the Mississippi, and that is not a drop in the bucket.

HEADQUARTERS CONTRASTED.

Apart from the circumstantial reports about Johnson's "poverty," the difference between his situation and Wood's and Hoover's is apparent after visits to their headquarters. Johnson has two or three rooms in the Pennsylvania Hotel, with Angus McSween, long known as a Washington newspaper correspondent of the old "Progressive" mold, doing nearly everything except typing the letters. There are a few stenographers to do that and two or three young men who meet visitors and listen to tales such as one told this afternoon by a preternaturally solemn little bald-headed, skinny man, who opined that Florida would go Republican this fall.

But Wood! He has what appears to be a whole end of the Hotel Imperial, which costs a few dollars, and one fairly stumbles over employees. There are headquarters managers from Norman Gould down; secretaries and persons who

look and act as if they were secretaries to the aforesaid secretaries; stenographers, clerks, messengers, and what not. Old men and young men; women and young women. And this New York office is not all. Gen. Wood has another headquarters in Chicago, located in the Congress Hall Hotel which is said to be on a par with that in the Imperial here, besides headquarters in Washington and other places.

Mr. Hoover's shop, or rather the shop set up by his Republican friends, which he never has visited, covers about the same acreage as Gen. Wood's but the tone is directly the opposite. Instead of the bustle and noise of managing secretaries, secretaries to secretaries, clerks, messengers, et al., getting in each other's way and falling in tangled mass to the floor, as at Wood's, an elegant calm pervades the Hoover establishment. The background is the work of artists in interior decoration and one senses the subtle effect of the background upon those in charge.

WHOLE FLOOR FOR HOOVER.

The scene is a whole floor of the Vanderbilt. At least, it was a whole floor. The story around town to-day is that some of the wealthy Republicans interested in the Hoover National Republican Club, which is the name by which the headquarters go, became disturbed over the outcry about the Wood expenditures, thought their turn might be next, and decided to reduce the area. That as it may, when one enters the Vanderbilt and inquires for the Hoover headquarters, one is directed to go to the first floor, which, in New York hotels, is always some hundreds of feet above ground.

Arrived there, one steps out of the elevator and immediately loses one's assurance. All around are light bronze-colored hangings, with bamboo poles, and big fishing rods, swinging against them. At first glance the provincial mind thinks that the hotel must be making alterations and has put up false canopies, but a second glance shows that it is regular stuff, if queer, and a second thought suggests to the provincial mind that it is queer only because seen for the first time.

Running off in various directions are little passages, with the light bronze-colored stuff and the fishing rods making gently swaying walls. Vistas of luxury appear. After a bit one sees that here and there on the walls with the fishing rods are peacock tails and things that look like pieces of old-fashioned crazy quilts, but, of course, are not any such thing, and one decides that the scheme is Japanesque or Chinesque, or something like that.

WOMAN MEETS VISITORS.

Down at the end of one of the little passages one sees a stoutish young woman at a desk. She must be the floor clerk. And remembering the hauteur of ordinary floor clerks one asks himself just how badly a floor clerk on such a floor could freeze one. Nevertheless the terrifying one is approached with a very polite bow and is asked on what part of the floor will Mr. Hoover's headquarters be found, for one does not know then that the whole floor is headquarters. When one is so informed and is given a most cheerful smile at the same time, when upon one realizes that this stoutish young woman is no floor clerk at all, but a part of the Hoover campaign, and behaving as such.

The information that one gets about the progress of things Hooverish in Republican circles is given in a square space, in which are wondrous deep chandeliers, beautiful lamps, small pieces of statuary that must be good because they are there, and other things accordingly. The conversation naturally is carried on in subdued and dignified tones. However, the conversation does not mean much to one as it should, for one constantly is thinking how in Sam Hill could a Maryland politician ever attend to practical business in a headquarters in which the carpets were so deep that 30 men could creep up without making the least noise; in which there were all kinds of cuddly holes, where suspicious persons could hide, and in which, for all one knew, there might be a listening post behind the hangings and the fishing poles at one's very back.

PUBLICITY COSTLY.

But all of the money does not go into bustle at the Wood headquarters or into art at the Hoover place. A mountainous pile must be going into publicity, not to mention other things. This campaign eclipses all others in the amount of stuff that is being sent to mold the public mind. Scores, probably hundreds,

high-priced newspaper and magazine men being paid bigger salaries than most of them ever got before are employed. So are artists. A perfectly serious report was heard to-day of an effort being made by the Republican national committee to get a list of all those employed by the several headquarters. Exactly what was to be done could not be ascertained, but the information given indicated that they were to be gathered in a sort of convention in Atlantic City, possibly to exchange ideas and to be organized for the general election campaign.

The Hoover people have been sending out reams of stuff to newspapers all over the country. This publicity work is the substance of the fight that Hoover's Republican friends are making to win him the nomination of their party. He is not fighting directly for delegates except in his home State, California, and in a few other places where he has been placed on the ticket by petition of groups of voters.

WOOD CLOSE SECOND.

The Wood people are close seconds, if, indeed, they do not run even with the Hooverites. Their publicity runs from a biography of Gen. Wood down to little circulars and pictures. Much of it has to do with the friendship of the general with Col. Roosevelt. Tacked all about the Wood headquarters are pictures showing Col. Roosevelt and Gen. Wood together in almost everything but sleeping. They are shown eating together, playing together, talking with each other, standing out in front of a tent together, both in uniform, etc. Also there is in the Wood headquarters a changing sign which alternately shows a picture of the colonel and the general, with a legend giving a few noble sentiments expressed by the colonel about the noble traits of the general.

Being poor, the Johnson people can not compete with the Wood and Hoover outfits in this matter of publicity. They must depend upon the spectacular personality of the Senator to get him free publicity as he goes along, which, it may be said, is no mean reliance. Such augmentation of this as there is consists largely in a shiny brown letterhead, with a big picture of Senator Johnson at the top, and just below it, a few noble words spoken about the noble traits of the Senator by Col. Roosevelt, the nobility of the words about the Senator fully equaling the nobility of the colonel's words about the general.

Now, it was said in the beginning that this high cost of nominating a Republican candidate for President was not the least problem of the time, and various phases of the problem were stated. There is the people's question. What does it mean?

Of course, there is great legitimate expense in conducting a presidential campaign, but why and what the purpose? And whence the money? There is the problem of the one or two candidates, chiefly Johnson, who needs money to meet the high cost, and whose friends insist that every time he says a few rough words about some of the financiers one of the other candidates gets another \$100,000. And there is the problem of some other candidates or friends of candidates to keep the public eye off their expenditures, the said problem being regarded as acute, since Senator Borah talked about Gen. Wood's expenses just before the Michigan primary, and that campaign resulted so unexpectedly.

Senator POMERENE. Were you at the Hoover Democratic headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this used entirely as a Republican headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. That was my understanding at the headquarters, that the gentlemen who were interested in financing the organization were Republicans.

Senator REED. There is some reference here to Wood headquarters. Your statement that the article is correct embraces that also?

Mr. OWENS. The article would be my statement entirely.

Senator REED. You were in the Hoover headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, under the heading, "Whole floor for Hoover," I am reading from the article, is the following:

The scene is a whole floor of the Vanderbilt. At least, it was a whole floor

You mean it was a whole floor at the time you saw it?

Mr. OWENS. That was my understanding.

Senator REED. How long before you wrote this article, April 9 were you there?

Mr. OWENS. I think it was either the same day or the day before.

Senator SPENCER. What was the date of that article?

Mr. OWENS. I do not recall now.

Senator REED. April 9. Whom did you see up there?

Mr. OWENS. I saw Mr. Irwin.

Senator REED. Mr. Hoover's manager was here, or one of the men who claimed to be his manager, and testified that they only had a very small headquarters.

Mr. OWENS. Well, I got off the elevator on the first floor and asked where the Hoover headquarters were. I asked a clerk there, and he said, "These are the Hoover headquarters," and as far as I could make out it was the entire floor. That was my understanding. I made some inquiry——

Senator SPENCER. How many rooms did you actually go in?

Mr. OWENS. They did not have it divided into rooms. I have never seen a political headquarters just like that before. They had a decoration scheme. It was not a Hoover decoration scheme, but it was the hotel's scheme, apparently. They had a lot of hanging draperies and passageways. I could not see any real wall partitions. It was a sort of labyrinth of passages.

Senator SPENCER. How far up in the hotel building?

Mr. OWENS. It was the first floor; not the ground floor, but what they call the first floor. It may have been the second or third story above the first floor.

Senator REED. You met Mr. Irwin there?

Mr. OWENS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you remember other people you saw?

Mr. OWENS. No; I went there to see Mr. Irwin. I was interested to know whether Mr. Hoover was coming in in the morning. I saw Mr. Irwin there.

Senator REED. Can you not give us some idea of the probable cost of a floor of the Vanderbilt Hotel?

Mr. OWENS. I have no idea, Senator.

Senator REED. You do not know how long they kept these elaborate headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. No.

Senator REED. Who else did you see there besides Mr. Irwin?

Mr. OWENS. Only a few clerks. I did not talk to anyone else. I inquired for him and talked with him possibly half an hour.

Senator REED. There was not so much activity there as in the Wood headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. No.

Senator REED. In the Wood headquarters, which occupied also a floor, I believe you stated?

Mr. OWEN. No; I did not see them. I said that the acreage, which was the word I used, was about the same?

Senator POMERENE. What did you say, acreage?

Mr. OWENS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. In the Wood headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. I used the term "acreage" more or less lightly. I said possibly there is the same acreage in both headquarters.

Senator REED. There were a great number of clerks and employees around the Wood headquarters?

Mr. OWENS. Yes; clerks, employees, and attachés.

Senator REED. Did it bear a close resemblance to a national headquarters in a national campaign?

Mr. OWENS. I should think so.

Senator EDGE. How many clerks did you see in the Hoover headquarters, the one you speak of?

Mr. OWENS. There were one or two people standing around.

Senator EDGE. Could you be mistaken, having yourself, as I followed your testimony, asked the question in an offhand way, where the headquarters were located, and being told "Here they are," or something of that kind, as to their occupying the entire floor? As I remember the Vanderbilt Hotel, and I have been in it a number of times, the first floor above the office floor is a floor divided into various parlors, etc., for the use of the guests of the hotel. Do you really think that all of those parlors on that public floor were devoted to the Hoover headquarters, if it is the same floor?

Mr. OWENS. It is possible I may have been mistaken. I made some inquiry as to how much space they had there, and I was told——

Senator EDGE. I can not conceive what they could use it for. We all know that the Vanderbilt Hotel is a very large building, and if you go all around that floor, you would have to have a guide to find your way out.

Senator SPENCER. There would be no privacy with other rooms opening out on the reception hall.

Mr. OWENS. I do not know whether I have given an exactly correct impression, Senator. This place that I was in, and I covered some territory in it myself, was a series of waiting rooms and sitting rooms, not really clearly defined rooms, but more a matter of suggestion of rooms by these hangings from the ceiling down, with a long passage here and another one there. I did not pay a great deal of attention to the different rooms.

Senator SPENCER. Were there people busy in the passageways, such as stenographers and clerks?

Mr. OWENS. No. It did not look like any other political headquarters I had ever seen.

Senator SPENCER. When you actually got in the headquarters, or in the rooms, tell us how many rooms you saw occupied by the Hoover headquarters.

Mr. OWENS. I did not see any rooms occupied.

Senator SPENCER. Where did you meet the man you went to see?

Mr. OWENS. I got off the elevator and turned to my right, and saw a young woman sitting at the end of the hall, and I asked her where the Hoover headquarters were, and she said, "Here." I told her I wanted to see Mr. Irwin, and she said, "Go down in the corridor and sit down there, and he will be out of his office in a little while." I walked down this passageway possibly 100 feet, and at the end of the

passageway there was one of these divisions, a sort of sitting room, with a lot of easy chairs, and so on, and I sat there for 10 minutes, and Mr. Irwin came out. I had a talk with him for possibly half an hour or 20 minutes.

Senator REED. Can you give us Mr. Irwin's initials?

Mr. OWENS. No; I do not know his first name.

Senator REED. Is his name Irwin or Irvin?

Mr. OWENS. I think it is Irwin. He was formerly a political reporter on the New York World.

Senator REED. It is not Will Irwin?

Mr. OWENS. No; I do not think so.

Senator REED. Wallace Irwin?

Mr. OWENS. I do not know his first name.

Senator REED. Formerly on the New York World?

Mr. OWENS. I do not know.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES B. REYNOLDS.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the manager of Gov. Coolidge's campaign for the Presidency?

Mr. REYNOLDS. So far as there was a campaign, and so far as he was a candidate, and what there is of it now; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you collected in the way of funds, and what have you expended in that political campaign?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Perhaps just an introductory word, if you will. In December, after Gov. Coolidge was elected by 125,000, reelected in a campaign in which the police strike was the largest issue, the Republican committee of Massachusetts indorsed him for the Republican nomination for President, which was followed by the indorsement of the Republican State committee at that time of Gov. Coolidge for the Presidency.

At the instigation of friends of Gov. Coolidge, and not at his own, and after consultation with his friends in Massachusetts, I was made manager of his campaign, and opened headquarters at Crowell Hotel, and started out on what would have been a campaign of trying to see what could be done in the way of getting delegates for him at the convention.

A little later, along about the 1st of February, he issued a statement in which he said he was not a candidate for the Presidency; that he did not wish any fight to be made for delegates for him in any way, and that he was going to stay at home and be Governor of Massachusetts, and not be a candidate for the Presidency. At his request, the headquarters were given up.

Senator SPENCER. When?

Mr. REYNOLD. About February 9 or 10. It was in February.

After that his friends thought that even though he was not a candidate for the Presidency, that there were certain things that the country ought to know regarding him, and regarding his career, and that the delegates to the convention ought to be acquainted with him, so that in case of a deadlock, so far as the leading candidates were concerned, which they thought probably might be the case, that the convention might have him in mind and turn to him for the

nomination for the Presidency. So his friends devoted some of their time to an educational campaign, which has consisted largely of sending out a large number of copies of a book of his speeches and addresses which were published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., last October, and which contains his speeches, or parts of his speeches in public papers, and addresses. That was sent out to delegates or probable delegates, and also certain articles which have appeared in magazines and newspapers regarding him.

There was a great deal of curiosity over the country in regard to him, and there were a great many human interest stories written about him, and other sketches, which have been utilized for the purpose of making the people of the country, the prominent Republicans of the country, and the probable delegates who would go to the convention, acquainted with his qualities and qualifications for the Presidency.

I say that in order to correct what might be a misconception of his own statement that he was not a candidate.

In regard to finances, there has been collected the sum of \$68,375, of which I have a list.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the contributions over \$100.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I will say that of this \$68,000, \$60,335 came from Massachusetts, \$8,000 coming from outside the State, from close friends of the governor, men who were in Amherst College with Gov. Coolidge. The subscriptions over \$100, are Andrew Adie, of Boston, \$10,000; Frank W. Stearns, \$12,500; Winthrop Coffin, \$500; William F. Whiting, \$10,000; Frank W. Remick, \$2,500; L. M. Hood, \$1,250; F. G. Webster, \$1,250; W. M. Crane, \$5,000; Max Mitchell, \$1,000; John P. Reynolds, \$1,000; Walter Scott, \$500; Max Mitchell, \$5,000; J. C. Bills, jr., \$1,000; A. C. Ratschesky, \$500; William H. Wellington, \$1,000; William A. Paine, \$1,000; E. B. Dane, \$5,000; R. W. Maynard, \$1,000; all from Massachusetts.

The subscriptions from outside of the State are John W. Simpson, \$2,500—

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he from?

Mr. REYNOLDS. New York. These others are all from New York: A. J. McWalters, \$1,000; Niel A. Weathers, \$1,000; Grosvenor H. Backus, \$2,000; E. C. Crossett, \$1,000; Lucius R. Eastman, \$500; total, \$68,375.

(The complete list of contributions is as follows:)

Receipts:

| | |
|--------------------|----------|
| Andrew Adie | \$10,000 |
| F. W. Stearns | 12,500 |
| Winthrop Coffin | 500 |
| Thomas E. Chandler | 25 |
| William F. Whiting | 10,000 |
| Frank W. Remick | 2,500 |
| L. M. Hood | 1,250 |
| F. G. Webster | 1,250 |
| W. M. Crane | 5,000 |
| Max Mitchell | 1,000 |
| John P. Reynolds | 1,000 |
| J. H. Hanaford | 100 |
| Walter Scott | 500 |
| John Rousmaniere | 100 |
| H. I. Harriman | 100 |
| Max Mitchell | 5,000 |

Receipts—Continued.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------|
| J. C. Bills, jr..... | \$1, 000 |
| G. A. Baker..... | 50 |
| A. C. Ratschesky..... | 500 |
| William H. Wellington..... | 1, 000 |
| William A. Paine..... | 1, 000 |
| E. B. Dane..... | 5, 000 |
| R. W. Maynard..... | 1, 000 |
| John W. Simpson..... | 2, 500 |
| A. J. McWalters..... | 1, 000 |
| Niel A. Weathers..... | 1, 000 |
| Grosvenor H. Backus..... | 2, 000 |
| E. C. Crossett..... | 1, 000 |
| Lucius R. Eastman..... | 500 |

Total..... 68, 375

The CHAIRMAN. What have been your expenditures, Mr. Reynolds?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Just about that amount. The greatest item of the expenditures has been to Houghton, Mifflin & Co. for books:

The CHAIRMAN. How much was that?

Mr. REYNOLDS. That would amount to between \$3,000 and \$4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you maintained headquarters?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Headquarters have been maintained in New York where a committee has been sending out literature, and then I have been sending out literature from my office here, and there would be the clerical force, the postage, and things that go with office expenses. There has not been \$1 of that amount sent to any State to any person for any purpose.

Senator POMERENE. When you say your office here do you mean in Washington?

Mr. REYNOLDS. In Washington.

Senator SPENCER. Do the managers of Gov. Coolidge maintain headquarters in the different States?

Mr. REYNOLDS. No.

Senator SPENCER. I have received a copy of that book, which was mailed from New York, but the room number or the office number was that of the headquarters of Gov. Coolidge in St. Louis.

Mr. REYNOLDS. I think the secret of that is that it came from a gentleman named Smith, who is a classmate of Gov. Coolidge, and is active in his candidacy. That is my guess.

Senator SPENCER. That may well be.

Senator REED. You are located here, Mr. Reynolds?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. In what business?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Customs law.

Senator REED. All this money has been simply expended for the purpose of putting Gov. Coolidge's qualifications as a man and a statesman before the people of the country?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Yes, sir; entirely so.

Senator REED. And you relied on publicity?

Mr. REYNOLDS. Publicity entirely. The whole purpose of the movement was educational.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. HARRY COVINGTON.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Judge, Mr. Carlin furnished us a list of the contributors to the Palmer campaign, but could not give us the different connection of the various parties. Have you the list there?

Mr. COVINGTON. I have the list here, Senator; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you check them up?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Just perhaps preliminarily, you are an attorney at law?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. You were formerly a judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia?

Mr. COVINGTON. Formerly chief justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you retire from that position?

Mr. COVINGTON. I retired on the 1st of June, 1918, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You were formerly a Member of Congress?

Mr. COVINGTON. I was formerly a Member of Congress also.

Senator SPENCER. What was your district?

Mr. COVINGTON. The six district of Maryland, Senator Spencer.

Senator EDGE. What is your present connection?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am the senior member of the law firm of Covington & Burling, a firm which has four partners—lawyers.

Senator EDGE. Do you hold any Federal position?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not.

Senator EDGE. Have you held any since you were judge?

Mr. COVINGTON. Absolutely none.

Senator REED. Who are the members of your firm?

Mr. COVINGTON. Edward B. Burling, formerly of Chicago; Spencer Gordon, whom, I presume, is as near a Washingtonian as you can characterize him; and Oscar W. Underwood, jr. There is also associated with my firm Mr. Paul E. Shaw, who is not a member of it but was connected with the firm in an associate capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you turn to your list and enlighten us as to who these various contributors are?

(The list referred to will be found printed in full on page 170 of this record.)

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I should like to state before I start, with respect to the small contributions that have come in from time to time, I do not pretend to be able to identify all of them. They were sent from sources that, as the letters came in at headquarters, seemed to bear the ordinary marks of sincerity. Some of them were sent in directly; and I rather assume that a man who contributed \$50 or \$100 to a presidential campaign would certainly not have any ulterior motive about it. I have undertaken here to identify as best I can all the contributors there of any considerable moment.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the chairman of the Palmer national campaign?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am the treasurer of the Palmer national campaign, and I should say, however, that I have had no actual part in the management of the campaign. I am simply treasurer, and I undertake to see that the disbursements are made properly and that

the receipts correspond with them, and as nearly as possible keep the finances straight. I know nothing except what have been my expenditures at headquarters with the money that has been received by me.

The first name on the list is Michael Bosak, who contributed \$1,500. He is a resident of Scranton, Pa., who is engaged in the banking business, and also a business man generally in Scranton. He wrote a personal letter stating that he was interested in Mr. Palmer's campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a personal friend of Mr. Palmer's?

Mr. COVINGTON. He is a personal friend of Mr. Palmer, so I understand.

The next contributor of any moment is Robert S. Bright. That is only \$200. I happen to know that he is a lawyer in Philadelphia, though he is a personal friend of Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those men you mentioned directors in connection with any of these corporations that were taken over by the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not so far as I know. I would like to state right at the start that I never had any direct connection with the office of the Alien Property Custodian. I noticed the testimony yesterday, and I am quite sure it was inadvertant. I was never on the Alien Property Custodian's staff.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not appear as counsel for them?

Mr. COVINGTON. I was just going to say that after I had retired—and I retired, by the way, to take a rather permanent retainer from some people who felt they wanted my services—Mr. Palmer asked me to become counsel for the group of chemical companies, and I undertook to unravel those chemical companies.

The CHAIRMAN. Those were companies that were being taken over?

Mr. COVINGTON. Those were chemical companies that were seized by the Alien Property Custodian because they were entirely German owned, and they were eventually disposed of. There were three or four of them rather complicated, one of them a very large one, in which incidentally a million dollars, I might say, after I took charge of it, was recovered for the Treasury of the United States, because hitherto they had fraudently concealed their income taxes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your firm connected with that?

Mr. COVINGTON. I had no connection with it whatsoever, and I might say that I was not connected with the staff of the Alien Property Custodian, and can not speak as a finality for what may have been the services of individuals as directors or otherwise in connection with the office, because I merely appeared as the counsel for these companies, and was paid entirely from the corporate funds, and was not on his staff at all, and received no compensation from the Treasury of the United States.

Senator REED. How did you get your compensation?

Mr. COVINGTON. It was paid, Senator, entirely as a matter of corporate expense, while they were a going concern, just as they had paid their counsel prior to the time they were taken over.

Senator EDGE. And charged to the corporate funds?

Mr. COVINGTON. And charged to the corporate funds.

Senator REED. So that, as I understand it, these corporations, being German, were seized?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

Senator REED. Then they were carried on in their corporate form?

Mr. COVINGTON. That is true.

Senator REED. For a period of time until they were finally wound up?

Mr. COVINGTON. Until it was expedient to wind them up and sell them.

Senator REED. After they had been seized, and before they were sold, or up until the time they were sold, you had the business of acting as attorney for the corporations?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

Senator REED. And from the funds of the corporations you received your compensations?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes; just as a counsel for the companies would have done if they had never been taken over. Yes; that is quite true.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had you appointed counsel? Mr. Palmer?

Mr. COVINGTON. Undoubtedly.

The CHAIRMAN. So that for all of these corporations that you represented you secured your employment through Mr. Palmer's influence?

Mr. COVINGTON. Undoubtedly—well, I should not want to put it in exactly that way, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the way it was, was it not?

Mr. COVINGTON. It was in the sense that he asked me to become counsel for these companies, with the approval of the directors, undoubtedly.

Senator REED. The directors did not have much to say after he took hold of them?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I can only speak for the companies that I happened to be acting as counsel for. They had a good deal to say about it, because they were rather large concerns, and they had the management of a very considerable business in each individual case, and, of course, they were charged with the final responsibility for them.

Senator REED. But the corporations had been seized?

Mr. COVINGTON. They had.

Senator REED. And having been seized, the corporation machinery only functioned as it was permitted to function? I am not criticizing anybody but I just want to get the real facts.

Mr. COVINGTON. That is true, and it is not true. They had to function just as they had ordinarily functioned hitherto.

Senator EDGE. But the directors were all new directors, were they not, appointed by the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. They were all new directors appointed by the Alien Property Custodian, except in one sense, Senator, if I may say so, that the directors in the largest company with which I was connected had not been all of them appointed by the Alien Property Custodian. I think that is where the trouble came about, which caused him to request me to go into it. That company had been taken over some months before I had become counsel; in fact, before I had started to practice law, and it seems to me that the organization had

not been going along harmoniously, and the results apparently were not such as they were satisfactory; and there was a subsequent change of directors, he having determined to put in directors selected by him, and to remove the counsel who up to that time had been continuing to act as counsel for the concern.

Senator REED. Which company was that?

Mr. COVINGTON. That was the Bayer Co.

Senator SPENCER. Did you represent anybody in connection with the Alien Property Custodian except this group?

Mr. COVINGTON. Nothing except that group.

Senator SPENCER. How many companies were there in that group?

Mr. COVINGTON. Four of them.

Senator SPENCER. With an aggregate capital stock of how much?

Mr. COVINGTON. Well, the best estimate I think is—they were finally disposed of, I think, for perhaps \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000.

Senator EDGE. Were any of those companies located in New Jersey—those chemical companies?

Mr. COVINGTON. One of them, located at Garfield, N. J., the Hayden Chemical Works.

Senator EDGE. Do you remember the names, offhand, of the directors who were appointed there?

Mr. COVINGTON. The Hayden Chemical Works? It is rather difficult for me now to recall them. It has been a year and a half ago since it was disposed of.

Senator EDGE. I would not attempt to refresh your memory, because I am not sure myself, but I remember that the directors who were appointed for a number of those deceased companies were men that it might be interesting to have in the record.

Mr. COVINGTON. I recall the president of the Hayden Chemical Works. That was a company with a very small directorate. The president of that company, under the Alien Property Custodian, who had charge of it, was Leroy W. Baldwin, who is president of the Empire Trust Co., of New York. I am not sure whether he is a Jersey resident or not. That I do not know.

Senator REED. You spoke a moment ago about one of the companies that had been taken over before you had any connection with it, and had some dispute or other, and had counsel whom you succeeded. I wanted to get the name of the counsel.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not think the dispute would revolve around the counsel particularly, Senator. The counsel for that company was Mr. Hardy, who was in New York.

Senator REED. Mr. Who?

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Charles J. Hardy, but he had been counsel for the German company, and my understanding is that Mr. Palmer felt that a counsel who had been counsel for the former German owners, after the company was entirely taken over, ought to be succeeded by counsel that represented after all——

Senator REED. The Government?

Mr. COVINGTON. Entirely the Government's interests; yes.

Senator EDGE. Robert S. Hudspeth—does that name sound familiar as director of that company?

Mr. COVINGTON. I know Mr. Hudspeth, because he was rather prominent in Democratic politics in New Jersey. He was not a member of any of those companies.

Senator EDGE. Of that particular company?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was not, or of any one that I had anything to do with.

Senator EDGE. Thomas F. Martin?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was not.

Senator EDGE. He was a director in some one of your companies. I am not sure whether it was this company or not.

Mr. COVINGTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How many different companies taken over were you appointed counsel for?

Mr. COVINGTON. There were four in that group, Senator. I was appointed counsel for the——

The CHAIRMAN. The Beyer Co.?

Mr. COVINGTON. The Beyer Co., the Hayden Chemical Works, the Berlin Aniline Works, and the Kalle Color and Chemical Co.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Bosh Magneto Co.?

Mr. COVINGTON. I was never counsel for the Bosh Magneto Co. except that they had a controversy between themselves and the Federal Government in connection with the Splitdorf patent application.

The CHAIRMAN. You got a fee out of them, did you not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I was employed specially to present the matter of some patent application there.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that at Mr. Palmer's suggestion?

Mr. COVINGTON. I really do not know about that. He never said anything to me about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Hudson River Aniline Works?

Mr. COVINGTON. That was a subsidiary of the Bayer Co. which was a mere naked corporate entity, which paid nobody anything at all. It was organized at one time for the purpose, apparently, of the German owners having a subsidiary that they could use in the event they wanted to create a separate dye concern owned entirely by the Bayer Co.

The CHAIRMAN. The Kalle Color & Chemical Co.?

Mr. COVINGTON. That is the same one, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Synthetic Patents Co.?

Mr. COVINGTON. That was a subsidiary of the Bayer Co.

The CHAIRMAN. They have a suit now pending against the Government, is it not, or against the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are attorney for them in that suit?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; I am not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you not attorney of record in that suit?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am an attorney of record, but I am not, in fact, attorney in that case.

The CHAIRMAN. Your firm is attorney. is it not, the firm of Covington & Burling?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; it is not. The firm of O'Brien, Boardman, Apperman & Platt is counsel in that case; and at that time, Senator, there seemed to be no controversy in that matter, in that it involved merely the matter of the recovery of some fraudulently paid taxes. I undertook to appear as attorney of record and later along when that case got to the point when it seemed that there might be some controverted questions as to whether or not, after all, there was an admitted right of recovery, I notified Mr. Parker that

I did no think that, out of an abundance of care on my part, that I ought to appear in the case, although I saw no impropriety in it, and I am not counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. What would have been the impropriety?

Mr. COVINGTON. There would not have been any impropriety. I said, though, that I did not feel that if there were a controverted question respecting the right of the Government—and in one of the earlier talks I had with counsel in the case on behalf of the Government, it seemed that they raised the question as to whether or not the trading with the enemy act provided for claims subsequent to the time when the act itself was passed were claims which they act recognized, and they felt there ought to be a contest of that question—I notified Mr. Parker that if there was the slightest question, if there was any controversy on the part of the Government, that I ought not to appear in the case.

Senator POMERENE. You notified whom?

Mr. COVINGTON. I notified Mr. Parker, Mr. Junius Parker, jr., of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The Adolph case, are you interested in that against the corporation?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir; I am. I never had any connection with it until the time when I instituted against them, and it is in court.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to recover moneys, is it not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Stocks and bonds?

Senator REED. How much is involved?

Mr. COVINGTON. A large amount is involved.

The CHAIRMAN. It is all in the nature of bonds and stocks, is it not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know the precise nature of the property, but that is in litigation in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

Senator REED. Approximately what is involved, in amount?

Mr. COVINGTON. There is about a million and a half dollars in amount. The case has been argued and submitted, and was most vigorously contested on the part of the Government. It involved a technical question, Senator Reed, that is whether a man living in the United States, who was a resident of the United States, but who had never been naturalized, although he lived here for about 40 years, when taken up under the interment statute following the presidential proclamation, with which you are quite familiar, had by reason of his interment and subsequent discharge prior to the end of the war, had effectively cast upon him a permanent enemy status. This man is a resident of the United States, has lived here for 30 or 40 years. He happened to be a very wealthy man, and without having done anything, as I think, although, if I may say it, the Government seems to be fighting it very vigorously, and did not seem to get very far with it, they held to the view that, having once been sent to Fort Oglethorp, and once having been imprisoned, he has had a permanent enemy status cast upon him, and there is not any way for him to get his money back until the Congress of the United States chooses to act. I differed with them very widely about the law, but they seem to take a contrary view about it. The result there is that the case has been argued, and briefs have been submitted before Justice Bailey

of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and I am waiting the decision, hopefully, but I do not know whether that is the fact or not.

Senator REED. At least prayerfully?

Mr. COVINGTON. At least prayerfully, that is true. However, they are contesting it very bitterly, and notified me that they were going to take it to the court of appeals of the District of Columbia, in the event that the Supreme Court of the District decided against them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the case?

Mr. COVINGTON. I did not have the slightest thing to do with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with it?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not in the slightest degree.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kerlin represented the plaintiff, did he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead. I think before we go into that, let us ask you this, and make it clear as we can. Were you associated at all with the Government in any matters under the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. No, sir. I was not. Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You never received any fees from the Government?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not a dollar.

I do not know where we were.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you were at about the second name.

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes. I think I had mentioned Michael Bosak and Robert S. Bright.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Bosak?

Mr. COVINGTON. I stated who he was. He is a business man in Scranton, Pa.

The next contribution of any considerable moment is my own. I have given \$2,000 to Mr. Palmer's campaign fund. I should have given it just as readily if I had never been connected with him in the capacity of Alien Property Custodian. Mr. Palmer and myself are friends of 25 years. I can afford to give—and I say that in all modesty—that much to a campaign. I have been able to do it before, and his acquaintance and mine is practically a lifelong one. He married a childhood friend of mine.

The CHAIRMAN. The business of representing these companies taken over is really a pretty profitable business, is it not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, it was not profitable to me, if I may say so, in all modesty. I do not mean that the fees were not adequate and fairly liberal. They were no more profitable than I would have been able to have received. I would have had other fees of the same amount, I feel bound to say. I had already retired from the bench at a retainer, as a principal retainer, which was very liberal—several times that of my salary as a Federal judge. I am quite convinced that had I gone on and performed other services I should have been able to earn the same amount. My professional income has not shrunk since the time I ceased. I did not wish to advert to that, because, after all, it is a delicate matter for a lawyer to seem fulsome about himself.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not unusual, though, is it?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; but not so unusual as it might be with all hands of us, as I think.

The next one is Mr. Frank L. Crocker. He is a lawyer, and a man of large means in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Crocker is a lawyer, and a man, I understand, of a good deal of means.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he been counsel in any of these cases where the Government has taken over alien property?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I think he has.

The CHAIRMAN. Three of them, has he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what fees he got?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am not prepared to say how many.

The CHAIRMAN. And he secured his position through the influence of Mr. Palmer, did he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I should say not: no.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did these concerns that were taken over have anything to do with selecting counsel?

Mr. COVINGTON. You did not hear me through with that. I should doubt if Mr. Palmer had anything to do with Mr. Crocker's selection.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Garvin?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes: I was going to say that Mr. Crocker is a long-time friend of Mr. Garvin, as I understand it, and has been associated with him in New York a good many years; moves rather, I think, in the same professional circles over there, and, without knowing anything in the world about it, my assumption would be that Mr. Garvin recommended Mr. Crocker to Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the amount of fees Mr. Crocker received from these companies?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am not able to state.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his contribution?

Mr. COVINGTON. His contribution was \$2,500. My understanding is that Mr. Crocker is a man of independent means, too.

The next one is John F. Crosby, of Hartford, Conn. He is a lawyer, located in Hartford.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is district attorney, is he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not to my knowledge. I do not pretend to say whether he is or not.

The CHAIRMAN. He was formerly district attorney at Hartford, or do you know?

Mr. COVINGTON. I have not the slightest idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mr. Crosby is district attorney or not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Was it Spellacy?

The CHAIRMAN. Spellacy was, but Spellacy has resigned.

Mr. COVINGTON. Spellacy is now Assistant Attorney General, as I understand it. I think Mr. Spellacy was in Europe with the American commission at the peace conference, as far as I know. I am quite sure he was.

The CHAIRMAN. Spellacy was district attorney at Hartford, was he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I think so; but really I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not this man succeed him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I say, I candidly do not know. He may be; I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You are treasurer of this fund, and we thought you could tell us about these different men.

Mr. COVINGTON. I am telling you to that extent.

The CHAIRMAN. But your judgment is that he is?

Mr. COVINGTON. No. I say he is a lawyer. I do not know. If you say he is, and that is your information, I have no doubt that he is.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not say so, but I understand he is.

Mr. COVINGTON. I understood that Mr. Crosby was a reputable lawyer in Hartford.

Senator EDGE. Did he serve as counsel for any property under the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not so far as I know. I want to be perfectly candid with the committee. So far as I find on this list there seem to be nine men whom I can identify as having had at one time any sort of connection, direct or indirect, with the Alien Property Custodian. I will try to indicate them as I come to them.

Senator REED. We know you are going to be perfectly frank.

Mr. COVINGTON. Of course, Senator, that is a surplusage statement, surely.

Senator REED. Who is the next one?

Mr. COVINGTON. The next one is Mr. Walter D. Denegre, who lives in Washington. He has a summer home, I think, at Magnolia, Mass. Mr. Denegre is a man of very large means who, I understand, was a volunteer with the Alien Property Custodian, in charge, I think, of Philippine matters. He is a New Orleans man who, I think, speaks Spanish and French, perhaps.

The CHAIRMAN. Insular affairs?

Mr. COVINGTON. Insular affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. How much is his contribution?

Mr. COVINGTON. Five hundred dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he connected with the Government? He has something to do with the Alien Property Custodian, in charge of insular affairs; has he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. He may be there still, for all I know, Senator. I stated that was his position.

The CHAIRMAN. During the war?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes; during the war.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he been director of any of these concerns that have been taken over?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not to my knowledge.

The next one is Mr. William C. Devitt, of Ashland, Pa. He is a lawyer; quite a successful lawyer. He contributed \$1,000. He is an old friend of Mr. Palmer's, but has had no connection, so far as I know, with anything at all in the way of Mr. Palmer's official activities.

The next man is Mr. Frank J. Farrell, of New York City. He is a real-estate dealer who was interested in Mr. Palmer's campaign. He has had, so far as I know, no connection with Mr. Palmer's official activities.

The next man, who has had no connection with Mr. Palmer, is Mr. William G. Fitzpatrick, of Detroit, Mich. He is a lawyer that I understand was at one time on the staff of the Alien Property Custodian, and he gave \$250.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he ever counsel for any of the companies taken over?

Mr. COVINGTON. I think he was counsel for one or two companies.

The CHAIRMAN. He was at one time connected with his staff?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was at one time connected with his staff here; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Before or after or during the time he was in that position?

Mr. COVINGTON. I think, before. I do not know whether Mr. Fitzpatrick was a paid official of the Government or not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. But you know that he was working here with the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was at one time, undoubtedly.

The CHAIRMAN. After that he was counsel for some of these companies taken over?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. William H. Folwell is a business man of New York City. He gave \$500. He has had no connection at all with Mr. Palmer, as far as I know, in any capacity.

The next one is Mr. Francis P. Garvan, who is now, as you know, Alien Property Custodian, and is also, I think, Assistant Attorney General, although I do not believe he has ever been confirmed, is that the fact?

Senator POMERENE. Who is that?

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Garvan. At any rate, he is at the present time Alien Property Custodian. It does not need any comment from me to indicate who Mr. Garvan is.

Senator REED. How much does he give? What was his contribution?

Mr. COVINGTON. \$1,000.

The next man on the list is Mr. Joseph F. Guffey, of Pittsburgh, \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see who he is. Is he a national committeeman?

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Guffey?

The CHAIRMAN. A national committeeman of Pennsylvania?

Mr. COVINGTON. He has just been elected, I understand, national committeeman from Pennsylvania; yes, sir. He is a longtime friend of Mr. Palmer. I understand he is a very wealthy man.

The CHAIRMAN. He gave how much?

Mr. COVINGTON. He gave \$10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. He was connected with the Alien Property Custodian, was he not, as Director of Sales?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir. I understand Mr. Guffey received no compensation from the Government.

Did he receive no compensation?

Mr. COVINGTON. That gets into the domain of oil activities that I am not able to tell you about. He is president, though, of the Atlantic & Gulf Oil Corporation, which is, in turn, a subsidiary of the Atlantic, Gulf & West Indies, which is one of the considerable oil interests of the United States, and he has rather figured in the oil world; that is quite true.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you not get him to give any more than \$10,000?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I do not know about how much more he is willing to give.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you solicit it?

Mr. COVINGTON. I did not; not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how he happened to contribute?

Mr. COVINGTON. Well, I have no idea that there is anything else in that except that Mr. Guffey is one of the principal persons interested in seeing Mr. Palmer nominated for the Presidency. I think he has been his friend since they embarked in Pennsylvania politics together; and my understanding was that he was a willing, a very willing, contributor. I never wrote him for a cent.

Senator EDGE. We were told of a contribution of \$500,000 yesterday from another man very much interested, and I thought you might be able to raise the limit.

Mr. COVINGTON. Well, our limit is not such a big one up to this time, Senator Edge. The best information I have about that is that every two or three days the bookkeepers over at the office call me up over the telephone and tell me that they wonder whether I have received any more checks; that the ordinary receipts and expenses over there are pretty high.

Senator EDGE. A presidential campaign is expensive, is it not, if you educate the public in regard to the qualities of a candidate?

Mr. COVINGTON. It certainly seems to be. There is no getting away from that—more than it ought to be.

Senator REED. And the less known a man is, the less popular following he has, the more money it takes?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, there is no question about that; yes.

Senator POMERENE. And the less qualified he is the more money it takes to make the people believe he is qualified?

Mr. COVINGTON. There is no doubt about that, that we have developed the idea of publicity for the purpose of creating the notion of people's capacity to a very extensive degree. The best evidence of that is that apparently about one-third of the \$39,000 that has gone through my hands thus far has gone by the single item of publicity account.

The next man is Horace E. Jones, of New York City. He gave \$500. He is a manufacturer in New York, and has a plant up the Hudson somewhere. He is not connected with Mr. Palmer directly or indirectly, and has not been.

The next man is Mr. Robert Law, jr., of New York City. He is engaged in mining and oil enterprises. He was formerly of Pittsburgh, and knows Mr. Palmer, and now lives in New York, and has given \$1,000.

The next man who has had any connection with the Alien Property Custodian's office, so far as I know, is Mr. Fred B. Lynch, of New York City, who gave \$250. Mr. Lynch is a Minnesota resident, and

I think is yet. He is a man, I understand, of some independent means. He is president of the Ocean Transport Co. in New York at the present time, and I think he is still Democratic national committeeman from Minnesota. He has contributed \$250.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his connection with the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was president of the Bayer Co., the same company that I was principal counsel for.

The CHAIRMAN. He is vice president of the American Trans-Atlantic Line taken over by Palmer, was he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know much about the way in which that steamship combination was worked out.

Senator EDGE. He was made president of the Bayer Co. after it was taken over?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was.

Senator EDGE. He was not president of it before, was he, as I understand it?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; he was not.

Senator EDGE. He was made president of it by Mr. Palmer?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was made president of the Bayer Co. at the time it was taken over by the Alien Property Custodian.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what salary he received as president of the Bayer Co.?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what he received as vice president of the American Trans-Atlantic Line?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not. I think, if I recollect, that Mr. Lynch was in the steamship business in connection with that company before the time that it passed into the hands of the Alien Property Custodian. I would not want to be positive about this statement, because my recollection about this is entirely outside of the work of Mr. Palmer. Mr. Stevens, of Minnesota, who is an old Congressman and a friend of mine, used to talk with me about the situation of those ships that were commonly known as the Wagner ships, and which apparently figured in a good deal of controversy respecting the authority of the seizure, as revolving around the question whether or not they were in reality ships that had been bought with German money, which was money of the Imperial German Government, but I do not know anything in detail about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he was Democratic national committeeman from Minnesota?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was, Senator, but I do not know whether is now or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he at the time he became President of the Bayer Co.?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I think he was.

Senator REED. He has been for a number of years the committeeman from St. Louis?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not St. Louis, from Minnesota, I said.

Senator REED. Minnesota; yes. I know that to be the fact. I do not know whether he has gone out of that position, but he held it for many years.

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator Reed, my best recollection is that he is still.

Senator REED. I think he is, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me read you something from an article in the New York American of this morning.

Senator EDGE. I do not assume that would disqualify him at all, Senator Reed?

Senator REED. I know. I thought there was some doubt in the gentleman's mind, and I thought I could set it at rest.

Mr. COVINGTON. I think he still is.

Senator REED. I know Mr. Lynch was for many years national committeeman of the Democratic Party from the State of Minnesota, and I think he still holds that position.

Mr. COVINGTON. I recall that he was back as far as 1912, as far back as the Baltimore Convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you counting on Mr. Lynch as a Palmer supporter?

Mr. COVINGTON. I should assume that if Mr. Lynch has made a contribution to Mr. Palmer's campaign, as a gentleman of integrity, he is supposed to be for Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about a meeting at Atlantic City that the New York American writes of this morning, claiming—I do not know whether it is the fact—we are going to find out whether it is true or not—that Mr. Marsh, of Iowa; Mr. Mack, of New York; Mr. Lynch, of Minnesota; and Mr. Howell, of Georgia, tried to talk with Mr. Barney Baruch about turning over the whole affair to McAdoo?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not at that meeting?

Mr. COVINGTON. I certainly was not.

Senator REED. You do not know anything about it?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; I do not.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Baruch did not know anything about it, did he?

Mr. COVINGTON. My connection with Mr. Palmer's campaign has been entirely that of taking charge of the orderly conduct of the finances that have passed our hands in Washington. I have heard nothing at all of anything of that sort. I notice Mr. Baruch's statement that there was no McAdoo campaign on.

Senator EDGE. What do you think about that? It is not really within the scope of our inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had a hard time finding out.

Senator EDGE. What would be your personal judgment as to that? We are really somewhat at a loss to know how to look at him.

Mr. COVINGTON. Speaking seriously, Senator, he has not done anything about a campaign in any of the States. I do not know what the movements have been in the States. I do know this, that having a sort of general position in Maryland politics for perhaps the last 15 or 20 years, and being recognized as a Palmer man——

Senator EDGE. I will agree to that.

Mr. COVINGTON. You realize that I rather thought that I would like to go to the Democratic national convention, but I found a peculiar combination over there that I realized was not really the sort that I could make any considerable dent upon, and rather realized that because I was for Mr. Palmer, that it was not expedient for me to go, and the upshot of it was that I did not go.

Senator REED. What is this combination that you could not make a dent in?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, the general impression is that it appeared that the general talk around was that the majority of the delegates were to be for Mr. McAdoo, pretty much confined to the sources in Maryland politics that are potential.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the leaders?

Mr. COVINGTON. The governor, Senator Smith, and the State leaders in Baltimore. I only know in a general way. I only know that in a general way I suggested that I would like to go to the convention. I made no determined effort about the matter. There was no secrecy about the matter, apparently, from what they said. The newspapers gave a statement out that under ordinary circumstances it would be quite appropriate for me to go to the convention, but it was understood that I was for Mr. Palmer, and it was not deemed proper that I should go on an uninstructed delegation, which rather seemed a novel situation to meet.

Senator EDGE. Somebody suggested yesterday that it seemed to be a pretty well organized campaign for the candidacy, for which we can not find any one responsible.

Senator SPENCER. Does that strike you as having a good deal of merit?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator Spencer, there is apparently a great deal of newspaper discussion about Mr. McAdoo's candidacy. I only have to repeat what I have already said, that I did not get to the convention from Maryland, being a man who frankly said that if he went there, he would vote for Mr. Palmer.

Senator EDGE. I guess the committee will have to admit that it is one of those spontaneous uprisings we have been looking for.

Senator POMERENE. A man sometimes falls from the heavens.

Senator SPENCER. Is Mr. F. B. Lynch that you speak of the man in a steamship company line now in connection with the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not that I know of.

Senator SPENCER. Is he connected with any?

Mr. COVINGTON. He is connected with what is called the Ocean Transport Co.

Senator SPENCER. He is identified—

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know whether he is or not. I said he was at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me read this article that may throw some light upon it.

Mr. COVINGTON. You mean this gathering at Atlantic City?

The CHAIRMAN. No; this gathering mentioned in the New York American this morning. Some people object to reading this paper, but we will read it.

Senator REED. A good many people read it.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The contribution of \$250 from Fred B. Lynch, national committeeman from Minnesota, comment. He was supposed to have been more generous. Palmer continued Lynch as vice president of the American Trans-Atlantic Line, also taken over by Palmer after it was discovered that money for their purchase had been supplied by Hugo Stinness, a millionaire of Mulheim, Germany, to R. G. Wagner, and associates in Milwaukee. The list included a Mr. Herzog—

Is he on there?

Mr. COVINGTON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (continues reading):

who, with Wagner, acted as a "dummy stockholder" for the American Trans-Atlantic line. Lynch was an intimate friend of Wagner and Herzog.

Though installed by his business associates as a director, Lynch was continued in that position. He still is director in the concern, now run by the present alien property custodian.

Do you know whether that is true or not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I do not know. I assume it is, if that statement is made there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you assume every statement in a newspaper is true?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; but I assume that statement——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the facts?

Mr. COVINGTON. If I knew the facts, I would state them. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know enough about the facts to say whether or not that statement is true?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you can not say?

Mr. COVINGTON. No.

Senator SPENCER. You never had any connection with it?

Mr. COVINGTON. I never had the slightest connection. I only know that Mr. Lynch is the president of a steamship company in New York, which I thought was the Ocean Transport Co., but which Senator Kenyon reads in a different way. It was taken over by the Alien Property Custodian. I do not know whether it had been sold, or whether it had not been sold, or what his present connection with it is.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know what his salary was?

Mr. COVINGTON. No.

Senator SPENCER. I understood it was \$8,000 a year.

Mr. COVINGTON. I never was connected directly with the office of the Alien Property Custodian. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. Well, you may go ahead.

Mr. COVINGTON. The next man is Rembrandt Peale, of Clearfield, Pa. Mr. Peale contributed \$1,000. He is a coal operator in Pennsylvania, and a Democrat, a rather unusual thing for a gentleman in the coal fields, and was suggested, I understand, as one of the arbitrators in the matter of the coal controversy between the operators and the miners at the time of their differences last winter.

Senator REED. What companies is he connected with?

Mr. COVINGTON. I really do not know.

Senator REED. Is he in the anthracite or bituminous business?

Mr. COVINGTON. I assume bituminous, from the section of the State he is in, Clearfield.

I passed one man that I have down here, Mr. Gilbert S. McClintock, who is a lawyer at Wilkes-Barre, Pa. I understand he is a lawyer with quite a large practice, and was at one time connected with the Alien Property Custodian's office; I think, on his staff. I do not know anything more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he counsel for any of these companies?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not so far as I know. I understand he was on the staff of the Alien Property Custodian.

Senator REED. What was his business on the staff?

Mr. COVINGTON. They had a regular staff, Senator, of considerable proportions, engaged in the organized work of managing these immense properties, who were employees of the Government of the United States—that is, employees of the Alien Property Custodian's office, as such, and they were there every day. They performed the regular work at the Alien Property Custodian's office.

Senator REED. They were a part of the office force?

Mr. COVINGTON. They were a part of the office force, and I understand from those people that he went in simply as anyone would go in, to take charge of a company.

Senator REED. I wanted to understand.

Mr. COVINGTON. That is the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. They had a very large force of lawyers, did they not.

Mr. COVINGTON. I think they must have had 50 or 60 lawyers up there—more than that—in one division or another. I know they have a large building up at Sixteenth and P Streets, which is a six-story building, and it has always seemed to be very full of clerks and special assistants of various sorts.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much Congress appropriated to carry on that work?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know, Senator.

The next man is John A. Manget of Atlanta, Ga., \$2,500. Mr. Manget is a banker in Georgia. So far as I know, he never had the slightest connection with the Alien Property Custodian, or with Mr. Palmer in any capacity. He is a man, I am informed, of quite large means down there, and was recently active in Mr. Palmer's campaign in Georgia. He sent this contribution up here.

The next one of any considerable proportion is Robert T. Scott, of Washington, D. C., \$500. Mr. Scott is Mr. Palmer's private secretary as Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. He got that yesterday?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The next one is Mr. Joe Silverstein, of Brevard, N. C., Mr. Silverstein wrote me a letter. He was a resident, I think he said, of the county in Pennsylvania that Mr. Palmer was from, and would like to make a reasonable contribution to his campaign fund. I recall writing a letter to him, and he sent a check for \$300.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not a director in any of these companies?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not that I know of, none of them.

Senator EDGE. Did you read the name of Frank L. Crocker?

Mr. COVINGTON. A long time ago.

Senator EDGE. Is he the same Frank L. Crocker, of New York City, a director in the American Storage Co.

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Crocker is connected with quite a number of activities.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the witness said that Mr. Crocker was connected with three of these companies that were taken over.

Mr. COVINGTON. I did not limit to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not limit it to that?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; I do not know.

Senator EDGE. Was he a director of the Bayer Co., and counsel also?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What fees did these directors receive that were put in there by the Attorney General?

Mr. COVINGTON. I can only speak of the companies I was connected with. In the Bayer & Heyden Chemical Works they received \$50 for each meeting. They had a meeting, I think, about once a month, or something of that sort, a very modest compensation in the aggregate for the volume of service that was performed, when they were volunteers and were going on to attend those meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Who fixed the compensation of the lawyers?

Mr. COVINGTON. They were fixed by the directors and by the Alien Property Custodian, together.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the fee a lawyer would receive, which was put in by the Attorney General, would be determined somewhat by the Attorney General or the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was Alien Property Custodian; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he was the Alien Property Custodian.

Mr. COVINGTON. Undoubtedly.

Senator EDGE. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. COVINGTON. But, in my opinion, at least, Senator, with the approval of the directors, the fees they fixed, in consonance, with the services they performed, were proper.

Senator EDGE. It is reported on page 17 of the report of the administration of the Alien Property Custodian that for the entire legal services to the Bayer Co., the Synthetic Patents Co., and the William & Crow Color Co., Judge Covington received a fee of \$15,000, and Frank L. Crocker received a fee of \$10,000.

Mr. COVINGTON. That is correct in that case. I might say right here that that is the company in which a million dollars was recovered for the Treasury in a very skillful method of concealing earnings paid in. The result of which was that remittances were made to the German owners in forms which covered up the accrual of patents and patent royalties in the United States, and those sums were sent out of the country without deduction.

The CHAIRMAN. These patents were all taken over, were they not, by Mr. Garvin and used to form a new company?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not in the Bayer Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they not in most of these companies?

Mr. COVINGTON. I think they were.

The CHAIRMAN. You formed a new company known as what?

Mr. COVINGTON. The Chemical Foundation?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chemical Foundation.

Mr. COVINGTON. I had nothing to do with the organization of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did those patents cost this company anything?

Mr. COVINGTON. Which company?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chemical Co.

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I do not know. I was not connected with the organization of that company, and never knew it was in existence until after it was organized.

Senator REED. Did not the patents of the companies you represented, or some of the companies you represented, go to this Chemical Foundation?

Mr. COVINGTON. No, sir.

Senator REED. Where are those patents?

Mr. COVINGTON. The patents that belonged to the Bayer Co., Senator Reed, were sold to the Synthetic Patents Co., which was a subsidiary of the Bayer Co., and went to make up a part of the property we sold in the comprehensive plan that was worked out for the sale.

Senator REED. Who were they sold to?

Mr. COVINGTON. They were sold to the Sterling Processes Co. of West Virginia, a corporation which bought the entire Bayer Co., and which, in turn, sold afterwards on its own account the heavy chemical branch of its business, as it was called, to a Cleveland, Ohio, corporation, the Graselli Chemical Co.

Senator EDGE. I see a list of the directors of the Bayer Co. here, among which is the name of M. H. Glynn, of Albany. Is that former Gov. Martin Glynn?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Nicholas F. Brady, of New York City.

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Brady is a banker of New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. What relation is he to Mr. Garvin?

Mr. COVINGTON. Brother-in-law.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Brady's business in New York City?

Mr. COVINGTON. I guess he had a variety of businesses. I never knew him until I got to meet him at directors' meetings. I understand he is connected with traction interests and banking interests.

Senator EDGE. Mr. E. J. Lynett, of the Scranton Times, Scranton, Pa., was a director. This is quite an interesting book.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through with the list?

Mr. COVINGTON. That is all of the contributions of sufficient size to be mentioned.

Senator POMERENE. You say you and the Attorney General have been intimate personal friends for a period probably of 25 years?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir; very close friends.

Senator POMERENE. And you served in Congress together?

Mr. COVINGTON. We did.

Senator POMERENE. And is your interest in the Attorney General's campaign in any way influenced by the fact that you had these professional relations with these companies?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, it would not make any difference who were the candidates for President of the United States, so far as the Democratic nomination is concerned, if I had never heard of those relationship or if there had never been a war with Europe, I should be for A. Mitchell Palmer for President of the United States unequivocally.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, your having received that employment, and your having received this compensation, has not influenced your relations in the Palmer campaign?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not in the slightest degree.

Senator POMERENE. Let me put another question to you. From your knowledge of the Attorney General, do you believe that he was influenced in suggesting your name for this position in anticipation of future political favors to be received from you?

Mr. COVINGTON. I have not the slightest idea that he was; not the slightest idea. All of our relations have been of the most intimate sort, Senator, and away back before either one of us dreamed of coming to Congress—and we came here on the same day, it so happens, by the way—and he married the girl who, as I say, was my childhood friend, by the way of different politics from me. The only time that it ever was my bad fortune to be defeated in politics, notwithstanding the closeness of our families, Mrs. Palmer's father-in-law was a candidate for State Senator in my own county, which was a senatorial district in Maryland, and defeated me twenty years ago for the first political office I ever ran for, but we were intimate, and had been from the day of his marriage to the girl who was then Bertie Dixon, and over beyond any consideration, with my knowledge of his capacity, I should be for him if there were a dozen other men in the field and it would be wholly regardless of his views upon the particular questions that are now at issue. I should be for him if he were against the administration, if you please. I mean by that that my position is that it is not the fact that he is identified with the administration that makes me for him. I should be for him regardless of where he stood on these pressing questions.

Senator EDGE. I am sure you do not have to go into that description, as far as any member of the committee is concerned.

Mr. COVINGTON. I believe you know that, Senator Edge.

Senator EDGE. I am sure of it, but we are here as a committee to consider any relationship between a candidate for President and his public associates in a way, or the contributors to his campaign, or his public acts, if he has occupied or held a public position, and of course that makes it seem that these questions may be somewhat personal.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not object to them. I was only answering Senator Pomerene's question.

Senator POMERENE. Let us be perfectly frank about this. I am not finding fault with these questions, which are being asked, but I do not want to leave a wrong impression here, and while it is perfectly proper to ask you questions, it is not improper to ask questions which may look toward the good character of the Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as I am concerned, I do not care who it hits, whether he is a Democrat or a Republican. We are going to find out all we can in this investigation. We have followed that with Republicans here and there is not any use getting excited.

Senator POMERENE. There is no objection at all; but I simply want the other side to be fairly presented so as to have a complete record.

Senator EDGE. Following my inquiry, in just running over this report for the first time—I have never seen a copy of it before—I just happened to turn to the page that presents the record of the New Brunswick Chemical Co., of New Brunswick, N. J., where it states that the directors appointed to represent the Alien Property Custodian stock were, first, William E. Tuttle, jr., of Westfield, N. J., formerly a Member of Congress; second, Edward Grosscup, State House, Trenton, N. J., formerly State treasurer of New Jersey; elected attorney and counsel, Hon. James F. Fielder, former Democratic governor of New Jersey—

The CHAIRMAN. Are those all Democrats?

Senator EDGE. They are, apparently. They are the only names there.

The CHAIRMAN. How does that happen, that they found so much better Democrats to be directors of these companies taken over by the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. I have no knowledge why the Attorney General, as Alien Property Custodian, made the selection. I am one of those who believe that in either party, as men go, he would find perfectly honest men.

Senator REED. You recognize, Judge, that the Democrats have always been in favor of economy in administration?

Mr. COVINGTON. I quite agree.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why they are all appointed to run these concerns that the Alien Property Custodian took over?

Senator REED. Simply in a proper, economical way.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, if there had been a Republican Attorney General he would have appointed all Democrats; he would have never thought of appointing the Republicans; and I hear that Gov. Edge, in New Jersey, always appointed Democrats to official positions.

Senator EDGE. I appointed a great many; yes, sir. I am glad you brought attention to that fact. To the highest office I had there, the chancellor of the State of New Jersey, I appointed a well-known Democrat.

Mr. COVINGTON. Who was that, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go on and get through this book, that seems to have aroused a little feeling, and pursue it a little further.

Senator EDGE. This is a little interesting.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is the Alsen American Portland Cement Co., New York, that was taken over. Are you familiar with that?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, perhaps I could shorten your examination——

The CHAIRMAN. We are in no hurry.

Mr. COVINGTON. I want to say this: I know you are in no hurry. I am not familiar with any of the circumstances of the companies as they were taken over, because I was not connected with any of them. I did not leave the bench until the 1st of June. These properties were all taken over months before, and it was only some little time after that that I became connected with the group of companies that I have mentioned, so that I do not know anything about the circumstances of the original selection.

The CHAIRMAN. You may know about some of these gentlemen who were directors?

Mr. COVINGTON. If you will call off the names, if I can enlighten you I shall be glad to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, connected with that concern, there appears the name of Mr. Crocker. Is he the gentleman you referred to?

Mr. COVINGTON. Is the name Frank L.?

The CHAIRMAN. It just says Mr. Crocker.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. Frank Crocker, 5 Nassau Street, New York City.

Mr. COVINGTON. That is the same man, then.

The CHAIRMAN. Alpha Omega Publishing Co.—Ralph J. Baker—do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. Ralph Baker? Yes; I know who he is.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. COVINGTON. He is a lawyer at Harrisburg, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a New York corporation, is it not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a politician, a Democratic politician?

Mr. COVINGTON. I have not the slightest idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is Joseph H. Choate. He seems to be a Republican, is he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Joseph H. Choate—I assume that is the same Joseph H. Choate who is the son of the former ambassador.

The CHAIRMAN. William R. Barbour—do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the American Industrial Gas Co.? Here is Frank L. Crocker again. That is the same one?

Mr. COVINGTON. I assume that is the same. Wherever you find Frank L. Crocker's name, I assume that is the same one.

The CHAIRMAN. American Junkers Co., which is given on page 5. Ramsay Houget—do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes; I know who he is.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. COVINGTON. He is a patent lawyer in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a patent concern?

Mr. COVINGTON. Was it?

The CHAIRMAN. Is he connected, or has he been, with Mr. Palmer in any way?

Mr. COVINGTON. Houget, was, I think a patent advisor to the Alien Property Custodian.

The CHAIRMAN. A patent advisor?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a leading Democrat, was he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I have not the slightest idea.

The CHAIRMAN. M. F. Millikan, 30 Church Street, New York City. He was elected attorney and counsel.

Mr. COVINGTON. I never heard of him.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard of him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I never heard of him.

The CHAIRMAN. American La Dentelle (Inc.), Henry W. Gregory, South Norwalk, Conn. Do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He seems to have been appointed. American Lava Co.; John J. Fitzgerald, elected attorney and counsel. Do you know who he is?

Mr. COVINGTON. Oh, yes; he is the former chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a prominent Democrat of New York?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not think it requires my declaration to establish that fact, Senator Kenyon.

The CHAIRMAN. His compensation was \$500 per month.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know what it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any contribution there from Mr. Fitzgerald to the Palmer campaign?

Mr. COVINGTON. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. American Transatlantic Co. Henry L. Doherty. Directors appointed to represent the Alien Property Custodian stock. Henry L. Doherty, 60 Wall Street. Do you know who he is?

Mr. COVINGTON. I happen to know who Mr. Doherty is.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Doherty is the head of the Civic Service Co. and is a very considerable factor in financial Wall Street. I think he is a rather prominent Republican. The most recent thing I know about Mr. Doherty is that he figured in the Wall Street trouble they had in the street car situation out in Toledo.

The CHAIRMAN. A Republican with an office in Wall Street?

Senator EDGE. Is he an oil man?

Mr. COVINGTON. I expect there are a few of them down there.

Senator POMERENE. He is largely interested in electric lighting companies and street railway companies?

Mr. COVINGTON. The Civic Service Co. is a holding company for a great group of electric lighting and railway companies.

The CHAIRMAN. Henry Thompson. Do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Fred B. Lynch. Is that the national committee-man?

Mr. COVINGTON. I assume that is the man.

The CHAIRMAN. He seems to be a director there. John Quinn, do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I know Mr. Quinn; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. Quinn is a lawyer in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a friend of Mr. Palmer?

Mr. COVINGTON. I have not the slightest doubt of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate to the national convention, do you know?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know that; no. I know he is a very well-known Democrat in New York. I have known John Quinn for quite a long while. I did not know he was a director in any company.

The CHAIRMAN. William M. Coleman, 60 Broadway, New York, elected attorney and counsel; do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I never heard of him.

The CHAIRMAN. American Pyrophor Co. Mr. Crocker seems to appear again as director for the Alien Property Custodian, and also as counsel, and was paid a fee of \$1,500.

Ariowitsch & Co., Inc.

Mr. COVINGTON. I never heard of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Attorney and counsel, Mr. John J. Fitzgerald, 111 Broadway.

Mr. COVINGTON. That is the same Mr. Fitzgerald.

The CHAIRMAN. No compensation?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Paid to date?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know anything about his compensation.

The CHAIRMAN. Atlantic Communication Co. John C. Tomlinson, jr., 15 Broad Street, New York City. Do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Bradley W. Palmer and Morgan W. Mann. Who were they; do you know?

Mr. COVINGTON. I know Bradley W. Palmer very well.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Mr. COVINGTON. He has no connection with A. Mitchell Palmer. Mr. Bradley W. Palmer is a member of the extremely important law firm of Storey, Thorndike, Palmer & Dodge, of Boston, a well-known Republican, the son of an old gentleman who used to serve here in Congress, whose name was Henry W. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. That is three Republicans. Morgan M. Mann?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know anything about Mr. Mann's politics. I know who he is. He is a member of the law firm of Hornblower, etc., of which Secretary Garrison is a member.

Senator SPENCER. Hornblower, Harrison, Miller & Potter?

Mr. COVINGTON. I never came in contact with it.

The CHAIRMAN. James A. Delehanty, 110 West Forty-second Street, New York; do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I presume that is a former judge in New York. I am not sure about that.

The CHAIRMAN. What court what he judge of?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. His services covered 12 months, and he received \$5,000. Do you know his politics?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not. He was a judge in New York. I presume he was a Democrat, though. I do not think that is a violent assumption—that is, in New York City.

Senator POMERENE. We had one New York judge here this morning who was manager of Dr. Butler's campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Things have changed in New York.

Senator SPENCER. He was a judge of the municipal court, however.

The CHAIRMAN. Stephen B. Ayres, one of the directors of the Atlantic Welding Corporation, 503 Fifth Avenue. Is that former Congressman Ayres, a Democratic Congressman from New York?

Mr. COVINGTON. I should have to think for a moment whether that is the former Congressman's name. I remember a Mr. Ayers who served here. That has been a decade ago. I do not recall his first name. I am not prepared to say that is not. There was a Mr. Ayers from New York, who represented the Yonkers district, and he served here one term. I was with him in the House at that time. Senator Kenyon, you probably recollect him.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know whether these are his initials.

Mr. COVINGTON. I am rather inclined to think they are. Where is he from?

The CHAIRMAN. 503 Fifth Avenue.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know. That would be his office, of course. Mr. Ayres who was here represented the Yonkers district. Possibly it is the same man.

The CHAIRMAN. Charles A. Perkins, 61 Broadway.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Frank L. Crocker again appears there.

Atlas Line Steamship Co. Morgan M. Mann. Is he the same man we referred to awhile ago?

Mr. COVINGTON. That is the same Morgan Mann. There is only one Morgan Mann, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Alban Aurich (Inc.); Frederick N. Watriss, elected attorney and counsel. Do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Dudley Field Malone?

Mr. COVINGTON. I presume everybody knows who Dudley Field Malone is.

The CHAIRMAN. A prominent Democrat in New York?

Mr. COVINGTON. A prominent what?

The CHAIRMAN. He was collector of customs there, was he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know whether he is any longer a Democrat or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not a Wilson Democrat, but I think he still claims to be a Democrat, does he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. I really do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. He was paid \$700, according to this report, for his services.

Baertl Antislip Cement Co.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know it.

The CHAIRMAN. Albert B. Kerr; did you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Zabriskie?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know him.

Senator SPENCER. What are his initials?

The CHAIRMAN. There are no initials given for Zabriskie.

Senator SPENCER. The sugar man?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. Is it a large company.

The CHAIRMAN. Not very, \$36,000 common stock.

The Audiger & Meyer Silk Co. Attorney and counsel, James F. Fielder, Jersey City, Democratic governor of New Jersey?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know him, Senator Edge.

The CHAIRMAN. Frank L. Crocker again. Crocker seems pretty busy in these companies. Did he have any other work outside of what he did in these companies. or did this take all of his time. do you know?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am not able to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Speaking of sugar, do you represent sugar interests here, Mr. Covington?

Mr. COVINGTON. Do I represent any sugar interests?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; here in Washington.

Mr. COVINGTON. I represent one sugar company.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend any conferences at the Attorney General's office about the sugar question, within the last month or so?

Mr. COVINGTON. No, sir; only I attended one conference which was a cross test, in which I accompanied the president of the company, who seemed to be taken up at the invitation of the Attorney General. It was a general conference.

The CHAIRMAN. What company?

Mr. COVINGTON. The Revere Sugar Refinery of Boston, Mass.

The CHAIRMAN. Philipp Bauer Co. Edwin A. Jones, 92 Liberty Street, New York City, attorney and counsel. Do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know him at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Bayer Co.—we have been through that.

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Nicholas F. Brady is the brother-in-law of Mr. Garvin, is he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is G. H. Carnahan?

Mr. COVINGTON. Mr. George H. Carnahan was the president of the Inter Continental Rubber Co., one of the considerable concerns that owns plantations in Mexico, connected with this Fibroyd rubber, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. George C. Haigh—who is he?

Mr. COVINGTON. George C. Haigh was vice president of the American National Bank in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. He is another director. Frank D. Lynch. Seems to be another director.

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Hon. M. H. Glynn is another. E. J. Lynett, of the Scranton Times, is he the man you spoke of as a friend of Mr. Palmer?

Mr. COVINGTON. I understand he is; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a contributor?

There is some contribution from Scranton.

Mr. COVINGTON. Likely so.

The CHAIRMAN. J. Ramsay Speer, Trappe, Md. Who is he?

Mr. COVINGTON. Speer is a Pittsburgh steel man. He has his summer residence in Maryland, and he was put on that board of directors at my suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a friend of yours?

Mr. COVINGTON. He was. I wanted a man in that company who at all times I could talk to. I did not know any of these directors intimately until I became counsel, and some changes were being made, and I asked them very frankly to name one director whom I knew.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you knew Mr. Glynn and Mr. Lynch, did you not?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; I did not know any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brady?

Mr. COVINGTON. No; not either of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Charles B. McDonald, 71 Broadway.

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know Mr. McDonald, either. Mr. McDonald is a retired business man of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You and Mr. Crocker were counsel for that company?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes; for the entire group, and that was with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Becker Steel Co.; Royal H. Weller, attorney and counsel; who was he?

Mr. COVINGTON. He is a lawyer in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Hon. William E. Chilton, Charleston, W. Va.; who is he?

Mr. COVINGTON. Of course, I know who he is. The former United States Senator. I presume you served with him, did you not?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. They received compensation of \$2,000 each. How did Mr. Chilton happen to be selected for that company, do you know?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a New York company?

Mr. COVINGTON. No. You read it Charleston, did you not?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes; I am mistaken, but the head office was in New York?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. William H. English is one of the directors of that company. Do you know him?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know him, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. P. T. Brady; that is the same Brady you referred to before?

Mr. COVINGTON. The initials do not seem to be the same. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know him—of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Co.?

Mr. COVINGTON. I do not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the same one?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not to my knowledge. Obviously it is not, with the initials different.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not know what the initials might be.

Mr. COVINGTON. Nicholas S. Brady.

The CHAIRMAN. Beer, Sondheimer & Co. (Inc.), Isador J. Kresel. 37 Wall Street, attorney and counsel; who was he?

Mr. COVINGTON. I lawyer in New York. That is all I know about him.

The CHAIRMAN. Joseph E. Davies, Southern Building, Washington; who is he; a rather prominent Democrat, too, is he not?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Morgan M. Mann seems to come in a number of these companies again.

Well, take the Berlin Aniline Works. Is that a subsidiary?

Mr. COVINGTON. Not a subsidiary, Senator, but it was engaged in the same business, and it was turned over by the same people. When I say that, I mean turned over by the same group of counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think we will not have time to go through all of these this afternoon.

Senator EDGE. How many of those are there?

The CHAIRMAN. There are 131 pages, and I have gone over 20. I think at a later time, Judge, we will ask you to return for some further cross-examination. We can not finish it this afternoon, and it will not be before next week, if that is entirely convenient to you, as we have a number of witnesses to-morrow and next day to be heard, and I can abridge it somewhat by going through this digest just a little.

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know how many of these alien companies or estates were taken over by the Alien Property Custodian?

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, I have not the slightest idea, and I know Senator Kenyon wants to get an accurate picture of the condition he has examined about. There are undoubtedly other persons who can give you very much more intimate information about that than I can, as you see by my answers here that I know nothing about those companies except the three or four that I went into, and if you could possibly finish with me, I do not know anything about the rest of those companies.

The CHAIRMAN. If we can, we would like to have somebody who can give us some information.

Mr. COVINGTON. I would be very glad to suggest some one to you. Surely I can.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you this before you go. Did you have anything to do with the dye bill or any conferences here about the dye bill in the House or in the Senate?

Mr. COVINGTON. I had a lot to do with the dye bill, but not in connection with the alien property custodian's work.

The CHAIRMAN. But in your capacity as a lawyer here?

Mr. COVINGTON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you employed now by the Du Pont interests in reference to the dye bill?

Mr. COVINGTON. I am not employed by the Du Pont interests. I am counsel for the American Dye Institute, consulting counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. COVINGTON. The American Dye Institute is an organization in New York, which is composed of all the manufacturers, large and small, interested in the production of coal-tar chemical colors in the United States; and since their organization they have had me associated with them as counsel, to consult them on their legal matters, their technical matters, and among them that I have very largely consulted them about is the technical phraseology of what you recognize as the extremely complicated proposition, the matter of constructing appropriate legislation to prescribe what shall be coal-tar chemical colors either to be excluded or admitted to the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had a conference here with the various interests upon this dye bill before the Senate?

Mr. COVINGTON. What do you mean by various interests?

The CHAIRMAN. These interests—the Du Pont interests.

Mr. COVINGTON. Repeatedly.

The CHAIRMAN. Repeatedly?

Mr. COVINGTON. Repeated conferences; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was here representing the Du Pont interests on the dye bill?

Mr. COVINGTON. That would be a pretty difficult matter for me to tell you. First and last, Mr. Irwin A. Du Pont, who was president of the company; Mr. Maurice R. Poucher, who is the chief of their dyes department; and Mr.— I do not recall their names, but they came down to hold conferences. Their names were impressed upon me, because they are the principal ones.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these conferees get together and formulate this dye bill in the Senate?

Mr. COVINGTON. If anybody can tell how the present dye bill, as it stands before the Senate, was formulated, Senator Kenyon, I would like to be enlightened on it myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know yourself?

Mr. COVINGTON. I certainly do not. That comes as near to being a composite proposition as anything I have known.

The CHAIRMAN. You got in on the composite—what interest?

Mr. COVINGTON. In so far as I can say to you, the history of that legislation, the structure of that bill, is this: Congressman Longworth introduced a bill in the House that provided simply for a tariff on dyes, which was to be an enlargement of the existing tariff-bill

rates, with which you are, of course, familiar. At that time it became apparent that the dye interests believed that the simple tariff on dyes would not be effective, and there were constructed some amendments, which were offered in the House by Mr. Longworth, to provide for a license system, a system of straight licensing of the importation of products in competition with products which were made in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. It was prohibitory?

Mr. COVINGTON. It was frankly a prohibitory measure. When that bill came to the Senate, it was referred to the Senate Finance Committee, and there were extended hearings held. I was not present at any of the hearings. I had a lot of other matters to attend to at that time, and I did not attend a single one of those hearings. They were represented at those hearings by Mr. Joseph H. Choate, jr., who appeared at all of those hearings as their counsel. The upshot of it was that it was considered in the subcommittee for some length of time, innumerable changes in the measure were made, and the result of it was that there was a bill reported which abandoned the licensed features, and constructed what, for want of a better term, is known as a straight embargo, which is to be administered under rather simple rules and regulations by the Tariff Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. I was wondering how the manager of a Democratic candidate for President favored a prohibitory tariff.

Mr. COVINGTON. Senator, that is not in the slightest degree inconsistent. In the first place, I need not go further than this. The President of the United States has stated a position which I think is fundamentally sound, and if he had not stated it I would believe it, and that is this, that over and beyond the question of profits that may accrue to the dyes manufacturers, the coal-tar industry of the United States is so thoroughly related to complete preparedness for national defense that I think it is perfectly justifiable. I have known something about the coal-tar chemical industry, because I have done a little legal work for the Coppers Co., which is one of the dye products, and I wanted to be perfectly frank.

Do you not think that you can finish with me this afternoon? If you want anyone else that can give you more information about this than I can, I will try and undertake to get the proper person for you.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you.

We will adjourn until to-morrow morning.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock a. m. Friday, May 28, 1920.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10.15 o'clock a. m., pursuant to adjournment in Room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. McLean, I think we will hear you first.

STATEMENT OF MR. ANGUS W. McLEAN, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR FINANCE CORPORATION.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McLean, what is your position in the Government?

Mr. McLEAN. I have been for two years Director of the War Finance Corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. Who makes that appointment?

Mr. McLEAN. The President.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that under the Treasury Department?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, I do not say that it is under the Treasury Department. The Secretary of the Treasury is chairman of the board and a member of the board, but it is a separate corporation, Mr. Chairman, created by the Government to aid war industries, or aid such industries as were necessary to the prosecution of the war. Just before the adjournment of the last Congress we were authorized by an amendment to make some loans in aid of exports of American products to Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. We have been trying to find out about the invisible McAdoo boom, and that is the purpose of calling you here.

Mr. McLEAN. Yes; it was intimated to me that that was what you wanted.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about that campaign? Have you any connection with it?

Mr. McLEAN. I have not any connection whatever. I would like to read a statement that I think will cover just what I want to say about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, everybody that comes in on the McAdoo campaign seems to have a statement.

Mr. McLEAN. Well, I think they can very easily say that, because, so far as I know, nobody knows anything about it.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. McLean, I know there is a McAdoo campaign going on, and I know somebody knows about it, and I don't

know any reason for reading statements here. Suppose we ask you a few questions??

Mr. McLEAN. All right, Senator; I am here to say frankly anything I know.

Senator REED. I suppose you are.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been interviewing people, haven't you, and talking with them about the McAdoo campaign?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes; I have discussed Mr. McAdoo's availability and qualifications for the Presidency. I have also discussed the availability or lack of availability of various candidates, both Republican and Democratic.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been recognized, have you not, as sort of a southern manager for the McAdoo campaign?

Mr. McLEAN. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything about the McAdoo campaign that men should not come out and tell about it? What is there so secret about it?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, Senator——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). It is a perfectly legitimate thing!

Mr. McLEAN. Of course it is perfectly legitimate. I would like to state all that I know about it. I have got nothing to conceal.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask you a question or two now. Are there McAdoo headquarters in Washington?

Mr. McLEAN. None that I have ever heard of, and I have heard the statement from Mr. McAdoo and his closest friends that he has never had any headquarters; that he did not desire any; that he did not want any of his friends to conduct any headquarters or any organization or any campaign of publicity or otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do the McAdoo people meet in Washington when they want to talk over the campaign?

Mr. McLEAN. I didn't know that they had any place of meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. We had a gentleman from Kansas City here, who met with them night before last.

Mr. McLEAN. I was not present at that meeting, so all I know about it is what I saw in the paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there is a McAdoo headquarters in New York City?

Mr. McLEAN. I know of none, and all that I have heard is that there are no such headquarters. I have talked to a number of his closest friends, and that is what they say.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not there is a McAdoo headquarters in the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York City?

Mr. McLEAN. I never heard of it. I don't know any of Mr. McAdoo's friends that are stationed there.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of McAdoo publications coming out from New York?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I never saw any of them. In fact, it was my understanding that Mr. McAdoo had absolutely prohibited, so far as he could, any publicity being carried on in his behalf. I know that is what his friends who have talked with him reported to me, and I know he said that to me when I talked to him myself.

Senator SPENCER. Haven't you seen any printed matter, outside of newspapers, in regard to the McAdoo candidacy?

Mr. McLEAN. I don't recall that I have seen a thing, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you done anything, Mr. McLean, in relation to Southern delegates?

Mr. McLEAN. I have not. I will state in that connection that before the name of Senator Simmons was mentioned for the Presidency in my State I met Mr. McAdoo on one occasion and told him that we had a legalized primary in my State, and that only those candidates who filed with the State officials by a certain date could be voted on as presidential candidates. I told him that I thought there was an overwhelming sentiment in my State for him; he has relatives down there and is very well known in that State, and our people probably know him better than any other man who has been mentioned in connection with the Presidency outside of the man from my own State. I told him that some of his friends had been writing to me asking to be permitted to file his name in this primary so that he could be voted on; I told him further that if he did not permit his name to be filed or file it himself, that under the law the candidates who did file would get the votes, and even if a dozen votes are cast for one man and no other vote for another, that would give an instructed delegation from that State, because our law provides that the plurality entitles the candidate to the nomination.

Senator POMERENE. To what extent would the delegation be bound by that primary?

Mr. McLEAN. The act, Senator, does not state how long; it just states that he shall be instructed and bound to vote for the candidate who received the plurality of the votes.

I told him further that I understood that one of the prominent candidates for the Democratic nomination had expressed the intention of filing; that if that candidate did file and no other candidates filed, that the board of elections would declare that candidate entitled to the instructed delegation from our State. I told him that while I knew he had stated he was not a candidate, I did not think that he ought to stand in the way of his friends filing his name if they desired to vote for him, because nobody could tell what would happen in San Francisco; that some man that had not been mentioned as a candidate, who was not a candidate at all, might be the most prominent before the convention; that I would like very much if that contingency arose, for the delegates from our State to have a chance to vote for the men they really wanted to vote for, and if he did not permit his name to be filed it would probably result in our State delegation being put in the absurd position of voting for a man at the San Francisco convention that they did not want to vote for and did not think ought to be nominated. He said he was very sorry; that he would not file his own name and did not want any of his friends to file it for him; that if any of his friends did file it he would do all he could to have it withdrawn; that he was not a candidate either actively or receptively.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say he would decline the nomination?

Mr. McLEAN. No; he told me this—well, in that same conversation, I said to him—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). When was this? Fix the date of the conversation if you can.

Mr. McLEAN. Well, it would be right hard to do that. I would say two months ago. I could not fix the date—it may be more—it was the last time I talked with him. I said to him further that I thought—I did not know that a man had a right to say that he would not let his name be voted on unless he came out directly and said he would not accept the nomination. He said he would only repeat what he had said on several occasions, and that was that he was not a candidate for the nomination; was not going to do anything to accelerate any public sentiment in favor of his nomination; and did not want any of his friends to do so. I said, “Well, suppose the convention should nominate you, what would you do?” He said, “Well, I don’t know. I would probably feel that it was my duty to accept as a call to public service, just as I would a call to any other public service.” I never saw a man before take the position that he did. It was different from any politics I have ever seen.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn’t that about the finest kind of politics you can mention?

Mr. McLEAN. I don’t think so, Senator. There is a great difference of opinion about that. But he impressed me with the fact that if he was put into this race he would have to be drafted into it.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you talked with Barney Baruch about it?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, yes; on one or two occasions.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were these occasions?

Mr. McLEAN. I happened to meet Barney Baruch—I don’t know him very well, but I met him once in the lobby of the Shoreham Hotel, and I said to him—we got to discussing different matters; we first discussed presidential possibilities in the Republican Party—most everybody you find these days is discussing that subject, Republican or Democratic presidential candidates, and different ones were guessing who was going to be nominated, giving their opinion, and nobody seemed to be able to form any very definite opinion. Then we got to discussing Democratic candidates, and we discussed them somewhat. I think I did most of the talking, perhaps, and he said, “Who are you for?” “Well,” I said, “I would like to see Mr. McAdoo nominated. I have known him a long time and I have had the greatest admiration for his ability and his character, and he is a Scotchman, you know, like I am.”

The CHAIRMAN. Are all Scotchmen supposed to be for him?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, I don’t know about that. I said, “He has got relatives in my State and I know him personally, and, besides, I think he is one of the ablest men I ever met.” I said to Senator Simmons not long ago that he had the greatest grasp of the greatest number of subjects of any man I ever saw. Mr. Baruch agreed with me that he was a great man, but he said he would not let a thing be done. He said: “I don’t know what he is going to do; he won’t let anything be done for him.”

The CHAIRMAN. Was this after the meeting at Atlantic City?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes. I heard of that meeting—I mean I heard of that talk they had.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at the Atlantic City meeting?

Mr. McLEAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had your talk with him after the Atlantic City meeting?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you anything?

Mr. McLEAN. Let me finish this other conversation first, please. He said that he had heard a great many of Mr. McAdoo's friends express themselves as being disgusted with the fact that he would not permit anything to be done. "Well," I said, "I have heard a number of them say the same thing, and I know that a number of the other candidates are exploiting their qualifications and doing all they can to minimize Mr. McAdoo's availability, and it does seem to me that some of Mr. McAdoo's friends ought to take the bull by the horns and go out and let the people know, the people that are back in the woods, those who don't know about him, know his qualifications, but I understand he won't permit it to be done."

The only thing I ever heard about it was on one occasion some of his friends had a little meeting or happened to meet together and they discussed the matter, and it was generally understood by all of them that Mr. McAdoo would not permit anything to be done, would not permit his friends to do anything for him. Some of them suggested that they go out and do something anyway without his knowledge.

Senator REED. Who did that?

Mr. McLEAN. I heard there were several at a dinner party one night and they discussed the matter. I can't remember all of them. One of them was Mr. Roper in New York.

Senator REED. Where was that dinner held?

Mr. McLEAN. I don't know where it was.

Senator REED. Do you remember anybody else that was there?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I can not, Senator. It was just brought up in this incidental way, and they said—anyway, there were several there, and that the next morning some overzealous friend, in order to be smart, told Mr. McAdoo about it, what they had been discussing, and the statement was that Mr. McAdoo not only told this friend but called up Mr. Roper and told him he did not want a thing done; if there was any talk of anything of that kind, he wanted the efforts abandoned absolutely. So I have about quit talking about it.

Senator SPENCER. Have you written any letters in the interest of Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. McLEAN. I can't say that I have written any letters in the interest of Mr. McAdoo. I have had a few letters from friends of Mr. McAdoo down in my State. I remember one or two of them. One of them was from Col. Osborne, who used to be commissioner of internal revenue here and a great friend of Mr. McAdoo, and he said he saw Mr. McAdoo in New York—he wrote me he saw Mr. McAdoo in New York and brought this matter up himself, and he said Mr. McAdoo was so indifferent about it that he didn't do anything further about it and didn't know what to do.

Senator SPENCER. Have you written any letters excepting in answer to letters that came to you?

Mr. McLEAN. I don't think I have written any letters; I know that I haven't written any letters that I recall now, except I did write to a few friends.

Senator SPENCER. How many, would you say?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, I would say, not over two or three, as near as I can state. It is hard to remember. I suggested to them that I thought that inasmuch as—that was before our State convention—that I thought that, if possible, we ought to try and send an uninstructed delegation to San Francisco; that nobody knew yet who was the most available candidate; and I, personally, would like to wait and see who the Republicans nominated.

Senator SPENCER. Were all of those letters directed to friends in North Carolina?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes; I have never written any letters outside of North Carolina.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any letters having been sent out in which Mr. McAdoo's candidacy was mentioned?

Mr. McLEAN. I wanted to finish this, if you don't mind, Senator; then I will come back to that.

I said to one or two of these friends of mine—close personal friends—that in my opinion at that time, Mr. McAdoo was the best man, but that nobody could tell yet what was best, and that I thought that the best thing to do was to hold our minds open.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any other letters, or do you know of any letters that were written in which Mr. McAdoo's candidacy was mentioned?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I do not.

Senator SPENCER. By anybody?

Mr. McLEAN. I do not.

Senator SPENCER. If there were any letters sent out by anybody in connection with Mr. McAdoo's candidacy, you know nothing about it?

Mr. McLEAN. Absolutely nothing. I have heard a number of his friends, some of them about half mad, cussing about it, because he would not let anything be done.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to Mr. Chadborne about it?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I never did. I do not know Mr. Chadborne.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any of your employees been doing any work for Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. McLEAN. No, sir; nobody has done any work for Mr. McAdoo. I don't consider that I have done any work for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think sending out letter indorsing him—wouldn't you call that political work?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Meeting people and talking for him?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I don't know that I would consider that doing any work for him, because I talked about all the candidates.

I will say this, that I would have been perfectly willing to have done anything I could properly do, believing, as I did, that he was the best man for the place, but he would not permit me to do it, and the consequence is I have done nothing that I can see.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in North Carolina?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Federal officials are there on the delegation from North Carolina to the Democratic National Convention?

Mr. McLEAN. I haven't got the list before me now. I don't know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. You say there are none?

Mr. McLEAN. I would not say there are none, because I have not the list before me; but at the present moment I don't know of a one.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a delegate?

Mr. McLEAN. No.

Senator SPENCER. As you talked with these gentlemen, Mr. McLean, about Mr. McAdoo's disinclination to have anything done in regard to his candidacy, were you all of the opinion that something ought to be done?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, they all said it was different from anything they had ever heard of; that they thought the other candidates were busy, and a great many of them, minimizing his availability, and they thought at least something ought to be done to let the people know, the people who were not well acquainted with him, to know his availability, his great worth, and his record.

Senator SPENCER. That is, the result of each one of these conversations or conferences was that, in spite of what Mr. McAdoo had said, you all thought something ought to be done to make known to the people his availability?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes; but it was stated there at the same time that he had given positive instructions that it should not be done, and everybody agreed, as I understood it, that they wouldn't do nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baruch told us the other day about being engaged in some literary work now. Have you seen the book, I think, gotten up by Mr. Baruch, called "Men who won the war"?

Mr. McLEAN. No, sir; I never have seen it. I never heard of it before.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard of it?

Mr. McLEAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have not read the laudatory article about Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I haven't read it, but I have the highest opinion myself of his worth.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is all right, of course. You don't know whether that book is being circulated or not?

Mr. McLEAN. No. It looks like if it was being circulated I would have gotten a copy. I never saw it or heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. I haven't seen it either, but I have been trying to get it.

Mr. McLEAN. I did not know Mr. Baruch was writing a book.

The CHAIRMAN. He informed us the other day he was getting up a book on economic subjects. This seems to be the book.

Mr. McLEAN. I will say, if it was laudatory of Mr. McAdoo's work, that I have heard that discussed by Democrats and Republicans, and they all spoke very highly of his work.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not finding fault with it at all.

Do you know anything about any women's organizations that are working for Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. McLEAN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about any organizations that were organized to boost the Liberty loan turning over and working for Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. McLEAN. I never heard of it even.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard of it?

Mr. McLEAN. No.

Senator REED. Mr. McLean, I think I ought to say to you that I am inclined to think I spoke to you rather roughly at first.

Mr. McLEAN. That is all right, Senator.

Senator REED. And I want to apologize for it.

Mr. McLEAN. They tell me you are a good lawyer and a good cross-examiner, and I know what that means.

Senator REED. In fact, I came here pretty nearly out of temper this morning before I got to the room, and I think I manifested it to you and I had no right to.

Mr. McLEAN. Well, a lawyer understands things of that kind very well.

Senator REED. My position in this matter is entirely impersonal; I want to say that to you publicly.

Mr. McLEAN. I never felt at all hurt about it.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. McLean, you have been asked about organizations; do you know about individuals working for Mr. McAdoo, trying to promote his candidacy?

Mr. McLEAN. No; as I said, Senator, everyone that I have ever heard mention it expressed about the same opinion that I have just expressed that he had absolutely forbidden anything to be done.

Senator REED. Well, that might be, and still the work might go on.

Mr. McLEAN. I don't know of any work except talking as you meet people on the street sometimes and in hotel lobbies, talking about his availability. But they didn't go out publicly and do it; they were usually talking to men who agreed with them.

Senator REED. I am speaking of different things than that. Do you know of anybody who is sending out letters or having letters copied and sent out, or anything of that kind by anybody?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I do not.

Senator REED. You have not heard of that?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I can't say that I have heard of that. I heard that at this meeting that I tell you about, in which they discussed that something ought to be done to give some publicity; that they were expecting to do something of the kind, but I understood that Mr. McAdoo forbade it, and everybody stopped and nothing was sent out.

Senator REED. I want to say that so far as I am concerned—this is a sort of a free discussion—that if Mr. McAdoo's attitude was just what you think it is, I think it is a very proper attitude. I am glad to know that some man is letting the Presidency seek him instead of chasing it as some others are doing.

Mr. McLEAN. From what I have seen and heard, if there ever was a case of that, it is Mr. McAdoo's case. I can't say that if I were running this campaign—that if I had been in charge—I would have run it that way, or that I would have suggested that to him. In fact, I told him that I thought he at least ought to let his friends do what they wanted to do.

Senator REED. You know Mr. Shouse, don't you?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk to him about Mr. McAdoo's connection with the Presidency?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes; Mr. Shouse and myself have discussed the matter incidentally two or three times, and Mr. Shouse and myself are both agreed that he would make a great President and we hoped our party would nominate him, but we did not know what would be the result of his indifference and inactivity, with the other candidates as busy as they were.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk to Mr. Roper?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. McLEAN. I have talked to Mr. Roper several times, but I have not talked to him in—well, it is hard to give dates—I would say maybe six weeks ago was the last time I talked to him. He gave me the same information that the others did, that he would not let anything be done.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk to Commissioner Wooley of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, he has mentioned it to me once or twice. I was not long ago up at the City Club at luncheon with him one day—I know him very well—I have known him a long time—and we were discussing candidates. We discussed first Republican candidates, and then we discussed all the Democratic candidates, the array of candidates.

Senator REED. You didn't discuss the question of promoting Mr. McAdoo's candidacy at all?

Mr. McLEAN. No; except in this way, that we talked about his attitude, and we did not discuss doing anything because we both agreed he would not let anything be done.

I remember one of the men I wrote to, Mr. Chairman, was Mr. J. O. Karl, of Wilmington, who is a delegate at large. The last letter I wrote him I suggested to him that I thought the course that the North Carolina delegation ought to pursue was to stand by Senator Simmons. Our State convention passed a resolution unanimously requesting Senator Simmons to enter his name in the primary.

Senator REED. That is a little way from what I was asking about for the moment, Mr. McLean.

Mr. McLEAN. What I want to say now is that I did not want it to appear that I am not loyal to Senator Simmons. Our delegation is instructed for Senator Simmons and I am for him against Mr. McAdoo or anybody else, if he can be nominated. I don't know of any man that I think would fill the office with greater credit to the country than Senator Simmons. I will not except even Mr. McAdoo.

Senator REED. Do you know Mr. Frank Wilson, former director of the Liberty loan campaign?

Mr. McLEAN. No, sir; I don't know him. If I have met him I don't remember it.

Senator REED. Do you know any lady in Washington who is interested in the promotion of Mr. McAdoo's campaign?

Mr. McLEAN. I do not. I did not know there was any lady active for Mr. McAdoo.

Senator REED. Do you know of any labor organizations that are working for him?

Mr. McLEAN. I do not. I have never had any communication with any labor organization at all.

Senator REED. You have told us all you know about this matter?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, just except a lot of gossip, Senator. I don't know when I could tell all of that.

Senator REED. Oh, well; we don't mean that.

Mr. McLEAN. About hearing people talk about the matter. I have prepared a statement here which is just practically what I have said, except it is in a little better language.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have covered it all, what is the use of putting it in.

Mr. McLEAN. I don't know as it is.

The CHAIRMAN. If you desire to do so, all right; but if it is not essential, I don't think it is worth while putting it in.

Mr. McLEAN. I don't know that it is. It is practically what I have said, except probably said in a little better way.

Senator REED. I think you have been very clear in your answers.

Senator POMERENE. You are a member of the bar of North Carolina?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir. I am really more interested in business matters than in practicing law. I am a member of the bar and have been president of the State bar association, but I am in the banking business and the cotton-mill business.

Senator POMERENE. Where is your home?

Mr. McLEAN. At Lumberton, N. C., a small town down near the South Carolina line, in the rural section. I have never run for any office myself.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you.

Mr. Dougherty, we will complete your examination now.

STATEMENT OF MR. HARRY S. DOUGHERTY—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. We were inquiring, I think, about the expenses of the Columbus headquarters yesterday.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I think that had been completed. I think the inquiry that the——

Senator POMERENE. We were talking about the advertising, I believe.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. No; it was in reference to the expenditures of Gen. Wood, I think, as compared with ours.

Senator REED. You have a paper there called the Columbus Dispatch, do you not?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And the Ohio State Journal?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The Ohio State Journal is a morning paper.

Senator REED. Those two papers are published practically together—that is, under the same proprietorship?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. They are reputed to be under the control of the same proprietorship.

Senator REED. Mr. Dougherty, who is the manager of those papers? What is the connection of Mr. Wolf?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Wolf is reputed to be the controlling factor in the management and policy of both papers.

Senator REED. Did those papers take a rather active part in the campaign?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Quite active.

Senator REED. Whom did they start out for? Whom did they originally support?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The Columbus Evening Dispatch pretends to be neutral. I think that paper in the outset published some rather favorably comments, editorially.

Senator REED. On whom?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. And in its news columns. Favorable to Senator Harding. The Ohio State Journal claims to be a Republican paper. That paper in the outset indorsed Senator Harding for the Presidency, emphatically.

Senator REED. Are they both printed at the same place?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. They are both printed in Columbus, Ohio, but different offices, in different buildings.

Senator REED. Now, was there a change in the policy of those papers later in the campaign?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Very evidently.

Senator REED. Whom did they change to?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Their general support was given to Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Did they become antagonistic to Senator Harding?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The course of the policy of the paper was antagonistic to Senator Harding and very enthusiastically and somewhat effectively to the extent that they have any influence for Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Was there much space given in the papers to the campaign?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Quite a little.

Senator REED. How did it happen that this change of policy came about? Now, perhaps I need not have asked that question. I do not want to ask you that.

Did you hear of any considerable sum of money that was being spent there locally, in Columbus, in carrying on the campaign in Columbus against Senator Harding or in favor of his opponents?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Well, of course, interested as I was in that campaign, I would hear a great many reports. In a political campaign you hear a great many things that are true and a great many things that are not true. It is often very hard to distinguish between real truth and real falsehood, or to be able to estimate to what extent the story may be partly true and partly untrue. I would be willing to go to this extent in saying that there was a very active campaign for Gen. Wood in Columbus, Franklin County, and all over the State.

Senator REED. Who in Columbus was especially at the head or carrying on the movement you have just spoken of?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Columbus, to my mind, was more or less like the situation all over the country. Are you asking me as to who was at the head of the Wood movement?

Senator REED. In that town. Who was the potential figure in it? Was it Mr. Wolf?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Wolf was a very active supporter of Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Now——

Mr. DOUGHERTY (interposing). I was about to say that Columbus is like a good many other places pretty generally over the country. I never was so very much interested in who was the active head of the Wood movement. I do not think that has ever been established.

I am not sure. I have never been convinced who was the active and most potential head, locally or otherwise.

Senator REED. Well, I have understood, and I will put it this way to you and ask you to throw what light you can on it—that Mr. Wolf started out for Senator Harding; that afterwards he changed his policy and very vigorously opposed Senator Harding; and that, in the campaign which followed, everything indicated the expenditure of large sums of money in various ways in the city of Columbus. That is what I want to get at.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Senator, in the outset, Mr. Wolf pretended to be favorable to Senator Harding.

Senator POMERENE. For the record, you mean Mr. Robert F. Wolf?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Robert F. Wolf pretended to be a supporter of Senator Harding. If he ever was sincere about it, he changed his policy thereafter and became a very aggressive advocate of Gen. Wood. I do not know what his intentions were originally. I think they were originally what they were finally.

Senator REED. I understand your very natural desire not to go into matters that involve the carrying on of the opposition campaign, and I am not going to press it from that standpoint any further, except this: Was there considerable advertising done in the Columbus newspapers on behalf of Gen. Wood?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. There was.

Senator REED. And could you give us any further information about the extent of that advertising than you did the other day?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I could not, Senator. It was very extensive.

Senator REED. Do you know whether that kind of advertising is expensive or not?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. My understanding is that it is rather expensive. It was too expensive for us and I personally never thought that sort of advertising would be very effective. It may be.

Senator REED. Do you know whether that advertising was placed through an advertising company or—well, yes, company, I guess will do—or whether it was placed directly?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I do not know positively.

Senator REED. What is your understanding about it?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. My understanding was that it was placed through a regular channel, a regular advertising bureau, called the Crumrine Co., I believe it is.

Senator REED. Do you know who is at the head of that company?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Crumrine & Co.? Arthur Crumrine. I know him quite well. He is in that business very legitimately.

Senator POMERENE. In Columbus?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. In Columbus; yes, sir.

Senator REED. How do you spell that name?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. C-r-u-m-r-i-n-e.

Senator REED. Does he run a company or run it in his own name?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I think he has a company now. I think he originally ran it in his own name, but I think he now has a company or partnership, and it is quite an extensive business.

Senator REED. Does he cover the billboard advertising, too?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I think not, Senator, though I am not sure about

t.

Senator REED. Now, there was considerable billboard advertising in Columbus?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. There was.

Senator REED. Do you know who has charge of that billboard advertising?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. There is a billboard company there, as there is generally in large cities; I think it is the Columbus Bill Posting Co., and, I think, that a man by the name of Shinnell is the president of the company, or the directing influence, in control of the company.

Senator REED. The Columbus Bill Board Advertising Co.?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes, sir. However, if that is not the correct corporate name, Mr. Shinnell——

Senator REED (interposing). You could not give us the full name from your recollection?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I could ask a gentleman who probably knows. [Asks a bystander.] George L. C-h-i-n-n-e-l-l.

Senator REED. Is there another billboard advertising company in Columbus?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. There may be; but that is the big company, I think.

Senator REED. This advertising you have spoken of in the newspapers and on billboards in Columbus, could not have been covered for \$35,000, in your judgment, could it?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I could not say, Senator. I have never placed a contract for any concern that I am interested in or any political—contract with any political matter with a billboard company, and in a general way I have been advised that they get pretty good rates, but I would not know. I do not know.

Senator REED. In addition to the advertising in Columbus, do you know anything about that same question of advertising in other large Ohio cities?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I was not in many of the Ohio cities during the campaign. I was pretty generally all over the country elsewhere, but in going around over the country I would see extensive advertising, and, of course, naturally a man in my position would be advised by others of the very extensive campaign. That may have been exaggerated to me. A great many people want to come forward to a man who has the responsible management of a campaign and give him, some times, more information, to put it mildly, than he ought to have.

Senator REED. Well, I know of no other way to get at a general situation of that kind than by asking a man who has observed and who has reports from his assistants, about it. Now, as the result of all of that, what have you to say in regard to the advertising campaign carried on in behalf of Gen. Wood, in the State of Ohio?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. You understand, Senator, that I am not either on my own behalf or on behalf of Senator Harding, complaining about it.

Senator REED. I understand that.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. In any sense, but I can say, and to answer your question respectfully and conservatively, that throughout the State of Ohio, generally, it was a very extensive campaign of advertising. So far as I know it may have been perfectly legitimate, and we have no complaints to make about it.

Senator REED. Now, you are speaking of advertising in the papers?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I am speaking of advertising in the papers.

Senator REED. Was there a billboard advertising campaign over the State generally?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Very generally, in the larger cities.

Senator REED. There is a law in Ohio, I believe, that requires an advertisement on behalf of a political campaign to be marked "political advertising"; is there not?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes, sir; I think there is a statute or provision which requires that all advertising of a political character shall be marked "political advertising" in connection with the body or the matter of the advertising.

Senator REED. So that you were able to determine by the face of the article itself that it was political advertising?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. To whatever extent——

Senator REED (interposing). They marked it?

Mr. DOUGHERTY (continuing). They marked it; you could distinguish it. Sometimes possibly they would not mark it, but to whatever extent they complied with the law you could distinguish it as political advertising.

Senator REED. Now, you have said that the advertising was very extensive. That, of course, is quite indefinite. Can you be a little more definite about that?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Well, I can only be this definite about it, that it extended throughout the State and as at present advised, I think they practically used all the Republican newspapers, as well as the Democratic newspapers in all of the counties of the State.

Senator REED. How many Republican newspapers are there in Ohio?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I should say probably 375 to 400.

Senator REED. Have you an independent class of papers in the State?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. We have a class of a great many papers who claim to be independent.

Senator REED. And were they employed to advertise?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I think they were in a great many instances.

Senator REED. And some of the Democratic papers?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I think some of the Democratic papers were used.

Senator REED. Speaking generally of these advertisements, what was the size of them?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Those that I saw varied in size. Some would be very—a whole page, and some would be portions of a page.

Senator REED. Were those large advertisements in city papers or in country papers?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Some of them were in the city papers and some of them were in county papers. You understand, I did not begin to read—or I did not see myself personally any great number of these advertisements. I read a great many. A great many were of the same character and what I am now—the information I am now giving is in response to your question as to what reports were made to me.

Senator REED. Was it you, Mr. Dougherty, who spoke about an advertisement that raised the religious question?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. No; it was not I.

Senator REED. I was in error about that.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. That question was not discussed to any extent in Ohio, by any of us, on either side.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dougherty, if you have something you would like to say?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. There is nothing I would like to say, except that I wish to thank the members of the committee for their courtesy to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you just two or three questions. Did you have information to the effect that large sums of money were being used in the Wood campaign, other than those furnished by the State headquarters?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes; I had some information that contributions were being made, but it was hearsay.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I have not asked you about the individual or anything of that kind, but asked you the facts as to whether you had that information. And, now, this large advertising that you speak of occurred in nearly all of the—or in all of the large cities, and nearly all of the smaller cities of the State?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. And counties of the State. So I was advised.

Senator POMERENE. And there is one or more substantial towns in practically every one of the 88 counties in the State?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes; there is one or more in the 88 counties of the State.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I would say this to the members of the committee: I hope it will be considered proper for me to say this. I have no disposition to be evasive about anything, but these matters of reports—I want to answer your questions to the extent that a gentleman and a man can answer the questions. It is not at all to my liking to criticize an opponent in a contest, or his friends, and my policy has been from the start and will be to the finish, to treat with the greatest respect all the candidates and all their friends, and I do not like to speculate on rumors. This campaign is not the first campaign that I have ever been in, and I do not like to speculate on rumors.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Dougherty, you have just given further evidence of your political astuteness.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Thank you, sir. I do not want to be considered as evasive.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not considered evasive, at all. We are very much obliged to you.

Mr. Harrison, will you take the stand? Give your name to the reporter, please.

STATEMENT OF MR. FRANK A. HARRISON, LINCOLN, NEBR.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. HARRISON. Frank A. Harrison, Lincoln, Nebr.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. Harrison?

Mr. HARRISON. I am a newspaper man.

The CHAIRMAN. For what paper?

Mr. HARRISON. I run a paper of my own, a weekly paper,

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the paper?

Mr. HARRISON. The Tribune.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar, then, with advertising expenses?

Mr. HARRISON. Very well, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you the manager of the Johnson campaign in Nebraska?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, I ran the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we want to know, Mr. Harrison, about the moneys you received, either from outside the State or inside the State, the contributions complete, and also the disbursements.

Mr. HARRISON. In what detail?

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. HARRISON. How much detail do you want that in?

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to take the contributions—for instance, we have been following the plan here of taking all of \$100 or over, and have not gone into the lower amounts. Have you a complete list of contributions?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes, sir; I received from the California committee \$1,800.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who was that from? Who is the California committee? We have heard a good deal about it.

Mr. HARRISON. That is from Mr. McCain, although it was drawn directly on Mr. Greenbaum, treasurer of the Johnson committee.

Senator SPENCER. You mean it was a draft drawn on them?

Mr. HARRISON. I drew a sight draft on him.

Senator SPENCER. What is his full name—Mr. Greenbaum's?

Mr. HARRISON. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCain, was it?

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. McCain was the personal friend, as I understood it, of Mr. Johnson, who told me that whatever necessary expenses I went to they would take care of, leaving it to me.

Senator SPENCER. Did he tell you where to get the money? How to get it?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. He told you to draw for whatever you needed for legitimate expenses and draw on Mr. who?

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Greenbaum.

Senator SPENCER. At San Francisco?

Mr. HARRISON. San Francisco.

Senator SPENCER. Treasurer of the committee?

Mr. HARRISON. Treasurer of the Johnson committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Greenbaum's business?

Mr. HARRISON. No.

Senator SPENCER. Did he let you know that whatever amount you might feel you needed for legitimate expenses would be forthcoming?

Mr. HARRISON. I had a discussion with him in which I told him that the primaries in Nebraska as conducted by my kind of folks would not cost more than a couple of thousand dollars. I would see that it would not.

The CHAIRMAN. You told McCain that?

Mr. HARRISON. I told McCain that. He told me that their campaign fund was very small, but they did not want to see me lose anything and to keep it down to whatever I could and let him know, and I did so. I paid out the money before I drew on him, out of my own funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any more contributions from the California committee?

Mr. HARRISON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you from other sources?

Mr. HARRISON. I received—I will tell you—there are only five or six items. I received from the local committee at Lincoln \$2,600; and from Logan Rogers, a farmer, \$10; from Maj. John G. Maher, \$25; from Howard B. Smith, \$25.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these reputable citizens?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, Howard B. Smith is; Maj. John G. Maher has shortly returned from France; Logan Rogers, a farmer.

The CHAIRMAN. How much is the last one—Rogers?

Mr. HARRISON. Logan Rogers is a farmer in Lancaster County.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money did he contribute?

Mr. HARRISON. \$10. Supreme Judge C. H. Aldrich, \$5. Stamps from anonymous sources, in envelopes, \$12.

The CHAIRMAN. Stamps?

Mr. HARRISON. Stamps. I put in my paper that stamps would be gladly received, and they came in 1-cent stamps.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that all one bunch of stamps?

Mr. HARRISON. No; in different sources. S. C. Bassett, another farmer, \$5; U. S. Rohrer, of Hastings, \$5; and the \$1,800 from the campaign committee in California. That is the extent of my funds.

Senator POMERENE. The total contributions amount to how much?

Mr. HARRISON. The total is \$1,913.

Senator POMERENE. You did not require six or eight thousand for each district or precinct?

Mr. HARRISON. No, sir.

Senator REED. Senator Johnson carried the State?

Mr. HARRISON. Senator Johnson carried the State by 20,800.

Senator SPENCER. Against whom?

Mr. HARRISON. Against Gen. Wood.

Senator SPENCER. Were there only two in the campaign?

Mr. HARRISON. Three.

Senator REED. Who was the third one?

Senator SPENCER. Did you put in it a solicitation for money?

Mr. HARRISON. No.

Senator REED. Who was the third candidate?

Mr. HARRISON. Gen. Pershing.

Senator SPENCER. Did he stand third?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say you said stamps would be received?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; I said in my paper that the chief difficulty in the Johnson campaign was the getting of enough 1-cent postage stamps to send out the literature.

Senator SPENCER. Was the difficulty in getting the stamps themselves or in getting the money with which to pay for them?

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard of it?

Mr. McLEAN. No.

Senator REED. Mr. McLean, I think I ought to say to you that I am inclined to think I spoke to you rather roughly at first.

Mr. McLEAN. That is all right, Senator.

Senator REED. And I want to apologize for it.

Mr. McLEAN. They tell me you are a good lawyer and a good cross-examiner, and I know what that means.

Senator REED. In fact, I came here pretty nearly out of temper this morning before I got to the room, and I think I manifested it to you and I had no right to.

Mr. McLEAN. Well, a lawyer understands things of that kind very well.

Senator REED. My position in this matter is entirely impersonal; I want to say that to you publicly.

Mr. McLEAN. I never felt at all hurt about it.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. McLean, you have been asked about organizations; do you know about individuals working for Mr. McAdoo, trying to promote his candidacy?

Mr. McLEAN. No; as I said, Senator, everyone that I have ever heard mention it expressed about the same opinion that I have just expressed that he had absolutely forbidden anything to be done.

Senator REED. Well, that might be, and still the work might go on.

Mr. McLEAN. I don't know of any work except talking as you meet people on the street sometimes and in hotel lobbies, talking about his availability. But they didn't go out publicly and do it; they were usually talking to men who agreed with them.

Senator REED. I am speaking of different things than that. Do you know of anybody who is sending out letters or having letters copied and sent out, or anything of that kind by anybody?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I do not.

Senator REED. You have not heard of that?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I can't say that I have heard of that. I heard that at this meeting that I tell you about, in which they discussed that something ought to be done to give some publicity; that they were expecting to do something of the kind, but I understood that Mr. McAdoo forbade it, and everybody stopped and nothing was sent out.

Senator REED. I want to say that so far as I am concerned—this is a sort of a free discussion—that if Mr. McAdoo's attitude was just what you think it is, I think it is a very proper attitude. I am glad to know that some man is letting the Presidency seek him instead of chasing it as some others are doing.

Mr. McLEAN. From what I have seen and heard, if there ever was a case of that, it is Mr. McAdoo's case. I can't say that if I were running this campaign—that if I had been in charge—I would have run it that way, or that I would have suggested that to him. In fact, I told him that I thought he at least ought to let his friends do what they wanted to do.

Senator REED. You know Mr. Shouse, don't you?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk to him about Mr. McAdoo's connection with the Presidency?

THEY HAVE NO CONFIDENCE.

This offer of a wager was sent to the Pershing headquarters Saturday, and received no takers:

Ten dollars that Pershing is beaten by Johnson two to one.

Allow Pershing manager to pick 10 counties and Johnson man bets \$10 on each county that Pershing will not carry it.

Ten dollars that Johnson carries the State.

Ten dollars that Pershing will not carry a single county of the 93.

This \$130 bet is offered to the Pershing crowd and they do not dare to accept it. They have \$50,000 to squander on the campaign in Nebraska, but do not want to give any of it to Johnson men on a betting proposition.

JOHNSON MEN, VOTE FOR THESE.

(X) HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

Delegates at large:

(X) E. D. BEACH, Lincoln.

(X) JOHN W. TOWLE, Omaha.

(X) CHARLES E. SANDALL, York.

(X) DON L. LOVE, Lincoln.

First district delegates:

(X) O. A. COOPER, Humboldt.

(X) W. E. SELLECK, Lincoln.

These candidates have promised in writing to vote for Johnson and stand by him in good faith if he carries the State. They will do what they promise.

JOHNSON CAMPAIGN STATEMENT.

This sworn statement was filed with the Secretary of State Monday morning:

LINCOLN, NEBR., April 19, 1920.

To the Secretary of State of Nebraska:

I desire herewith to present to you the report of the expenditures and receipts of the campaign headquarters of Hiram W. Johnson in Nebraska during the past seven months:

| | |
|---|----------|
| Rent of rooms..... | \$140.00 |
| Postage, printing, telegraph and telephone..... | 612.00 |
| Newspaper advertising, cuts..... | 517.75 |
| Office help..... | 255.00 |
| Travel expense..... | 68.00 |
| Hall rent..... | 30.00 |
| Total | 1,622.75 |

Up to April 1 this expense had all been advanced by Nebraska citizens, when the amount was refunded by the California committee. The total of contributions up to this time have been:

| | |
|---|------------|
| California committee..... | \$1,500.00 |
| Contributed in small amounts by Nebraskans..... | 228.50 |
| Total..... | 1,728.50 |

This leaves me on hand \$55.75 to pay such incidental bills as may still be presented. I estimate that the outstanding bills may amount to \$100.

There has been no salary list in these headquarters—for manager, secretary, or any other person.

The expense of the recent tour of Senator Johnson, aside from railroad travel, was practically all taken care of by the local people, and I can make no report on it.

I desire to call your attention to the need of investigation of the enormous amount spent by the two opposition headquarters in this State—amounting to from \$75,000 to \$100,000. More than \$4,000 of this was spent on yesterday's daily papers. The result of the primary to-morrow will prove either the futility or the culpability of such a use of money in Nebraska elections.

FRANK A. HARRISON.

Mr. McLEAN. Well, I would say, not over two or three, as near as I can state. It is hard to remember. I suggested to them that I thought that inasmuch as—that was before our State convention—that I thought that, if possible, we ought to try and send an uninstructed delegation to San Francisco; that nobody knew yet who was the most available candidate; and I, personally, would like to wait and see who the Republicans nominated.

Senator SPENCER. Were all of those letters directed to friends in North Carolina?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes; I have never written any letters outside of North Carolina.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any letters having been sent out in which Mr. McAdoo's candidacy was mentioned?

Mr. McLEAN. I wanted to finish this, if you don't mind, Senator; then I will come back to that.

I said to one or two of these friends of mine—close personal friends—that in my opinion at that time, Mr. McAdoo was the best man, but that nobody could tell yet what was best, and that I thought that the best thing to do was to hold our minds open.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any other letters, or do you know of any letters that were written in which Mr. McAdoo's candidacy was mentioned?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I do not.

Senator SPENCER. By anybody?

Mr. McLEAN. I do not.

Senator SPENCER. If there were any letters sent out by anybody in connection with Mr. McAdoo's candidacy, you know nothing about it?

Mr. McLEAN. Absolutely nothing. I have heard a number of his friends, some of them about half mad, cussing about it, because he would not let anything be done.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to Mr. Chadborne about it?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I never did. I do not know Mr. Chadborne.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any of your employees been doing any work for Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. McLEAN. No, sir; nobody has done any work for Mr. McAdoo. I don't consider that I have done any work for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think sending out letter indorsing him—wouldn't you call that political work?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Meeting people and talking for him?

Mr. McLEAN. No; I don't know that I would consider that doing any work for him, because I talked about all the candidates.

I will say this, that I would have been perfectly willing to have done anything I could properly do, believing, as I did, that he was the best man for the place, but he would not permit me to do it, and the consequence is I have done nothing that I can see.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in North Carolina?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Federal officials are there on the delegation from North Carolina to the Democratic National Convention?

Mr. McLEAN. I haven't got the list before me now. I don't know of any.

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; I think so. And we find that year after year the people are likely to be the same folks.

Senator POMERENE. What would you have done if you had had a campaign fund of \$500,000?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, I would have done what most other managers do. I would have divided it up among my friends. [Laughter.]

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Harrison, I am treating this question quite seriously. All these irreverent reporters around here want to laugh, but you seem to have conducted a campaign, a successful campaign, for Senator Johnson in the State of Nebraska with this very small sum of money. Assuming that Senator Johnson was popular in your State, nevertheless, we all know in primaries it is difficult to get the people to come to the polls. Now, what was the method that you employed? How did you manage, with this small sum of money, to arouse an interest in the Senator?

Mr. HARRISON. The interest was there at the beginning. I had to see that the other fellows did not get it away from us. I had to know the State of Nebraska in every detail; every town, every precinct. I do know it. I had to know somebody in every town and in every precinct who was our kind of folks, and keep in communication with him. Generally, I wrote those communications myself on a typewriter, and they were not very long.

Senator REED. Well, but you wrote out and you asked, of course, these people that you thought belonged in your crowd—by which I mean the men of your way of thinking—and you asked them to get active and interested, and, of course, you got replies from them, and I suppose you followed it up with other letters and you devised to get them? Now, in newspaper advertising, did you do any of that, except to advertise for meetings and send out cuts of your candidates?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; I sent out one advertisement with the letter which Senator Norris sent to Nebraska recommending Senator Johnson, with a little cut of Senator Johnson to go at the head of that letter, a total of 7 inches, which I put in 100 weekly papers. The average cost of that was \$1.50 for each paper.

Later, I sent out one advertisement which amounted to 70 cents, and I sent the checks along with it, and that was sent to 80 newspapers.

Senator REED. Now, what was the character of that advertising?

Mr. HARRISON. That advertisement, as I remember it, was that Senator Johnson will soon be here and I would like to hear from friends of Senator Johnson who will help to make his tour of the States a success. Just that many lines. I paid 70 cents for it. I have the checks with me. That is all.

Senator REED. Then you had some meetings, when Senator Johnson did come?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How many meetings did you have?

Mr. HARRISON. Oh, we had twice as many meetings as we told them we were going to have. [Laughter.]

We promised him that if he would come six days we would have two meetings a day. We had 21 meetings.

Senator REED. Was Gen. Pershing an active candidate in that State? I do not mean individually, but was there an active campaign made for him?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator REED. Was there a committee?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator REED. What was his vote, do you recall?

Mr. HARRISON. I think he got about 25,000 in the State.

Senator REED. And about how many did Gen. Wood get?

Mr. HARRISON. About 41,000. I have not the figures, with me.

Senator REED. I am not holding you closely, but about—just an approximation? And what was Johnson's vote?

Mr. HARRISON. It was 20,800 more than Gen. Wood's.

Senator POMERENE. Approximately as many as the other two candidates?

Mr. HARRISON. Almost; not quite.

Senator REED. Now, you observed, of course, the campaign that was being made on behalf of the antagonists of Mr. Johnson?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator REED. Did the Wood people have headquarters?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. HARRISON. They had headquarters at Lincoln and at Omaha, and they advertised that they had headquarters at various other towns.

Senator REED. Did you ever visit those headquarters?

Mr. HARRISON. No, sir.

Senator REED. What was your information in regard to the character and extent and expense of those headquarters?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, my observation was that they probably had 50 people employed in the State, largely traveling about the State.

Senator POMERENE. You mean employed on salaries, do you?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator REED. Do you know if there was a general there, who came into the State from the outside, active in the Wood campaign, a man known as Gen. Glenn? Was he in that State?

Mr. HARRISON. Not under that name, anyhow. They employed local people and they employed, I think, one entire Chautauqua system.

Senator POMERENE. What is that?

Mr. HARRISON. The people who go out in Chautauqua work during the vacation time and are ready to take money. I think they took it. My observation of their work, and through my talk with some of them since, was that they went out into the towns and sat in the hotels and told stories and pocketed the money. They did not know what else to do, so they did that. [Laughter.]

Senator REED. Well, what about the advertising that was carried on on behalf of other candidates?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, they used full pages, and sometimes two and three pages at a time in the daily papers, sometimes with lists of business men and heads of commercial clubs at the bottom of the advertising to give them weight.

Senator REED. Was it this class of advertising: "This advertisement contributed by So-and-so," or were these names merely signed?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, sometimes one way and sometimes another. Nobody believed it, anyhow. [Laughter.] The big advertisement in Nebraska is offensive to our voters.

Senator REED. What papers in the large cities carried these advertisements?

Mr. HARRISON. The two daily papers at Lincoln—the Journal and Star at Lincoln; the Bee, World-Herald, and News at Omaha.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the World-Herald carry heavy advertisements?

Mr. HARRISON. The World-Herald carries whatever it is paid for. [Laughter.] Full pages.

Senator REED. Now, do you know about the cost—I mean the price charged for that class of advertising in the city papers?

Mr. HARRISON. I know that when it got thick they doubled the rate and made it too expensive for me. In Lincoln the rate had been a dollar an inch; in Omaha \$1.10 for one paper and \$1.40 for the other two.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the World-Herald charge all presidential candidates the same rate for advertising?

Mr. HARRISON. I think the World-Herald now charges \$2.80 an inch.

Senator REED. How much? How many inches? Oh, that inch is a printer's inch, is it?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes: a single column.

Senator REED. How many inches would there be in the page?

Mr. HARRISON. Ordinarily in one of those papers, an 8-column page, about 22 inches per column.

Senator REED. And that would be—eight times 22 would be 176 inches in a page?

Mr. HARRISON. Multiply that by \$2.80 an inch. It would not have taken much time to wipe me out at that.

Senator REED. Well, these advertisements were in the Lincoln papers and in the Omaha papers. How about other large cities of Nebraska?

Mr. HARRISON. We have in Nebraska about 450 weekly papers. The other two headquarters utilized about 350 of those papers.

Senator POMERENE. You mean the Wood headquarters and the Pershing headquarters?

Mr. HARRISON. They were running a race with each other on that. About every week they used them.

Senator REED. To what extent?

Mr. HARRISON. Oh, from two and a half to three dollars a week, depending on their rate.

Senator REED. Could you give us any estimate or approximation of the expense for newspaper advertising in Nebraska?

Mr. HARRISON. No; I could not do that. I looked at the Sunday papers the Sunday before the primary and estimated \$4,000 worth in the Sunday papers of Nebraska.

Senator REED. That day?

Mr. HARRISON. That one day.

Senator POMERENE. You say the Sunday papers. Do you mean all of the Sunday papers?

Senator REED. You have told us all you know about this matter?

Mr. McLEAN. Well, just except a lot of gossip, Senator. I don't know when I could tell all of that.

Senator REED. Oh, well; we don't mean that.

Mr. McLEAN. About hearing people talk about the matter. I have prepared a statement here which is just practically what I have said, except it is in a little better language.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have covered it all, what is the use of putting it in.

Mr. McLEAN. I don't know as it is.

The CHAIRMAN. If you desire to do so, all right; but if it is not essential, I don't think it is worth while putting it in.

Mr. McLEAN. I don't know that it is. It is practically what I have said, except probably said in a little better way.

Senator REED. I think you have been very clear in your answers.

Senator POMERENE. You are a member of the bar of North Carolina?

Mr. McLEAN. Yes, sir. I am really more interested in business matters than in practicing law. I am a member of the bar and have been president of the State bar association, but I am in the banking business and the cotton-mill business.

Senator POMERENE. Where is your home?

Mr. McLEAN. At Lumberton, N. C., a small town down near the South Carolina line, in the rural section. I have never run for any office myself.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you.

Mr. Dougherty, we will complete your examination now.

STATEMENT OF MR. HARRY S. DOUGHERTY—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. We were inquiring, I think, about the expenses of the Columbus headquarters yesterday.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. I think that had been completed. I think the inquiry that the——

Senator POMERENE. We were talking about the advertising, I believe.

Mr. DOUGHERTY. No; it was in reference to the expenditures of Gen. Wood, I think, as compared with ours.

Senator REED. You have a paper there called the Columbus Dispatch, do you not?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And the Ohio State Journal?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The Ohio State Journal is a morning paper.

Senator REED. Those two papers are published practically together—that is, under the same proprietorship?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. They are reputed to be under the control of the same proprietorship.

Senator REED. Mr. Dougherty, who is the manager of those papers? What is the connection of Mr. Wolf?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Wolf is reputed to be the controlling factor in the management and policy of both papers.

Senator REED. Did those papers take a rather active part in the campaign?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Quite active.

Senator REED. Whom did they start out for? Whom did they originally support?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The Columbus Evening Dispatch pretends to be neutral. I think that paper in the outset published some rather favorably comments, editorially.

Senator REED. On whom?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. And in its news columns. Favorable to Senator Harding. The Ohio State Journal claims to be a Republican paper. That paper in the outset indorsed Senator Harding for the Presidency, emphatically.

Senator REED. Are they both printed at the same place?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. They are both printed in Columbus, Ohio, but different offices, in different buildings.

Senator REED. Now, was there a change in the policy of those papers later in the campaign?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Very evidently.

Senator REED. Whom did they change to?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Their general support was given to Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Did they become antagonistic to Senator Harding?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. The course of the policy of the paper was antagonistic to Senator Harding and very enthusiastically and somewhat effectively to the extent that they have any influence for Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Was there much space given in the papers to the campaign?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Quite a little.

Senator REED. How did it happen that this change of policy came about? Now, perhaps I need not have asked that question. I do not want to ask you that.

Did you hear of any considerable sum of money that was being spent there locally, in Columbus, in carrying on the campaign in Columbus against Senator Harding or in favor of his opponents?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Well, of course, interested as I was in that campaign, I would hear a great many reports. In a political campaign you hear a great many things that are true and a great many things that are not true. It is often very hard to distinguish between real truth and real falsehood, or to be able to estimate to what extent the story may be partly true and partly untrue. I would be willing to go to this extent in saying that there was a very active campaign for Gen. Wood in Columbus, Franklin County, and all over the State.

Senator REED. Who in Columbus was especially at the head or carrying on the movement you have just spoken of?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Columbus, to my mind, was more or less like the situation all over the country. Are you asking me as to who was at the head of the Wood movement?

Senator REED. In that town. Who was the potential figure in it? Was it Mr. Wolf?

Mr. DOUGHERTY. Mr. Wolf was a very active supporter of Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Now——

Mr. DOUGHERTY (interposing). I was about to say that Columbus is like a good many other places pretty generally over the country. I never was so very much interested in who was the active head of the Wood movement. I do not think that has ever been established.

and Senator Norris's letter following, I understood you to say that the average cost was about \$1.50 for the 7 inches?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Is that the usual cost; or was that due to your own influence or friendship?

Mr. HARRISON. No; they have their published rates of 20 cents an inch or 25 cents an inch—our weekly papers—and some few as high as 50 cents, but nearly all 20 cents.

Senator POMERENE. Are your political rates in excess of the commercial rates?

Mr. HARRISON. No.

Senator SPENCER. Anyone could have gotten that same rate?

Mr. HARRISON. Just the same. They publish the rates.

Senator POMERENE. That germ has not been planted in Nebraska.

Senator SPENCER. May I ask this question, Mr. Harrison? I think you made it very clear—at least, you did to me—that in your political activities, you found out where the overwhelming sentiment of the State was, and then, if that coincided with your own judgment, you got into the matter, giving as much time as you thought best, and you rather led the public opinion which already existed, in a sense, and kept it from being dissipated or weakened? Is that a fair statement?

Mr. HARRISON. That is a fair statement.

Senator SPENCER. And in the doing of that, you accomplished the remarkable result which you did accomplish in connection with Senator Johnson's candidacy in Nebraska by pursuing that general plan?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Now, let me ask you this: Suppose, Mr. Harrison, your judgment had led you very strongly to support the candidacy of some man—for illustration, may I say, Senator Harding—who perhaps was not particularly well known in Nebraska, and who did not have that sentiment in his favor, and yet you became strongly convinced that he was the man that ought to be nominated and you wanted to have just as an aggressive and effective a campaign as you could make in the State of Nebraska; would it take considerable money for publicity or for other expenses?

Mr. HARRISON. It probably would take it, but I don't think it would have changed the result.

Senator SPENCER. Probably not; but if you had had the management—if your judgment had led you to the candidacy of Senator Harding and you had accepted the management of it and you had put all your efficiency and experience back of that campaign, would you have felt that you ought to receive and properly ought to expend a substantial sum of money in Nebraska in order to accomplish any result?

Mr. HARRISON. I do not; because I never had that experience. I don't know what I would do when this new thing comes up. I will say to you, gentlemen, that I was asked to manage the Lowden campaign in Nebraska and also the Wood campaign.

Senator SPENCER. And your judgment would not let you do it?

Mr. HARRISON. I made an examination and my judgment told me it was not the thing to do.

Senator REED. What did they say to you about funds?

Mr. HARRISON. They did not need to say anything.

Senator REED. Did they say anything to you about supplying the sinews of war?

Mr. HARRISON. No; that was understood. I think practical politicians always understand that.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Harrison, if I may press it one step further, am I right in assuming that if you had undertaken the campaign of Mr. Lowden or Gen. Wood in Nebraska, with the state of opinion as it was in Nebraska, if you had been led to assume the management of that campaign, am I right in my inference that it would have taken very many more times as many thousand dollars as you thought was necessary in connection with the campaign of Senator Johnson, because of the public sentiment in Nebraska with regard to him?

Mr. HARRISON. From my experience in Nebraska for any candidate in a primary, I do not think more than \$5,000 can be legitimately spent for anybody—I mean sensibly spent.

Senator SPENCER. Whether he is known or unknown in the State?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You have how many voters in Nebraska, Mr. Harrison, approximately?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, we had the women vote in the primary. Our vote in Nebraska has been about 260,000.

Senator POMERENE. That is, before you had woman suffrage?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; that is in the general election.

Senator SPENCER. And in the primary, would that be doubled with the women participating?

Mr. HARRISON. No; but possibly it would add in a primary one-half more.

Senator SPENCER. Approximately 400,000?

Mr. HARRISON. But remember, in a primary we have only been casting about 100,000 Republican votes. We cast this time, I think, about 136,000.

Senator SPENCER. But you would say, roughly speaking, that those entitled to vote, including the women, would probably be somewhat over 400,000?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That is, you mean, entitled to vote at the Republican primary?

Senator SPENCER. That would not be at the Republican primary, would it?

Mr. HARRISON. No; the total vote through the State.

Senator SPENCER. The total number in Nebraska would probably be 250,000 entitled to vote at the Republican primary?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; I suppose so.

Senator SPENCER. Now, Mr. Harrison, is it, in your judgment, an unwise or an impolitic thing to do to send to every one of those voters some information about the candidates, particularly if he is unknown in Nebraska? Would you regard it as an unwise thing, or would you regard it as an inexpedient—politically inexpedient—thing to do to send to every voter some information—a pamphlet or a speech—concerning a candidate, if he was comparatively unknown in Nebraska?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, I never tried it. I don't know.

Senator SPENCER. Of course, that would require approximately \$12,500 every time you sent out such literature, and if you sent three or four of them during the campaign you would run up at once to \$30,000 or \$40,000 or more simply in connection with that item.

Mr. HARRISON. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. You can not give us any information on that?

Mr. HARRISON. No; because that is beyond me, and I never thought it was necessary.

Senator REED. Since you have been asked your opinion, what do you think of the proposition of sending \$35,000 or \$40,000 into the State and turning it over to an individual—carrying on campaigns in that way?

Mr. HARRISON. I think when money is handed over to a manager in an ordinary locality the manager is likely to use it to pay his debts, political and otherwise, but generally he is fooled into paying it over to people who pretend to work and don't work.

Senator REED. Well, I am speaking about the public effect; speaking of it as an incident to healthful public conditions, the system of a man taking, for instance, \$400,000 of his own money and starting out to promote himself as a candidate for President and sending it out in chunks of \$30,000, \$40,000, and \$50,000 to political managers in States. What do you think of that sort of business?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, I can only tell you about Nebraska. As I say, that is very offensive to our people and they are quick to sense the distribution of money.

Senator REED. And resent it?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, we always whip them.

Senator REED. I don't believe I have anything further.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, you feel that in considering the matter of expenditure of money in elections it should be looked at from the standpoint of its effect upon the public and not from the standpoint of the ambition of a candidate or his particular friends?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Harrison, do you think we have reached the point in this country yet where everybody must be paid for political service?

Mr. HARRISON. Well, we are rapidly approaching it, I am afraid.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is very undesirable?

Mr. HARRISON. I have never yet been able to employ a man who ever tried to earn the money he was paid in politics.

Senator POMERENE. You are exactly right.

Mr. HARRISON. He goes out and makes a bluff, takes your money, and comes back and reports things are all right, or whatever he thinks you want to know, and that is all there is to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it true there are getting to be in many communities a regular grafting performance on these campaign funds; men who assume to do work and get hold of a fund and do not do a thing?

Mr. HARRISON. We haven't it so much in Nebraska.

The CHAIRMAN. But in other States?

Mr. HARRISON. In Omaha we have some of it, but our State is not bad.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you this: Was there a very exciting contest in Nebraska for the delegates to the Democratic national convention?

Mr. HARRISON. Yes; there was. That is, the usual Bryan and anti-Bryan fight.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there much money spent in that contest?

Mr. HARRISON. No. My observation is that Mr. Bryan in his fights in Nebraska spends very little money. He simply makes an appeal to the public.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the opposition to Mr. Bryan spend much money?

Mr. HARRISON. If they did, it is not in a visible way. We can not tell.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Harrison. We are very obliged to you, sir.

Mr. Lang, will you take the stand? Give the reporter your full name and your business.

STATEMENT OF MR. LOUIS J. LANG, OF NEW YORK CITY.

The witness was sworn by the chairman.

Mr. LANG. Louis J. Lang; political writer.

The CHAIRMAN. On what paper?

Mr. LANG. The New York American.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to try and follow up some of these articles in the different papers now, Mr. Lang, and find out whether they are all romances, or whether there is some foundation for them. We have got an interesting article in the paper now giving us some information; we want to find out who wrote it and in that way get some information, and that is why we have you here.

You are said to have written the article in the New York American of Wednesday, May 19, which I will say was placed in the Congressional Record and which has already, I think, gone into this record. It is headed "Big business for Wilson's son in law. Baruch and five other millionaires named by Gov. Edwards' managers behind movement. Place holders enlisted. Dodge, Morgenthau, Crane, and Hurley listed as active in plan to dictate Democratic nominee."

I hand you a copy of the paper containing this article and ask you if you wrote that article. [Handing paper to witness.]

Mr. LANG. I did, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What is the date of the issue?

Mr. LANG. May 19.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I also call your attention to an article in the New York American of Thursday, May 27, which article I will have placed in the record. It is entitled "Baruch denial of McAdoo fund stirs Cox, Edwards action—Managers demand that national committeemen be questioned as to offer of million."

A little of it is this:

Astounded that Barney M. Baruch denies under oath that he knows anything of the William Gibbs McAdoo's candidacy for the Presidency, or the alleged million to put it over, Cox and Edwards campaign managers united yesterday in telephonic and telegraphic demand that Baruch be recalled to the stand. The managers also urged that practically every member of the Democratic national executive committee be summoned to testify before the Senate committee which is inquiring into presidential campaign expenses.

Then the article follows. Did you also write that article?

Mr. LANG. Let me see that, please.

The CHAIRMAN. I hand you the paper and ask you if you wrote that article?

Mr. LANG (after examining paper). Yes, sir; I wrote that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we will take up the first article in the paper of Wednesday, May 19, in which you claim that a number of millionaires are behind the campaign of Mr. McAdoo, and I will ask you the source of your information?

Mr. LANG. No; I did not claim it; I said that they claimed it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who claimed it?

Mr. LANG. The managers.

The CHAIRMAN. The managers for Govs. Cox and Edwards?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They claimed that?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, where did you get your information, and where can we get it, as to the facts which you claim?

Mr. LANG. Senator, I treat as confidential anything that comes to me from politicians or public men. It is understood that it is confidential, and the name shall not be used, just as if you gave me a story, or Senator Reed gave me a story, and said, "Don't quote me," and I don't. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. And is that the way that information came to you?

Mr. LANG. The information came to me by authority of men in the Cox and Edwards management and also from members of the Democratic National Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And from the information given you, you relied upon that information?

Mr. LANG. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any reason to question it?

Mr. LANG. I have not the slightest, because the information dovetailed.

The CHAIRMAN. And believing that information was correct, you wrote the article.

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not feel at liberty to give us the names of the men?

Mr. LANG. I do not.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Lang, you state here that the allegation is made that a big business syndicate has been formed to underwrite William G. McAdoo's presidential campaign—"at least \$5,000,000 has been collected or pledged, was made on May 18 by one of the most influential of Gov. Edwards's campaign managers."

That information was given to you?

Mr. LANG. It was; directly.

Senator SPENCER. The most influential, or one of the most influential of Gov. Edwards's campaign managers who gave you that information, did he give it to you in secret or under the pledge that his name should not be used?

Mr. LANG. Under the pledge that his name should not be used, and a member of the Democratic National Committee was with him at the time and will confirm it.

Senator REED. Where did you get this information? In what place was it?

Mr. LANG. In New York City.

Senator REED. And on the 18th?

Mr. LANG. On the date prior to the publication of that story.

Senator REED. Would you mind telling us where you were in New York City?

Mr. LANG. Senator, am I compelled to answer that?

Senator REED. Well, I don't want to compel you to answer.

Mr. LANG. I want to facilitate the work of the committee in every way I can.

Senator REED. I appreciate the situation that a newspaper man is in who gets information in that way, and unless it was a very serious matter, I would not be inclined, so far as I am concerned, to say it must be answered. It might involve the life of the Republic, or something of that sort, and then I do not think anybody's confidences cut any figure, but I will not insist on it.

Senator SPENCER. Are you free to tell us the State from which that national committeeman came?

Mr. LANG. I am afraid that would identify him.

Senator SPENCER. I think we ought to subpoena every national committeeman in the Democratic National Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say some of them are subpoenaed for tomorrow morning.

Mr. Lang, I want to ask you about the story in the New York American of May 27. You say in this story:

Vick, who listened to Baruch's testimony before the committee and witnessed his renewed intimacy with Dr. Grayson, President Wilson's physician, was so amazed that he was speechless when asked to comment upon the testimony yesterday.

I don't understand that this renewed intimacy with Dr. Grayson was anything confidential.

Mr. LANG. I presume that would reveal the private conversation, would it not, if I should answer that?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Vick was before this committee, Gov. Edwards's manager.

Mr. LANG. So I was informed.

The CHAIRMAN. And you saw him when he was speechless, did you, over the Baruch testimony?

Mr. LANG. I saw Mr. Vick that day; yes.

Senator SPENCER. Did you talk to him much in this unfortunate condition. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say while he was speechless.

Senator POMERENE. That was poetic license, wasn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will not follow that up.

Mr. LANG. I should like very much to say just what he said, but I am not a profane man.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not say it because you do not want to be profane. Is that it?

Mr. LANG. Well, I don't want to betray any confidence.

The CHAIRMAN. But, in any event, he seemed amazed at the Baruch testimony?

Mr. LANG. He certainly did.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it proceeds:

Cox-Edwards machinery was put in motion to urge, first, that Baruch be specifically asked if he did not make this offer in the Hotel St. Charles, at Atlantic City, on September 27 last to Chairman Cummings and his associate members of the Democratic National Committee.

Now, quoting:

If you will drop Palmer and back McAdoo for President I will guarantee to underwrite the McAdoo campaign for any amount from \$10,000,000 upward.

Now, that was the first thing that the machinery under your story has been put in motion to urge. Now, can you tell us anything about that story that does not breach any confidence?

Mr. LANG. I will simply say that one of the Edwards managers telephoned here the day prior to the publication of that article and got certain people—got a certain person——

Senator REED (interposing). Whom did he telephone to?

Mr. LANG. I would rather not say, Senator, if you will pardon me—to ask Senator Reed and ask Senator Kenyon to ask Senator Borah to recall Mr. Baruch.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that may be. I have received no notice of it. Have you?

Senator REED. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this after the Atlantic City conference and this offer? Were you at Atlantic City at that time, September 27?

Mr. LANG. I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you published a story at that time in the American, and, of course, that was not confidential. The meeting was at Atlantic City, wasn't it?

Mr. LANG. Well, part of it was confidential.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get at the part that is not confidential—and I don't want to ask you anything confidential unless it becomes absolutely necessary. It was a meeting of the Democratic executive committee, at Atlantic City, September 27?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir; beginning, I think, the 25th.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baruch and Mr. Chadbourne were there?

Mr. LANG. Yes; they were.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there?

Mr. LANG. I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did that meeting continue?

Mr. LANG. About three days, I should judge. It was Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, September 25, 26, and 27.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, was there anything about that meeting with relation to this story that you can tell us? What hotel was the meeting in?

Mr. LANG. The Hotel St. Charles.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this story floating around the hotel? How did you get hold of it?

Mr. LANG. Why, the night I arrived, Mr. Jamieson, the national committeeman, I think, from Iowa——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). No; Mr. Marsh is national committeeman; Mr. Jamieson is assistant treasurer.

Mr. LANG. Assistant treasurer I mean—met Mr. John S. Lynch of the Tribune and myself in the lobby and said: "Come right upstairs; I want to tell you about this \$10,000,000 campaign fund we

are trying to arrange for the next Democratic candidate for president."

Senator REED. \$10,000,000?

Mr. LANG. \$10,000,000, Senator. That was a public statement. He had announced in New York that they were trying to raise a nationwide fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jamieson is assistant treasurer of the Democratic national committee?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir. So Denny and I went up and we talked that over. I never understood finance, anyway, and I got tired and Denny got tired and we came downstairs.

The CHAIRMAN. You got tired of listening to the plans?

Senator REED. Tell us all about the plan.

Mr. LANG. I have sort of a hazy recollection of it, Senator. Mr. Jamieson had evolved a scheme for raising about \$10,000,000, and I can't remember all the details.

Senator REED. I don't care about the details; give us the substance of it.

Mr. LANG. It was to raise \$10,000,000.

Senator REED. I know, but he had some method. What was the method?

Mr. LANG. I don't recall now, Senator, really. I really do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he to get any of it out of Federal officials?

Mr. LANG. No; of course not. That is prohibited under the law.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Jamieson for for President?

Mr. LANG. I understood he was for McAdoo.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we are making a little progress.

Now, this story that Baruch would underwrite the McAdoo campaign for President—I don't ask you who gave it to you, but how did that story come to you? You must have had some basis for it in order to publish it.

Mr. LANG. Well, it came as a sort of an aftermath to the Jamieson plan. There was some quarrel, I believe, in the committee, as to whether the Jamieson plan was practicable.

Senator SPENCER. You mean in what committee?

Mr. LANG. The national executive committee.

Senator SPENCER. Of what?

Mr. LANG. The Democratic national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Some quarrel, you say?

Mr. LANG. Some quarrel as to the plan, and Mr. Chadborne had come down from New York, and Mr. Baruch was there from New York, and somebody suggested that Mr. Chadborne submit the plan that he had followed in the mayoralty campaign of 1917 in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he raise the money for that campaign?

Mr. LANG. He was alleged to have raised \$2,000,000, and the papers were full of it at the time, if you will recall.

The CHAIRMAN. That was Mayor Mitchel?

Mr. LANG. That was Mayor Mitchel. And the case is still in court. Mr. Childs, you remember, chairman of the committee, is under indictment.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not familiar with that.

Senator SPENCER. You mean he raised \$2,000,000 for the candidacy for mayor in a single city?

Mr. LANG. That was the charge.

The CHAIRMAN. How did Chadborne raise it?

Mr. LANG. At dinners given at the Ritz and elsewhere. They called them million-dollar dinners.

The CHAIRMAN. And Thomas Chadborne was with Barney Baruch at the Atlantic City meeting?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Who was it suggested that they get Mr. Chadborne to give his plan; the plan by which they raised this money?

Mr. LANG. I don't know. I only know that Mr. Baruch and Mr. Chadborne came together, and we saw them in the lobby of the St Charles on their arrival.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with either of them about their scheme of raising the \$10,000,000?

Mr. LANG. Why, after the publication of my first story, I had referred to the \$2,000,000 slush fund in New York in connection with the mayoralty campaign—

Senator SPENCER (interposing). The Mitchel campaign?

Mr. LANG. The Mitchel campaign—and Mr. Chadborne sat with me at luncheon, and he said, "Where did you get that stuff?"

Senator REED. Who said that to you?

Mr. LANG. Mr. Chadborne. I said:

From you and Barney Baruch. You laid your cards on the table before the committee last night. Everybody around the hotel knows what the offer was that was made for the Presidency.

The CHAIRMAN. You were referring to the offer of \$10,000,000?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If the committee would turn to McAdoo?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You told Chadborne that?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Barney Baruch there?

Mr. LANG. No; he was in the dining room.

Senator REED. What did Chadborne say when you told him this?

Mr. LANG. He laughed.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he deny it?

Mr. LANG. No; he was good-natured about it. Apparently, he didn't like the reference to the \$2,000,000 slush fund. That was a very sore spot with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you afterwards talk to Baruch about it?

Mr. LANG. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever talk to Baruch about it?

Mr. LANG. I don't think I ever did; no.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did that session last at Atlantic City?

Mr. LANG. Three days.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Baruch there all the time?

Mr. LANG. I think so. I think he went away Sunday.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the Democratic National Committee were there?

Mr. LANG. Well, I don't remember just how many, but Mr. Cummings was there; Mr. Norman E. Mack, of New York, was there;

Mr. Marsh, of Iowa; Fred B. Lynch, of Minnesota; Clark Howell, of Georgia; Mr. Cremer, of Montana, I think; Mr. J. Bruce Cremer, of Montana. I don't recall the others. There were quite a number, and Mr. Jamieson.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this story that you have written here, that you claimed Mr. Baruch stated to the committee: "If you will drop Palmer and back McAdoo for President I will guarantee to underwrite the McAdoo campaign for any amount from \$10,000,000 upward," is what you referred to when you talked to Chadborne at the table that morning?

Mr. LANG. That was what I referred to; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a current story around the hotel?

Mr. LANG. That was a current story around the hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Baruch circulating freely there with the delegates?

Mr. LANG. Well, he was there a great deal.

Senator REED. You mean the members of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LANG. Yes; he was there.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Palmer was a member of the national committee, was he not?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he there?

Mr. LANG. He was.

Senator REED. Did you understand that this proposition of \$10,000,000 made to the committee on the condition that the committee would back McAdoo was made in Mr. Palmer's presence?

Mr. LANG. No; I don't know whether he was present or not. I will tell you this, that I heard it from a member of the national committee originally who told me that a member of the national committee had received this offer from Mr. Baruch, and was asked to pass it to the committee and see what they thought about it.

Senator REED. Mr. Baruch then did not make it personally, as you understood?

Mr. LANG. Yes; personally to this member of the national committee.

Senator REED. I mean, Mr. Baruch did not go before the committee and make it?

Mr. LANG. I don't think—I am not sure about that, Senator, whether he appeared before the committee. Mr. Chadborne did appear before the committee to explain the Mitchell fund. I am not sure about Mr. Baruch.

Senator REED. Mr. Chadborne appeared before the committee?

Mr. LANG. I think he did. I am not certain about that, but anyway I was told that he got his plan for raising the money before them in some way.

Senator SPENCER. Let me see if I have that right. Your information was that Mr. Baruch told some member of the national committee that he would raise a fund of \$10,000,000 or more in the presidential campaign if Mr. McAdoo was the candidate?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with other members of the national committee?

Mr. LANG. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the national committee did you talk to about it?

Mr. LANG. I talked with—oh, I guess 6 or 8 or 10.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't they have this story?

Mr. LANG. Nearly all of them did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you discuss it with them?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the executive committee decide to do?

Mr. LANG. I don't know whether they formally decided to do anything. But they were all friendly to Palmer, and apparently they did not accept the offer. Mr. Palmer is a member of the committee and popular with them, and they were rather for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any members of the Democratic national committee who are directors in any of these concerns taken over by the Alien Property Custodian, do you know?

Mr. LANG. I don't know as to that, sir.

Senator SPENCER. This was a meeting only of the executive committee?

Mr. LANG. Of the executive committee.

Senator SPENCER. Of the national committee?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, further in this article you say—

Senator REED (interposing). Just a moment there, if you will allow me—how many members are there of the executive committee about?

Mr. LANG. I think it is either 15 or 18, Senator. I am not certain about that. I think that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You further say:

Seco d. That Baruch be asked if he has not ever since been conducting a McAdoo campaign, using the name and office of Deputy Police Commissioner Wallace at No. 111 Broadway as a clearing house for personal and written demands for campaign contributions?

What can you tell us about that?

Mr. LANG. That information came from a former member of the national committee, who told me that. I think the original story of that was published in the Standard Union, of Brooklyn, which contained the text of the letter that was being sent out by Wallace appealing for funds for the Democratic national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That information comes from him?

Mr. LANG. The original story was published in the Standard Union.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Wallace's full name?

Mr. LANG. Frederick A., I think; deputy police commissioner of New York.

Senator REED. I haven't gotten, now, your story clearly about this matter. You say that the original suggestion which caused you to make this inquiry, or ask that this inquiry be made, namely, that Baruch be asked if he has not ever since been conducting a McAdoo campaign and using the name and office of Deputy Police Commissioner Wallace, of 111 Broadway, as a means and clearing house for personal and written demands for campaign contributions—that the original of that story appeared in what paper?

Mr. LANG. In the Brooklyn Standard Union.

Senator REED. Now, that paper printed the letter?

Mr. LANG. It printed the text of the letter.

Senator REED. Did the letter contain anything except a mere request for campaign funds?

Mr. LANG. As I recall it, it merely called attention to the fact that they needed money for the presidential campaign, and asked contributions.

Senator REED. Of course, there have been a great many of those letters sent out from Mr. Jamieson and others. Now, what is the significance of Mr. Wallace having sent some out?

Mr. LANG. Well, the reason I spoke of that, Senator, is this: That I called up a certain former member of the national committee and asked what this Wallace business meant. He said "that is Baruch's office." I said "Baruch is at 123 Liberty Street; this is 111 Broadway." He said "you will find out that Mr. Wallace is acting for Mr. Baruch." And he said "go to it." I covered every track in this story, Senator.

Senator REED. So that the idea was that Mr. Wallace was acting in concert with Mr. Baruch?

Mr. LANG. That is what he said.

Senator REED. And the method that was then being employed was merely to ask for contributions?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator REED. Was there anything that you knew of to indicate they were working specially for Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. LANG. Only what this former national committee man told me. He said it was a McAdoo fund.

Senator REED. That is, that the money that was being collected there was not to reach the national committee, but was to be used for McAdoo?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir; collected for the McAdoo fund.

Senator REED. Did Wallace have a position with the national committee?

Mr. LANG. I don't know that he had, Senator.

Senator REED. And what is his position?

Mr. LANG. Deputy police commissioner.

Senator REED. Then the idea was that a deputy police commissioner in New York, in his office, was writing out for funds to carry on the national campaign, but that as a matter of fact the funds were being collected to be hereafter used in the interest of Mr. McAdoo? Is that right?

Mr. LANG. That was my information.

The CHAIRMAN. You know New York pretty well, Mr. Lang. I would like to ask you if there is a McAdoo headquarters in New York.

Mr. LANG. They say not, but there is a suite of rooms at the Pennsylvania Hotel in which Mr. Roper is quite busy.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Daniel Roper?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this an elaborate suite of rooms?

Mr. LANG. It is quite a suite.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever go up there?

Mr. LANG. Oh, I go up there every day.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a Johnson headquarters in New York?

Mr. LANG. The Johnson headquarters is in the same building.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see the Democratic politicians from various parts of the country going back and forth to this suite of rooms?

Mr. LANG. I have seen some; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not be violating confidence to tell us whom you have seen there, would it, going up to these headquarters?

Mr. LANG. I would rather not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen a good many Federal officials going up there?

Mr. LANG. Some.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this recognized as a McAdoo headquarters?

Mr. LANG. Why, officially, no.

The CHAIRMAN. But by the people in general around the hotel?

Mr. LANG. Well, they drop in to see Mr. Roper.

Senator REED. I will put it this way, using a slang phrase, which is the only one I know that covers it: Is it recognized as a McAdoo headquarters by the fellows who are "in on the know"?

Mr. LANG. Well, Senator, I don't think any of the McAdoo men call it that.

Senator REED. Have you ever seen Mr. Baruch there?

Mr. LANG. No.

Senator POMERENE. I wanted to ask you this: Mr. Roper resigned his position here as Commissioner of Internal Revenue and it is reported that he has entered into some business in New York City.

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Does he have his office at the Pennsylvania Hotel?

Mr. LANG. I don't think so, sir; but I am not certain. He is with the Marlin Co., connected with the Marlin Co., I think. I can't remember the name of the firm, but is the Marlin Co.

Senator POMERENE. What is the character of the business?

Mr. LANG. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Where is their office located?

Mr. LANG. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. You don't know whether these rooms at the Pennsylvania Hotel where you have seen Mr. Roper are his business headquarters or not?

Mr. LANG. I haven't seen Mr. Roper there. I didn't say that.

Senator POMERENE. Well, where he is reputed to be, then.

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether those rooms are his business headquarters?

Mr. LANG. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have referred to your having received certain information—I will withdraw that for the present.

You spoke of the company with which Mr. Roper is supposed to be connected as the Marlin Co.; you think that is the first name?

Mr. LANG. I think so.

Senator POMERENE. Is that the Marlin Arms Co. of New Haven?

Mr. LANG. Senator, I am not quite sure about that, whether it is the Arms Co. or not. I am not quite sure.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have said that you got some information from a member of the national committee to the effect that Frederick A. Wallace, deputy police commissioner of New York, was representing Mr. Baruch in this campaign.

Mr. LANG. A former member of the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Who was the former member?

Mr. LANG. I would not like to state that, for the same reason.

Senator POMERENE. Well now, let us be fair about this. I don't want to ask you to abuse any confidence, if it is a confidence.

Mr. LANG. It is a confidence.

Senator POMERENE. Did you receive this from him in confidence?

Mr. LANG. I did.

Senator POMERENE. And with the understanding that his name was not to be used?

Mr. LANG. Absolutely.

Senator POMERENE. Very well; if you take that position I will not pursue the inquiry further at the present time.

Now, you said something awhile ago in relation to the incident at Atlantic City, that you had some talk with Mr. Chadborne in the hotel, in which he said—where you got the information—referring to the story to which Senator Kenyon has called your attention, and in substance you said: "Why, Mr. Chadborne, you made that statement to the committee."

Mr. LANG. No; I said "Your cards—you and Mr. Baruch laid your cards on the table before the committee last night."

Senator POMERENE. Well, were you sitting with the committee at that time?

Mr. LANG. I was not.

Senator POMERENE. Were you in the room?

Mr. LANG. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Any information that you may have on that subject is from hearsay and not—

Mr. LANG. (interposing). From members of the committee.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). Not from direct information?

Mr. LANG. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Was that in confidence?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you feel at liberty to give any of that information?

Mr. LANG. I think I have covered it, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I did not express myself as I intended to.

Do you feel at liberty to give the names of any of the members of the committee from whom you received this information?

Mr. LANG. I do not, Senator; no.

Senator POMERENE. Did they all give you such information as they did give you in confidence?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir; I so regarded it.

Senator POMERENE. And may I ask you—you have referred to members of the committee who were there as being Messrs. Mack, Marsh, Lynch, Howell, Cremer, and Palmer.

Mr. LANG. There were others.

Senator POMERENE. Who were the others?

Mr. LANG. Chairman Cummings was there.

Senator POMERENE. You named him before. Who else. Were there any other members there?

Mr. LANG. I think there were. I was trying to think. It is almost a year back.

Senator SPENCER. Have you given us all you can think of?

Mr. LANG. Yes; for the present, Senator. If I had a list of the Democratic national executive committee here perhaps I could refresh my memory.

Senator SPENCER. But I mean you have given us every member of the executive committee that occurs to you?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You have in your mind, I presume, vividly the name of the man who gave you this information?

Mr. LANG. Yes; not only one but three.

Senator POMERENE. From three members of the committee?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. So that it follows from the answers you have just made to Senator Spencer that these three members are among the six or seven here that you have named.

Mr. LANG. I haven't said that, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I know you haven't said that, but that is an inference that is very easily drawn.

Senator SPENCER. Where was this meeting held?

Mr. LANG. At the St. Charles Hotel, Atlantic City.

Senator SPENCER. On the evening of what day?

Mr. LANG. They were in session, I think, on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of September.

Senator POMERENE. Was Mr. Baruch there at that time?

Mr. LANG. At Atlantic City?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. LANG. Oh, yes.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk with him?

Mr. LANG. I saw him. I saw him repeatedly.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk with him?

Mr. LANG. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he at this hotel?

Mr. LANG. I think they were stopping—I think he was stopping over at the Traymore.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Chadborne stopping at the same place that he was?

Mr. LANG. I don't know.

Senator SPENCER. The date of that you think was what?

Mr. LANG. It began, I think, on September 25 and ran the 26th and 27th.

Senator POMERENE. Did all of these conversations that you had with the members of the committee take place at the St. Charles?

Mr. LANG. Most of them did.

Senator POMERENE. And they were within a period of two or three days?

Mr. LANG. No; I got some more information on Sunday before I left.

Senator POMERENE. And from whom did you get that?

Mr. LANG. From a member of the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Do you feel free to give us that information?

Mr. LANG. Only this, that he said that he had been accused of giving the information to me, and another friend of his had been accused of giving the information to me, and he simply laughed about it.

Senator POMERENE. If you had been sitting as a juror and trying that case, would you have found him guilty or not? [Laughter.]

Mr. LANG. Well, he certainly gave the information.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Senator Kenyon has read to you, perhaps, the substances of these articles, etc.—I have not seen them. Did you have any further information bearing upon this subject other than that which you received from these members of the committee?

Mr. LANG. Are you talking about the information I got at Atlantic City or since I got back from New York.

Senator POMERENE. I did not say so, but I had in mind the information that you got at Atlantic City.

Mr. LANG. Well, a lot of things happened down there. Of course, what I wrote from there would indicate—if you will be more specific perhaps I can answer your question.

Senator POMERENE. Well, Senator Kenyon has called your attention to articles with regard to this campaign fund and the Palmer candidacy—the suggestion that if Palmer would withdraw and these men get behind McAdoo, a campaign fund to the amount \$10,000,000 or more would be underwritten by Mr. Baruch.

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. That occurred at Atlantic City?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That information you got at Atlantic City?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you at the time you wrote that article, or at any time since, get any information corroborating that?

Mr. LANG. I did.

Senator POMERENE. From whom?

Mr. LANG. Last week.

Senator POMERENE. From whom?

Mr. LANG. From members of the national committee.

Senator SPENCER. Can't you tell us the name?

Mr. LANG. I prefer not to.

Senator SPENCER. Can you tell us whether they were the same members that gave you the original information?

Mr. LANG. One was, and the other was not.

Senator POMERENE. Was that information bearing upon the question of this campaign fund and the candidate in whose behalf it was to be used?

Mr. LANG. It was to refresh my memory as to whether it occurred at Atlantic City that I asked these questions.

Senator POMERENE. You were trying to refresh your memory?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Well, then, let us understand one another very clearly. It was practically the same information, then, that you had theretofore received at Atlantic City?

Mr. LANG. With this difference. Senator: A very influential Democrat made the statement positively that he knew that at least

\$5,000,000 had been subscribed, whereupon a member of the national committee who was with him said: "I know who has subscribed." I said: I was informed at Atlantic City that the fund was to be \$10,000,000." And immediately I went to the telephone and called up a former member of the Democratic national committee and said: "There is a question here as to the amount offered by Baruch. Was it 5 to 10?" And he said "10."

Senator POMERENE. You didn't hear that?

Senator SPENCER. That was over the telephone?

Mr. LANG. Yes; I called up this former member of the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. I beg pardon; I thought you said this other man called him up.

Mr. LANG. No, he said, "Go to it; that is right."

Senator POMERENE. Very well. Now, do you care to give the name of the man whom you called up?

Mr. LANG. The same answer, Senator, if you please.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let me go to another proposition.

Your attention was called to the article, I believe, the latter article in which some exception was taken by the managers of Mr. Palmer and Gov. Cox to the statement made.

Mr. LANG. No; Cox and Edwards.

Senator POMERENE. I beg your pardon, Cox and Edwards—to the statements made by Mr. Baruch.

Mr. LANG. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Do you care to say who made that statement to you?

Mr. LANG. I prefer not to, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Was that given to you in confidence?

Mr. LANG. It was given to me in confidence, and upon information.

Senator POMERENE. And sitting here as a witness before this committee you feel it would be a breach of confidence for you to give that information?

Mr. LANG. I do; the same as if you should tell me something at the table here and I should agree not to publish it.

Senator POMERENE. Under ordinary circumstances I should expect you to observe that, yes. Did you make the statement that they claim—and you emphasize that fact when the article was called to your attention—I assume from that statement made by you that you have no information bearing upon that subject except that which you got in a confidential way from these friends of Gov. Cox and Gov. Edwards?

Mr. LANG. And a friend of Mr. Palmer also.

Senator POMERENE. And further than that you do not vouch for the story?

Mr. LANG. All I know about it is what those men told me.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Lang, may I ask one question? I know you appreciate how anxious we are to get at the exact facts and nothing but the facts, and we want to preserve any confidence that you feel ought to be preserved, but I want to ask you frankly now if when you are telling us about the Atlantic City incident and the members of the executive committee or the members of the national committee who were there, as to whether you have really given us

now the names of every member of the Democratic national committee that you can think of that was there?

Mr. LANG. Have you a list of the Democratic national committee here?

Senator SPENCER. No; but we can read the names that you have given.

Senator POMERENE. I have taken down the names here. Mr. Chadborne, Mr. Cummings, Mr. Mack, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Howell, Mr. Cremer, and Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Chadborne a member of the national committee?

Mr. LANG. No. Neither is Mr. Baruch.

Senator SPENCER. But all the others are?

Mr. LANG. So far as I can recall. But I think there were others there.

Senator SPENCER. But so far as you recall those are the names of every member of the national committee, whether a member of the executive committee or not, that was present at any of the sessions or any of the time during the Atlantic City meeting?

Mr. LANG. As I recall now.

Senator POMERENE. Was Mr. Vance McCormick there?

Mr. LANG. I did not see him. I don't think he was.

Senator POMERENE. And it follows that you did not get the information from him?

Mr. LANG. He is a very dear, good friend of mine, Senator. I have gotten much information from him.

Senator POMERENE. On this subject?

Mr. LANG. No; in the 1916 campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Again, you say in your story that these are some of the questions that the Cox-Edwards men want the committee to ask: "How much did Treasurer Marsh and Assistant Treasurer Jamieson collect for the Wilson-third-term-McAdoo-crown-prince fund under the guise of an appeal for \$10,000,000 to finance the national committee for 1920?"

Mr. LANG. That suggestion was made by—the information was transmitted to Senator Reed and yourself and Senator Borah by telephone or telegraph by a former member of the Democratic national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I have not received it, I will say.

Mr. LANG. He tried to get you, Senator, on the telephone, on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then again: "Why was it that the White House group withheld from certain Democratic Senators a list of a half million Democratic voters to whom appeals for funds were made?"

What did you mean by that?

Mr. LANG. My information is that the list from which Mr. Wallace was taking the names and sending out these appeals for contributions was a list of 1912 and 1916, which certain United States Senators, I have been informed, have been unable to get. They would like very much to see that list.

The CHAIRMAN. "The White House group withheld"—who is meant by "the White House group"?

Mr. LANG. Well, I suppose Joe and Dr. Grayson and a few others.

Senator SPENCER. You mean by "Joe," Mr. Tumulty?

Mr. LANG. Yes; I beg pardon for being so familiar, but we have known him in New Jersey as "Joe."

The CHAIRMAN (reading). "How much of the Jamieson fund was spent by Chairman Cummings and his cronies in their transcontinental tour a year ago to cultivate sentiment to make Woodrow Wilson president of the League of Nations and McAdoo President?"

Mr. LANG. The same former national committeeman asked that that question be asked.

The CHAIRMAN. Would he come down here and help us in this matter?

Mr. LANG. I can not speak for him. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean to suggest by that that the presidency of the League of Nations was within the jurisdiction of Mr. Cummings?

Mr. LANG. They had a nice trip at the expense of the Democratic national committee. Whether that has anything to do with it or not I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Democratic national committee pay the expenses of the trip when the President went West?

Mr. LANG. That was my information.

Senator REED. When the President went West?

Mr. LANG. No; Mr. Cummings, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Jamieson, and others on this trip out there.

The CHAIRMAN. I misunderstood you.

Senator REED. On what trip?

Mr. LANG. They went on a trip making speeches for the League of Nations, you will recall.

Senator REED. Yes; I know they were out, but I did not know, of course, that they were out merely in the interest of the Democratic Party.

Mr. LANG. Certainly.

Senator SPENCER. Do you understand that the Democratic national committee paid their expenses?

Mr. LANG. That was my information.

Senator SPENCER. Is it your information that this ex-member of the Democratic national committee sent those questions to Senator Kenyon and to Senator Reed and to Senator Borah?

Mr. LANG. A certain political manager in New York called Washington on the telephone and asked that these questions be at once submitted to Senator Kenyon, Senator Reed, and Senator Borah.

Senator SPENCER. Was that done by this ex-member of the national committee?

Mr. LANG. It was done by the political manager.

The CHAIRMAN. I have had so many things sent me that I would not say it was not sent.

Senator SPENCER. If it became as public as that—if it was sent to three different Senators, wouldn't that relieve you of any confidence in the thing?

Mr. LANG. Well, of course that occurred in a private room. Senator, and I never repeat conversations I overhear.

Senator SPENCER. Oh, I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chadborne and Mr. Baruch were both members of the first Industrial Conference, were they not?

Mr. LANG. Of the War Industries, weren't they?

The CHAIRMAN. The first Industrial Conference that was called. Mr. LANG. I am not sure. I think it was called the War Industries Board, wasn't it, Senator?

Senator REED. There have been so many that I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Lang. We are very much obliged to you.

I have a letter here that should go into the record, I think. It is from Mr. J. M. Guffey, of Pittsburgh. There seems to be a misunderstanding as to the testimony sent out by the Associated Press. He stated that he has never given anything to the Palmer campaign, and there seems to have been attributed to J. M. Guffey the contribution of another Guffey.

The letter referred to is here printed in full as follows:

PITTSBURGH, PA., May 27, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON,
United States Senate, Chairman, Washington.

DEAR SENATOR: The Associated Press yesterday reported that C. C. Carlin, campaign manager for Palmer, made the statement to your committee that James McC'urg Guffey, of Pennsylvania, had contributed \$10,000 to the Palmer campaign fund.

I am the person referred to, and the statement is absolutely untrue. I did not contribute a dollar to Palmer's campaign fund, either in Pennsylvania or any other State.

If the statement referred to is correct, I will appreciate it if you will have this denial read into the record.

Thanking you in advance, I am,

Very sincerely, yours,

J. M. GUFFEY.

Are there any other gentlemen here who have been asked to appear this morning? If not, we will adjourn till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12.45 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock a. m. Saturday, May 29, 1920.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m., in Room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wile, do you want to appear now?

STATEMENT OF FREDERICK WILLIAM WILE, 1531 PARK ROAD, WASHINGTON, D. C.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your full name to the reporter?

Mr. WILE. Frederick William Wile, 1531 Park Road, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. An article written by you appearing in the Washington Herald and other papers of Friday, May 28—in that article you speak of the Johnson fund in California, called the Johnson primary slush fund—and I do not ask you about your opinions as expressed here, but some facts that might help us to get some information which we want. You say that the Crocker-Rossiter combination admitted recently that they had collected \$86,000. Now, we would like to ask you where you get that information and who are the witnesses whom we can use to find that out?

Mr. WILE. Senator, I recognize the committee's power to compel the revealing of names.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to you that these newspaper men whom we subpoenaed, where they have said to us that they secured it in confidence, and could not reveal the name, we have not asked to do t. We do not want to ask anybody to break faith.

Senator POMERENE. That is not conceding that we do not have the power.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no.

Senator POMERENE. But we have respected that.

The CHAIRMAN. No, but we want to find out—Mr. Crocker has been subpoenaed here and a subpoena is out for Mr. Rossiter, but if the combination you speak of admitted that they have collected \$86,000, we would like to know whom they have admitted it to. If it is somebody here we would like to call the parties and find out all about it.

Mr. WILE. That statement was imparted to me, as nearly every piece of political information in Washington is imparted, in strict

confidence, and I could not think of divulging the source of that statement without violating the most sacred traditions of our craft.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not ask you to do it.

Would your informant give you permission to do it?

Mr. WILE. I rather think he would. I would only give his name with his permission, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you ask him, if he is here?

Mr. WILE. I will, indeed. I do not know that he is in Washington at the present moment, but I will be very glad to ask him.

Senator EDGE. Did you say that we had subpoenaed Rossiter and Crocker?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Have you heard from either one of them?

The CHAIRMAN. No; subpoenas have been issued, but Mr. McCabe is here this morning.

Senator EDGE. Yes; I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, where do you get your information as to commissioners of banking, insurance, State superintendent of education, and all of these people contributing to the Johnson campaign fund?

Mr. WILE. From persons who are alleged to be familiar with the California primary fight.

The CHAIRMAN. Persons who have been out there?

Mr. WILE. I suppose that they have been out there.

The CHAIRMAN. And are they people who are here in town and we could get them?

Mr. WILE. Some of them are here and some of them are not here.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think it is your duty when you write an article of this kind to assist us in getting the information?

Mr. WILE. Certainly, I think you have the power to require me to assist you even to the extent of divulging names, but I could not reconcile it with my conception of my duties as a newspaper correspondent to divulge those names.

The CHAIRMAN. You realize we can not bring all the superintendents of education, commissioners of insurance, and all these people you name from California here, do you not?

Mr. WILE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if you have somebody here, or if you know somebody, who can give us that information, we would like to have it, but we are not going to compel you to divulge this confidential information.

Mr. WILE. If the committee desires, I shall at once seek to secure the permission of my informant on that subject to divulge his name.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have you do that. Is the informant some one here at Washington whom we could get speedily?

Mr. WILE. He was not here when he gave me the information, but I think he could get here if desired promptly.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you take that up at once?

Mr. WILE. I will.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Wile, if you were sitting as a member of this committee, whom would you call to get this information?

Mr. WILE. Some of the gentlemen with whom I have spoken.
[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if we do not know who they are how can we call them?

Mr. WILE. I shall exert every possibility to—I do not apprehend that they are disinclined to submit testimony that you want.

The CHAIRMAN. I should not think so. If there is a slush fund in California we want to know it.

Mr. WILE. They are honorable gentlemen, both of them, men of undoubted repute.

Senator REED. Mr. Wile, I want to say I was not here when you were talking. I was a moment late. You have spoken about one fund, I believe, that you heard about. Did you hear about more than one fund in California?

Mr. WILE. I heard a good deal about funds in California during the last 90 days.

Senator REED. From these same gentlemen?

Mr. WILE. And a great many others.

Senator REED. Well, now, did you get any confidential information about the other funds? This fund you were speaking of now, was a fund for one candidate, Mr. Johnson, you have said?

Mr. WILE. Exactly.

Senator REED. All right. Did you hear about any fund for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. WILE. I have heard, of course, that all candidates in California were spending money.

Senator REED. Well, you got some information and wrote an article in the paper. I have not seen it but I gather it was important, from what has been said here, that there was a Johnson fund, a very large one, in California.

Mr. WILE. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, did you get some information from the same or similar sources about the Hoover fund?

Mr. WILE. Yes.

Senator REED. Did you say anything about that in this article?

Mr. WILE. I did not.

Senator REED. Why did you not?

Mr. WILE. I was discussing on that particular day allegations with regard to the Johnson fund.

Senator REED. Well, have you on any other particular day discussed allegations about the Hoover fund?

Mr. WILE. I have not. I have never seen that fund discussed or become a matter of news note, until it came up in your hearing this week.

Senator REED. When was this article written about Johnson?

Mr. WILE. On Thursday night.

Senator REED. Well, the Hoover matter had already been up at that time, had it not?

Mr. WILE. It had.

Senator REED. Well, what is the reason you did not say anything about Mr. Hoover? That Mr. Hoover owns this paper, or a part of this paper?

Mr. WILE. Nothing to do with it whatever. I have no connection with that paper in any sense whatsoever.

Senator REED. What paper are you connected with?

Mr. WILE. I am the Washington correspondent of the Public Ledger, and the fact that that article of mine appears in the Washington Herald is due to the circumstance that the news service of the Public Ledger is sold, among other papers, to the Washington Herald.

Senator REED. What is the reason you did not write up the Hoover business? That was just as important as the Johnson, was it not?

Mr. WILE. When the Hoover business came up before your committee, it was exhaustively written up in the Public Ledger, and when it comes up again, as I understand it will, in connection with the California fight, it will be reported in the most circumstantial detail.

Senator REED. But, on last Thursday, when this article was—isn't it Thursday—when this article was written, which was Friday, was there anything particularly acute about the Johnson situation that called for an article on it?

Mr. WILE. I think there was something exceedingly acute.

Senator REED. What was it?

Mr. WILE. The general discussion that had been aroused all over the country by revelations in regard to other funds, which many people were saying were conceived in the interest of the Johnson campaign. I do not identify myself with that allegation; I merely mention that that allegation was in general circulation.

Senator REED. Many people were saying that this investigation was in the interest of the Johnson campaign?

Mr. WILE. I have heard that in a great many quarters.

Senator REED. That is to say, that the theory is that Johnson, whom your article charges was himself engaged in using large sums of money, started a campaign to exploit the use of large sums of money in order that it might aid him? That is, he started an exposure of himself? Is that the theory of these gentlemen?

Mr. WILE. I do not identify myself with that theory, but that theory prevails.

Senator REED. Well, that theory prevails in the heads of those gentlemen who feel that there ox happens to have been gored. That is about the size of it, is it not? You have not heard it from anybody else, except parties working in the interest of these various candidates?

Mr. WILE. I should think that would be the natural deduction.

Senator REED. Now, can you also give us—can you give us the names of these parties who know about the Hoover fund in California, or is that confidential?

Mr. WILE. Just as confidential, Senator, as I would regard a piece of information that you yourself would give me.

Senator REED. Well, we have been trying to not embarrass newspaper men by calling for that, although we may reach a phase of this case where we will have to cease being polite. I hope not. Now, will you try and get released by the gentlemen who gave you the Hoover information, just the same as you try to get released by those who gave you the Johnson information?

Mr. WILE. Most certainly.

Senator REED. I am confident you will.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you say in this article: "Estimates as to the sum lavished upon the Johnson cause in California vary from \$250,000 upward." Where do you get that?

Mr. WILE. From these various gentlemen with whom I have discussed the entire California situation.

Senator SPENCER. How far upward did it go?

Mr. WILE. Anywhere from \$250,000 up. I have never heard any such sum mentioned as has been revealed in connection with the Wood and Lowden disclosures, I may say.

The CHAIRMAN. How much would they tell you about the Hoover fund in California?

Mr. WILE. I have heard no total figure mentioned in connection with the Hoover fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have not heard a total as to Johnson; the limit is the sky, so far as you know?

Mr. WILE. The limit was the ceiling.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, how about the Hoover limit?

Mr. WILE. I have heard that the Hoover limit, whose total has never been mentioned to me or even estimated for me, would not approximate the amount spent in Senator Johnson's interest.

Senator REED. You also heard it was bigger, did you not, from other people?

Mr. WILE. I have heard on all hands that the Johnson figure, if it could be ascertained, would be found to be considerably bigger.

Senator SPENCER. You say that what?

Mr. WILE. Would be found to be considerably bigger than anything that had been spent in Mr. Hoover's interest.

Senator REED. Now, what I want to get at is this, Mr. Wile, whether any of these gentlemen undertook to say that they had knowledge of the amounts of money spent, or whether they said that they had heard or that they believed? In other words, was it a definite statement or just a speculation?

Mr. WILE. In the case of Senator Johnson's funds, what has been told to me, I gathered from the people who told it that it was largely speculation and estimate, because they could not have known exactly what the amount was.

Senator REED. Then, if we got them here, we would get a speculator who would not know?

Mr. WILE. Unless they imparted to you more detailed confidences than they did to me.

Senator REED. Now, you have heard all sorts of wild rumors going around about all of these candidates, have you not?

Mr. WILE. I have.

Senator REED. And this is one of those rumors?

Mr. WILE. Yes.

Senator REED. You have heard, I suppose, of a \$10,000,000 campaign fund for Mr. McAdoo. You have heard that rumor?

Mr. WILE. I have read it in to-day's paper, I must say, for the first time.

Senator REED. Well, it has been floating around here for a good while in the air. If you did not get it you just missed it, that is all. Then you have heard statements that certain individuals have subscribed enormous funds to Gen. Wood's campaign, whose names, so far as the testimony goes, have not been disclosed. You have heard that?

Mr. WILE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you have heard similar stories about Mr. Lowden?

Mr. LANG. Yes; I beg pardon for being so familiar, but we have known him in New Jersey as "Joe."

The CHAIRMAN (reading). "How much of the Jamieson fund was spent by Chairman Cummings and his cronies in their transcontinental tour a year ago to cultivate sentiment to make Woodrow Wilson president of the League of Nations and McAdoo President?"

Mr. LANG. The same former national committeeman asked that that question be asked.

The CHAIRMAN. Would he come down here and help us in this matter?

Mr. LANG. I can not speak for him. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean to suggest by that that the presidency of the League of Nations was within the jurisdiction of Mr. Cummings?

Mr. LANG. They had a nice trip at the expense of the Democratic national committee. Whether that has anything to do with it or not I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the Democratic national committee pay the expenses of the trip when the President went West?

Mr. LANG. That was my information.

Senator REED. When the President went West?

Mr. LANG. No; Mr. Cummings, Mr. Marsh, Mr. Cremer, Mr. Jamieson, and others on this trip out there.

The CHAIRMAN. I misunderstood you.

Senator REED. On what trip?

Mr. LANG. They went on a trip making speeches for the League of Nations, you will recall.

Senator REED. Yes; I know they were out, but I did not know, of course, that they were out merely in the interest of the Democratic Party.

Mr. LANG. Certainly.

Senator SPENCER. Do you understand that the Democratic national committee paid their expenses?

Mr. LANG. That was my information.

Senator SPENCER. Is it your information that this ex-member of the Democratic national committee sent those questions to Senator Kenyon and to Senator Reed and to Senator Borah?

Mr. LANG. A certain political manager in New York called Washington on the telephone and asked that these questions be at once submitted to Senator Kenyon, Senator Reed, and Senator Borah.

Senator SPENCER. Was that done by this ex-member of the national committee?

Mr. LANG. It was done by the political manager.

The CHAIRMAN. I have had so many things sent me that I would not say it was not sent.

Senator SPENCER. If it became as public as that—if it was sent to three different Senators, wouldn't that relieve you of any confidence in the thing?

Mr. LANG. Well, of course that occurred in a private room. Senator, and I never repeat conversations I overhear.

Senator SPENCER. Oh, I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chadborne and Mr. Baruch were both members of the first Industrial Conference, were they not?

The CHAIRMAN. Have not you been instructed to write Hoover articles?

Mr. WILE. I have never had any instructions to write anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you written any articles for anyone but Hoover?

Mr. WILE. I do not know what the Senator means by "writing articles for."

The CHAIRMAN. I mean writing articles, dealing with other candidates.

Mr. WILE. I am writing them constantly. I wrote one a week ago.

The CHAIRMAN. But your articles are all directed toward helping Mr. Hoover, are they not?

Mr. WILE. Not exclusively. I wrote one last week which his friends have regarded as very encouraging and flattering to Gov. Lowden. I discussed this morning the Democratic presidential situation on its news merits.

Senator REED. But your paper, which you write for, is advocating the cause of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. WILE. Openly; publicly.

Senator REED. And when you touch on Mr. Hoover, you write from the angle of the paper?

Mr. WILE. That is an obvious conclusion.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the paper that you speak of: "It was stated in the chief Johnson newspaper in San Francisco early in March that it was hoped to raise \$200,000 for him, of which \$80,000 had already been obtained"—what is the name of that paper?

Mr. WILE. I was told it was the San Francisco Chronicle, and the date, if I am not mistaken, was March 7 or March 3.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the paper there?

Mr. WILE. I have not. It can be found easily in Washington. Two different people mentioned that article. One said March 3 and the other said March 7.

The CHAIRMAN. But, in all the other talk of funds expended for other candidates, you have said nothing about that in any of your articles?

Mr. WILE. We have reported your hearings, sir, in the utmost detail, and with the utmost impartiality, and shall continue to do so.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Wile, a moment ago you referred to the Crocker-Rossiter fund. Who are these men, and what are their political or business affiliations?

Mr. WILE. I am entirely unfamiliar with the California local politics, but I am told that the gentlemen who have been mainly instrumental in raising the Johnson campaign fund in San Francisco, were four in number; Will H. Crocker, a well-known and wealthy banker—

Senator EDGE. He is the Republican member of the national committee, is he not, from California?

Mr. WILE. I do not know.

Senator EDGE. He was.

Mr. WILE. John H. Rossiter, who was until recently at the head of the Operations Division of the United States Shipping Board; Herbert Fleishacker, who was described to me as a boyhood and college mate of Senator Johnson, and who is now at the head of the Anglo-London-Paris Bank of San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get your information from any of these gentlemen?

Mr. WILE. No; I know none of these gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that for the first two you mentioned subpoenas have been issued, for some days, and I suppose they are served by this time.

Mr. WILE. Michal H. DeYoung, publisher of the San Francisco Chronicle. The name of Mr. McCabe, which has cropped up in connection with the Johnson fund, I have never heard.

Senator POMERENE. That is his first name—McCabe's?

Mr. WILE. I do not know Mr. McCabe at all; never heard his name before.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Wile, we will be glad to have you furnish the names of the men who can give us any of this information, if you can get released from your confidences. If you can not, if you know any other men that can furnish it, we would like to have those names.

Mr. WILE. I will be glad to assist the committee to the limit of my power without violating confidences.

The CHAIRMAN. In any event, make report to the committee as to whether or not you can get released.

Mr. WILE. Within 24 hours.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the owners of the San Francisco Chronicle?

Mr. WILE. I suppose Michal H. DeYoung.

The CHAIRMAN. It was reported some time ago that Mr. Hoover had bought that paper. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. WILE. I never heard that report. I do not know whether it is true or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I have heard the report. I do not know whether it is true or not. I have heard the report. That is all, Mr. Wile.

Is Mr. McCabe here? Mr. Harris, you want to get away.

STATEMENT OF MR. EDWIN S. HARRIS, OF ALBANY, N. Y.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you are sick and want to get away as quick as you can. You live in New York?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir; I do not. I live in Albany. I am in New York during the week.

The CHAIRMAN. You were formerly chairman of the Democratic State Committee in New York?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you stop at the Pennsylvania Hotel?

Mr. HARRIS. I am there two or three days a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about any McAdoo headquarters at the Pennsylvania Hotel?

Mr. HARRIS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mr. Roper has any rooms there, used as headquarters?

Mr. HARRIS. I have seen Mr. Roper there two or three times a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he a suite of rooms there?

Mr. HARRIS. No; he changes from one room to another. He only has a single room, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. You say, then, that there is no suite of rooms there?

Mr. HARRIS. Not occupied by Mr. Roper.

The CHAIRMAN. Not occupied by anybody as a McAdoo headquarters?

Mr. HARRIS. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be apt to know it if there was?

Mr. HARRIS. I should think so, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a sort of a gathering place there for prominent Democratic politicians in the Hotel Pennsylvania?

Mr. HARRIS. Not so much as Republican politicians. I think the majority is the other way. Everybody comes to the Pennsylvania Hotel.

✓ The CHAIRMAN. It is a rather popular hotel, is it?

† Senator POMERENE. What Republican headquarters are at that hotel?

Mr. HARRIS. I talked to the credit man of the Pennsylvania Hotel. He said that the Johnson headquarters were there and that they had a little difficulty with the Harding headquarters. I know nothing about it personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the meeting at Atlantic City?

Mr. HARRIS. Nothing at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about this at all? Your name has been given to us as a person who knew a good deal about it. If you do know anything about the McAdoo funds or McAdoo headquarters or the meeting in Atlantic City, tell us. I do not want to bore around at you. If you do not know, all right.

Mr. HARRIS. That is very fair, Senator. For two years now I have been absolutely out of touch with national politics. I have been brought into it by being now employed as a sort of counsel for the New York World, and that is all that has brought me into national politics in two years. Of course, I have friends, Republicans and Democrats, all over the country, and hear the gossip, but I know absolutely nothing of what is going on.

Senator EDGE. Has Mr. Roper ever spoken to you in the interest of Mr. McAdoo, to try to develop quite an interest in his possible candidacy?

Mr. HARRIS. I will say no; and then, to be fair, I will explain my answer. Mr. Roper and I are long-time personal friends, and he asked one time—I do not know how long ago—that if in the event Mr. McAdoo should be in this campaign, did I think that he ought to give up his business in any way to help him. I told him he should not. That is the only conversation we have had.

Senator EDGE. Give up his business? You mean, give up his office?

Mr. HARRIS. No; his business. This was just when he went into business in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. HARRIS. He is president of a radiator company in New York. That is the only talk—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). What is the name of that company?

Mr. HARRIS. Marlin-Rockwell.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you talked with others about the McAdoo candidacy?

Mr. HARRIS. Only as a matter of gossip. Senator. I could not be 30 years in politics without having a lot of people gossip with me.

The CHAIRMAN. You might be 30 years in politics and not know about the McAdoo candidacy.

Mr. HARRIS. I do not know about it in the sense you are trying to find out.

Senator EDGE. Then, so far as you know, there is not any headquarters in New York maintained in the interest of Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. HARRIS. So far as I know, there are none.

Senator REED. Now, let me distinguish between headquarters and something else. When we speak of headquarters, we generally speak of a place that is opened up with a corps of clerks and it is the active center and head of a movement of considerable size. Of course, it is entirely possible to carry on a political movement from twenty or a hundred or a thousand different places and have no large central headquarters. Do you know of any place in New York where there is an activity going on for Mr. McAdoo, seeking to promote his interest?

Mr. HARRIS. I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know of any such situation in any other place than New York?

Mr. HARRIS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know this deputy police commissioner, who was mentioned here yesterday by Mr. Lang, named Wallis?

Mr. HARRIS. I have met him, but I do not think I would know him again if I met him.

Senator EDGE. As a matter of fact, you know that Mr. McAdoo is a candidate for the Presidency, do you not?

Mr. HARRIS. I know that he said he was not. He told me he was not.

Senator EDGE. How long ago?

Mr. HARRIS. Oh, six or eight weeks, or such a matter.

Senator EDGE. Did that go so far as to say he would not accept an office if nominated?

Mr. HARRIS. No; he said that he knew his friends were trying to make him a candidate and he hoped that they would not succeed.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a case of office chasing the man, you think?

Mr. HARRIS. I do not think anything of the kind.

Senator POMERENE. You would not put him in the Barkus class?

Mr. HARRIS. Well, that is an expression of opinion, Senator. [Laughter.]

Senator EDGE. Mr. Roper evinced considerable interest, did he not? When he asked you your advice as to whether he should give up an important business that he had just been associated with, to become directly interested in Mr. McAdoo's possible candidacy, as I understand it?

Mr. HARRIS. I have talked 20 times with Mr. Roper and every time any political matter was under discussion it was very evident he was a great friend of Mr. McAdoo.

Senator EDGE. I do not want you to say anything you do not understand or believe.

Mr. HARRIS. I am talking facts.

Senator REED. Mr. Harris, if Mr. McAdoo was not a candidate, if he would refuse to allow his name to be used; if Mr. Roper is a great

friend of his, how did it happen that Mr. Roper asked your advice with reference to giving up his business to take charge of the McAdoo movement?

Mr. HARRIS. Because Mr. Roper and I were associated in the 1917 campaign very, very closely.

Senator EDGE. I know, but why was he going to give up his business to take charge of a movement that did not exist?

Mr. HARRIS. I can only deduce, the same as you, Senator. I think that Mr. Roper undoubtedly thinks Mr. McAdoo is going to be nominated. I should gather that from his conversation.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know Louis J. Lange?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with him about this fund of five or ten million dollars which was being considered at this alleged meeting in Atlantic City?

Mr. HARRIS. I remember. Lange comes up to the Pennsylvania Hotel every day or two, and on one of his visits when this committee was in session, this week some time, he told me that he was awfully disappointed in the testimony of one gentleman here, and that he knew he offered to raise a lot of money. I never said anything about it or discussed it.

Senator EDGE. Who was it that made that remark?

Mr. HARRIS. Louis Lange.

The CHAIRMAN. He was on the stand yesterday. He is a reporter for the North American.

Senator POMERENE. Were you a member of the Democratic National Committee at any time?

Mr. HARRIS. During the years 1916-17 I carried Mr. McAdoo's proxy.

Senator POMERENE. Did you give Mr. Lange any information in regard to this fund we are—I have been speaking about?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Harris.

Senator REED. Do you know anybody that did give Mr. Lange any information of the character referred to?

Mr. HARRIS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Harris.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McCabe.

STATEMENT OF MR. ALEXANDER McCABE, INSURANCE COMMISSIONER OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name, please, to the reporter.

Mr. McCABE. Alexander McCabe.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home?

Mr. McCABE. San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. McCabe?

Mr. McCABE. Insurance commissioner of California.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you the Johnson manager in California?

Mr. McCABE. I have had an active relation toward the fight with one of the gentlemen in an advisory capacity in connection with the fight. For seven years I was Senator Johnson's private secretary. During that period I had much to do with his political activities.

Senator REED. You do not call yourself, then, the Johnson manager for California? Who was manager?

Mr. McCABE. The western manager was Mr. H. L. Carnihan.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he?

Mr. McCABE. He is in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he there now?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In San Francisco?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir. His residence is in Los Angeles. He may be in San Francisco at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you have enough to do—you had part of the management of the campaign, did you not?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; as a matter of fact, I have entire familiarity with all of the phases of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Just as much as Mr. Carnihan?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to bring everybody necessary, but dislike to bring people from California unless it is necessary.

Mr. McCABE. I think I could submit any information that Mr. Carnihan could.

Senator POMERENE. You mean by that to include any information concerning the finances?

Mr. McCABE. I am as familiar with them. The exact records of the finances I think would be only supplied in full detail by the treasurer of the organization, Mr. Alfred Greenebaum, of San Francisco, but in a general way—

Senator REED (interposing). You started to say "but in a general way"?

Mr. McCABE. Before any activities were undertaken two or three of us were in council, and I am familiar with the procedure.

Senator EDGE. Now, tell us a story—the money received; what you spent.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to, but we would like to have a few preliminaries.

Senator EDGE. I was just going to give him a chance; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. He will get a chance. Just who handled that matter? Yourself. Now, who else?

Mr. McCABE. Why, the expenditures were made on the O. K. of myself, of Mr. Carnihan, of Mr. Johnston, J. Johnston—I think that is all—or Mr. Greenebaum personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any expenditures made that were not O. K'd by you?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, others could O. K. bills and they could be paid?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many could O. K. expenditures?

Mr. McCABE. These three gentlemen I am telling you about.

Senator POMERENE. Carnihan, Johnston, or yourself?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with, Mr. McCabe, the expenditures that they made?

Mr. McCABE. In a general way.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when did you receive notice to come here?

Mr. McCABE. I received it on my arrival at Chicago. Evidently, when the wire subpoenae went on I was on the Overland Limited. When I arrived in Chicago I received the wire from the committee, answering that I had no records with me, and suggesting that I would wire San Francisco, wire Mr. Greenebaum who had the records, and then proceed to Washington when that information came. In response to that, I received word from Mr. Barry that they would prefer that I come on at once, which I very gladly did.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were subpoenaed to bring all the books and papers and correspondence, showing the expenditures and contributions to the campaign in California.

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have wired for those to come?

Mr. McCABE. I wired Mr. Greenebaum immediately upon receipt of my own telegram.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you heard from him?

Mr. McCABE. I had not up to the time I left Chicago yesterday afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether those books and papers have started for here?

Mr. McCABE. I assume they have, because I sent an instant wire asking that it be done.

Senator POMERENE. To be sent to you here at Washington or Chicago?

Mr. McCABE. To Chicago, because I thought from my response that I would wait there to receive the records, and then come on here.

Senator REED. Have you arranged for them to be forwarded on here?

Mr. McCABE. No; I have not. I made no arrangements at all. In fact, I just got the wire yesterday afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you wire to California, to this man Greenebaum, to have the records all sent?

Mr. McCABE. Absolutely, but to send them to me at Chicago, and I intended to take them on from there.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you made any arrangements in Chicago to have them sent on here?

Mr. McCABE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We want them here; not in Chicago.

Mr. McCABE. I appreciate that, Senator, but I got this second wire yesterday, just about an hour before I could get a train to leave, and I came at once.

Senator SPENCER. You thought you would have time enough to get them in Chicago and bring them yourself?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Haven't you arranged to have your mail forwarded to you here?

Mr. McCABE. I was in hopes that I could get back to Chicago after testifying here.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you arrange now to have those records sent on here?

Mr. McCABE. Very gladly.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't see how you can get back to Chicago until you get those records here, and we have you explain them.

You might as well settle down here for a few days and hurry those records along.

Mr. McCABE. I can give in a general way, without the records, the the information that I think the committee wants.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take that up, but we want the records.

Can you tell us the contributions made in California and the sources of the contributions to the Johnson campaign?

Mr. McCABE. The contributions were the result of a State-wide appeal there, generally diffused throughout the State. No contribution was, so far as my recollection runs, of any considerable amount. I think the largest individual contribution was that of Mr. Fleishacker, \$5,000.

I have heard the names here this morning, and if I may at once advert to the contributions of Mr. Crocker and Mr. De Young, Mr. Crocker contributed \$4,000; Mr. De Young contributed nothing.

The superintendent of public instruction was referred to as one of the active contributors, as I understand.

Senator POMERENE. What is his name?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. W. C. Wood. He is one of the most active opponents that Senator Johnson had in California.

The CHAIRMAN. You say active opponents?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. In this campaign?

Mr. McCABE. In this campaign.

Senator REED. That was referred to by the newspaper gentleman, Mr. Wile.

Mr. McCABE. Yes; I was listening here.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us take these up in their order and see what you can give us about them.

Senator SPENCER. What was the aggregate amount?

Mr. McCABE. The last time I ran over the total it was something in excess of \$100,000—between \$100,000 and \$125,000.

Senator SPENCER. When was that time?

Mr. McCABE. That was a few days before the close of the campaign, in my own observation of the total.

Senator SPENCER. The campaign closed when?

Mr. McCABE. On the 4th of May.

Senator SPENCER. May 4?

Mr. McCABE. Yes. Solicitation of funds has continued since then, for the purpose of carrying on funds or the campaigns in other parts of the country.

Senator POMERENE. So that there may be no misunderstanding, when you are testifying now, you are testifying as to the funds collected and disbursed in the western headquarters at San Francisco?

Mr. McCABE. Yes. I am familiar, though——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). I know; but if there were other headquarters here in the East, you do not have them in mind when you fix these totals?

Mr. McCABE. Some of the disbursements; in fact, a large part or a large percentage of the disbursements of the California headquarters came to the eastern headquarters, and in turn were disbursed there.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us take it and get all you raised in California. Then we will follow where the money went.

The CHAIRMAN. The eastern headquarters accounted for what was sent to them, but not what was spent in California?

Mr. McCABE. That is my recollection. I read testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was sent, do you know, from California to the McSween committee in New York?

Mr. McCABE. \$25,000, I think, although there may have been another since then; \$25,000 that I have personal knowledge of.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any more that was sent?

Mr. McCABE. Not with certainty; no.

The CHAIRMAN. So——

Mr. McCABE (interposing). If it were, it was a relatively small sum.

The CHAIRMAN. So that, out of the amount raised in California, you sent \$25,000 to the McSween headquarters in New York?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; directly to where McSween——

Senator REED (interposing). Which has already been accounted for by Mr. McSween?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you sent to Michigan, did you not?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much was sent to Michigan?

Mr. McCABE. Personally, I O. K.'d \$4,000 to be sent to Michigan. Beyond that, there may have been money sent from New York. I think there was, out of this \$25,000, but I am not certain.

Senator SPENCER. Up to May 4, when the campaign closed—May 4, 1920, when the campaign closed in California—do you know, in round numbers, if between \$100,000 and \$125,000 have been raised in connection with the California campaign?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And money was coming in constantly at that time?

Mr. McCABE. Why, no; as a matter of fact, at that particular time we were facing a deficit.

Senator SPENCER. That is, you had spent it all?

Mr. McCABE. It was all spent and we were under constant embarrassment in the conduct of the campaign, because from day to day we were not certain if we could carry on the campaign to meet the activities of our opponent there. Our situation, if I may explain, was this: Our anxiety was that Mr. Hoover in the conduct of the other campaign was circularizing reports of the voters of the State, which we having a million voters to reach was very expensive. He was taking whole page advertisements in the various papers there; he was taking particularly the foreign papers, reading notices of one sort or another from day to day, maintaining headquarters throughout the State in each of the important towns of the State, and had in his employ a very large number of individual voters.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let me suggest: Can not we go ahead in a logical way—we are getting all mixed up here—in a logical way and show what you received in California, who the contributors were; then, where the money went to, and then take up your fight?

Mr. McCABE. My answer was merely to say that at this particular time we did not have enough money to meet the fight.

The CHAIRMAN. We are getting all mixed up. Now, you told us that you had collected there up to May 4 between \$100,000 and \$125,000?

Mr. McCABE. That was the last time I saw the returns.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know what has been collected since May 4?

Mr. McCABE. Not with absolute certainty.

The CHAIRMAN. Who does?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Greenebaum, I think, is the only individual who could give you that information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know enough about it to approximately tell us?

Mr. McCABE. I would say probably \$20,000 probably has been collected since. I question if it is any more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of the primary?

Mr. McCABE. May 4.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you give us two contributors. We want you to give us the rest of them. John H. Rossiter has contributed. What did he contribute?

Mr. McCABE. \$2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. McCABE. He is vice president and is general manager—I do not know his exact title—of W. R. Grace & Co. in San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of company is that?

Mr. McCABE. That is one of the Big shipping concerns—W. R. Grace & Co. of New York. It is a company that carries on an importing business on a very large scale—shipping business.

The CHAIRMAN. Henry Fleishacker, who gave \$5,000—what is his business?

Mr. McCABE. President of the Anglo-London-Paris Bank; one of the delegates to the national convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Rossiter a delegate?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; he is.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Crocker a delegate?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; he is; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. De Young a delegate?

Mr. McCABE. He is; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. DeYoung is given here in this article or referred to as contributing to the fund. You say that he contributed nothing?

Mr. McCABE. Nothing at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he contribute any time?

Mr. McCABE. He is the editor and the owner of the San Francisco Chronicle. He very vigorously supported Senator Johnson in his campaign in his paper, and I think he figures that was his contribution to the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the owner of that paper, is he?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who is the commissioner of banking?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Charles F. Stern.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he contribute anything?

Mr. McCABE. I doubt very much that he did, but I am not certain. He was a very active supporter of Senator Johnson. He is not a man of any considerable means at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Commissioner of insurance; who is he?

Mr. McCABE. That is myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you contribute?

Mr. McCABE. I contributed my time and services.

The CHAIRMAN. State superintendent of education; who is that?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Will C. Wood.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he contribute?

Mr. McCABE. He contributed very active support of Mr. Hoover.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he contribute money to the Hoover campaign?

Mr. McCABE. I have no knowledge of that subject at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the railroad commissioner?

Mr. McCABE. There are five commissioners.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they contributed?

Mr. McCABE. Two of them, as I understood it, were supporting Mr. Hoover; three, Senator Johnson. I think each of them contributed, but if they did, it would be \$100 or \$200 or \$250.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know the amounts, but you think they contributed?

Mr. McCABE. That would be my judgment; yes. I know that one of them was for Johnson and did contribute, but know that his contribution was \$250 at the time I saw it.

The CHAIRMAN. Members of the board of State prison; who were they?

Mr. McCABE. Charles L. Newmyer, of Stockton.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he contribute?

Mr. McCABE. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. McCABE. I think he gave \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$1,000.

Senator POMERENE. Will you give us that name again?

Mr. McCABE. Newmyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the others?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. B. B. Meek, of Orville.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he contribute?

Mr. McCABE. I do not know. I doubt it. The other members of the board—their names have escaped me, for the minute, but none of them are in any measure at all large contributors. If any of them contributed, it would be \$100 or \$200.

The CHAIRMAN. Regents of certain universities. Can you give us any information about that?

Mr. McCABE. The universities were both the president of the Leland Stanford University and most of the directors were very actively in Mr. Hoover's fight. Mr. Hoover is one of the board of trustees of Stanford.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the State University?

Mr. McCABE. State University? The president, Mr. David B. Barrows, also supported Mr. Hoover, and a great majority of the regents of the University of California were supporting Mr. Hoover. No regent that I know of contributed at all heavily to the Johnson campaign fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any contributed at all any amount?

Mr. McCABE. I think one of the regents, Mr. Rudolph Taussig, of San Francisco, and—two of them—and Mr. John A. Britten, of San Francisco, did contribute to the Johnson campaign fund, probably

\$200 or \$250, or possibly \$500. They are both well-to-do men. I do not know what their exact contribution was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any other State officials contribute to the campaign?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who?

Mr. McCABE. The members—some of the members of the—Mr. Harry Cosgriff, of the harbor board in San Francisco—the State harbor commission.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did he contribute?

Mr. McCABE. I think \$100. Mr. John H. McCallum, of the same board, \$100. A large number of the members of the State administration, so-called there, did contribute, but they were none of them men of large means, and their contributions were not in any instance of a large amount.

The CHAIRMAN. A large number of State officials contributed?

Mr. McCABE. There were.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, can you give any more of these large contributions?

Mr. McCABE. From memory I can not, as a matter of fact. If the names were proposed, I could in each instance probably tell you what was done by each individual, but with all the names I am unable to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. The books will show all that?

Mr. McCABE. Undoubtedly; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been more or less rumor, and I think one paper published an article, a New York paper, of a list of millionaires backing the Johnson candidacy in California. What can you tell us about that?

Mr. McCABE. Well, the list of millionaires or the names of the gentlemen that have already in many instances been referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Herrin?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Herrin I do not think contributed—I am very certain Mr. Herrin did not contribute to Senator Johnson's campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he president of the Southern Pacific Railroad?

Mr. McCABE. He is vice president of the Southern Pacific.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have heard a good deal about that. Would not you know if Mr. Herrin contributed?

Mr. McCABE. I would; and Mr. Herrin did not contribute.

Senator SPENCER. Was he for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. I personally—I probably would have known if he were. My judgment is that he was not. No, I would not necessarily know. He has taken no active part one way or the other, so far as I know, in the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you given all the contributions now that you can remember?

Mr. McCABE. Well, I could—yes, so far as my present recollection goes.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not give us very much on this fund of \$100,000.

Mr. McCABE. The alleged nine millionaires—the other millionaires on the ticket were Mr. George I. Cochran of the Pacific Mutual Life of Los Angeles.

Senator REED. Did you mean to say “on the ticket?”

Mr. McCABE. On the delegate ticket out there; yes. So far as these particular references are concerned that we had a millionaire delegation, and they claimed that there were nine millionaires on the delegation.

Senator EDGE. Give us a list of them.

Mr. McCABE. As a matter of fact, I never could discover those nine millionaires on the ticket, so far as I know. Mr. Fleishacker is undoubtedly a man worth a million. Mr. Crocker is a millionaire. I do not know whether Mr. Rossiter is a millionaire. Probably he is. Mr. Cochran of Los Angeles. Mr. John B. Miller of Los Angeles. Those are the only rich men, or men of unusual means that were on this ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. How many millionaires were on the delegation?

Mr. McCABE. Well, as far as my recollection goes—so far as I could remember for the minute here—those are the only ones that are worth considering.

Senator SPENCER. Those five?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how many delegates are there?

Mr. McCABE. Twenty-five.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any millionaire alternate delegates?

Senator POMERENE. Haven't you more than 26 delegates?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir; 26. Mr. R. E. Miller, Owl Drug Co., is a millionaire, I suppose. He is one of the alternates. I think no other alternate has considerable means. I could say to you that I do not know that Mr. Miller contributed, but I am certain he made a contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how much?

Mr. McCABE. I do not know how much. It could not have been more than \$1,000. Mr. Cochran, I know, contributed \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the delegates in general? What line of business were they in?

Mr. McCABE. The delegation was as representative from various localities in California, of the men who were leaders in public activities, and Republican politicians as we could get. They varied; some attorneys, some leading business men. There is one other delegate who would be considered a millionaire, too. That is James Rolph, jr., mayor of San Francisco. He contributed \$1,000. They are men that during the various political activities of Senator Johnson in California have, in the main, been leaders in the various parts of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. While we are on this subject—are there any millionaires on the Hoover list of delegates?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; there was.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were there? California seems to be full of millionaires.

Senator POMERENE. That is not much money for California.

Mr. McCABE. Why, offhand, I never counted, but I would imagine about the same number.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McCabe, we want to take up now where the money went; how it was used. We will take, first, the amounts that were sent to the other States, and to the national headquarters. I understand \$25,000 went to New York?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you perfectly accurate about that?

Mr. McCABE. I am testifying absolutely from recollection, and I had personally had little to do with the accounting—that is, I never went over, after the campaign, the list of receipts and expenditures, but most of the moneys that went to other States were sent under my approval.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your recollection of the amount sent to New York?

Mr. McCABE. That is my present recollection of the amount sent to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you send to Michigan?

Mr. McCABE. So far as I recall, \$4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. I think one witness said \$6,200?

Mr. McCABE. That may be, but I am relying solely on memory. The other amounts did not come under my personal observation. What I know of was \$4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was sent into Nebraska, if any, from California?

Mr. McCABE. \$1,800. I O. K'd all that was sent in there.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was sent to Indiana?

Mr. McCABE. So far as I know, from there, \$2,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom was it sent to in Indiana?

Mr. McCABE. To Mr. E. F. Mitchell.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Mr. Mitchell now? He is in California, is he not?

Mr. McCABE. He is in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. At the headquarters?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was sent into Montana from the California funds?

Mr. McCABE. \$3,500, O. K'd by me, but I would imagine that—in fact, I am certain Mr. Johnston O. K'd in addition—Mr. James A. Johnston O. K'd \$500 more. I would say \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You estimate \$5,000 sent into Montana?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything sent into New Jersey from out there?

Mr. McCABE. Not by me directly but I think that was all handled out of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we want to get. Was anything sent into North Carolina from California?

Mr. McCABE. Nothing; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything sent into any other States; and, if so, what amount?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; we sent money to North Dakota, or South Dakota.

The CHAIRMAN. How much to South Dakota?

Mr. McCABE. I think—I recall personally of O. K'ing \$3,500. We sent money into North Dakota. I have forgotten the sum, but think it was \$2,000. I would not be sure of that. Into Oregon the budget the last time I looked at it showed \$5,500. We had men that went through Nevada. I think the Nevada expense would probably be \$500; in Arizona a like sum. Two of our representatives went into Washington, in the State convention and that probably cost \$500.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is that the sum you sent into Washington?

Mr. McCABE. No; we never sent directly to these people. Those were expenditures in connection with those States.

Senator EDGE. I would like to ask you, right there, Mr. Chairman—if there were any other local funds in the various States?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will follow that up as soon as we get to it. Now, any other States?

Mr. McCABE. In most of the States where Senator Johnson—in all of the States, practically, where Senator Johnson made his campaign, with the exception of these, New Jersey and North Carolina, I think the funds were sent directly from California. In fact, the purpose of raising this money was to carry on the activities throughout the entire Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I have been trying to get from you, and I thought we understood that, the amounts sent to these different States.

Mr. McCABE. So far as my recollection goes, I am making this statement to you, Senator, because I do not want to overlook anything, and if you can recall any additional State I could give you the amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. These amounts, Nevada, Arizona, and Washington—were they sent to some individual there?

Mr. McCABE. No; they were not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to cover expenses of men you sent there?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When you say Washington, you mean Washington State?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not to—

Mr. McCABE (interposing). No money was at any time sent to the State of Washington in connection with expenditures there.

The CHAIRMAN. I will leave that, then. Can you name any other States to which money was sent?

Mr. McCABE. Minnesota, I think, we have not referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. No. How much there?

Mr. McCABE. I sent \$1,500 personally into Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that cover all that was sent to the State?

Mr. McCABE. It covers it so far as my recollection now runs.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a headquarters in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. McCABE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You had headquarters in California?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And headquarters in New York?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other places?

Mr. McCABE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to ask you, in the different States, if money was collected locally and expended locally?

Mr. McCABE. Well, there may have been, but I am not familiar with it, if that be the fact. In none of these States that I know of was there any considerable sum anywhere collected, I am sure, because we were in constant receipt of appeals that they could not carry on the work because of lack of funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, you really do not know about that? State managers—tell us about that. We have had Michigan.

Mr. McCABE. No; beyond the statements that I am making I have no certain knowledge, except that I know that we were constantly importuned for additional funds and that if they were raising funds locally they probably would not have had to submit all these appeals addressed to us.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, out of your California fund, as I figure it here, you sent some fifty—at least over \$50,000 to different States, and to the national headquarters?

Mr. McCABE. I am sure that amount and probably more than that.

Senator POMERENE. This totals, if it is correct, \$51,800.

Mr. McCABE. There was at least that, Senator, and probably more.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what kind of a staff did you have there in California at the headquarters? How much of a headquarters did you have?

Mr. McCABE. We had a headquarters on the ground floor in one corner of the Palace Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. How many rooms did you have?

Mr. McCABE. We had a big room that had formerly been occupied by the Western Pacific Railroad, and we subdivided by cheap partitions this one big room so that we had three or four rooms. Mr. Carnihan had an office and the publicity man had a separate office, and we had a place there for contributions, for anybody who wanted to come in and contribute to the carrying on of the fight. Aside from that, the room was one large room.

The CHAIRMAN. How expensive was that headquarters?

Mr. McCABE. It cost us—I think the rental was \$800 a month and we had it for six weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. How many employees did you have?

Mr. McCABE. In the headquarters, we had probably 10 or 12.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the salaries were?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; the publicity man got \$125 a week; the manager of the San Francisco department got \$50 a week. He had two or three employees, one at \$35 and two others at \$30, and I think there were three ladies handling these receipts of moneys that came in. They got about \$30 a week apiece. Now, we had agents that were traveling, as far as Nevada and other States were concerned, who were paid \$50 a week, or in some instances \$75, and their expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, men traveling through the country, how many of those did you have?

Mr. McCABE. I should say about—at various times different men went to different localities. I should say altogether that 10 men were at different times in the field, most of them men who were because of their familiarity with conditions in particular States, sent there to crystallize any loose Johnson sentiment that might be there, or organize whatever and wherever they could in Johnson's interest. They were without—I think the great majority of those men—were without salary, their expenses merely being paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McCabe, was the great part of your contributions to the Johnson campaign in large contributions or in small contributions?

Mr. McCABE. Small contributions diffused throughout the entire State and the result of public appeal to carry on the Johnson fight.

The CHAIRMAN. What sums did the contributions range?

Mr. McCABE. From 25 cents up to the biggest California contributions, as I recall, \$5,000.

Senator REED. Was there a good deal of money in small sums?

Mr. McCABE. The bulk of them, the very large percentage of the money, was raised in that fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what you did not send out of the State, you used in the California campaign in the fight between Hoover and Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About what did that amount to?

Mr. McCABE. Well, I think it was somewhere in the neighborhood—around \$50,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there is any balance now?

Mr. McCABE. No; as a matter of fact, at the time I left California they were very earnestly striving to get sufficient money to maintain headquarters in Chicago.

Senator SPENCER. How much were those obligations?

Mr. McCABE. There was still at that time \$3,000 or \$4,000 outstanding bills in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. McCabe, state just how this money was spent, in a general way.

Mr. McCABE. The money was spent in its entirety there for the matter of holding meetings—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Did you have any paid Chautauqua lecturers?

Mr. McCABE. We arranged for meetings in the leading centers of population, all the leading centers of population, wherever there was a request that a meeting be held to energize the campaign, to get more active work in the interest of the Senator. We paid men their expenses only on that, I think—I am certain no one would receive compensation for any speeches of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a large number of speeches throughout the State?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; we had a number of meetings throughout the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay for the halls?

Mr. McCABE. We paid for the advertising of particular meetings and matters of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the local people take care of the hall?

Mr. McCABE. In some instances; in most instances not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now how did your advertising run?

Mr. McCABE. We were unable in any fashion at all to buy any newspaper advertising. The only advertising that we did was in the matter of distribution of printed matter by hand distribution. We were not even able to resort to the mails.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you carry on an extensive advertising campaign?

Mr. McCABE. We did only in the sense that we distributed pamphlets referring to the accomplishments governmentally of Senator Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any billboard campaign advertising?

Mr. McCABE. We had, yes. This condition obtained there: a friend of Senator Johnson is a Mr. George W. Whittaker of the John Baldwin Co., a packing concern in San Francisco. He is an extensive billboard advertiser. He was changing his ads on the billboards at this particular time, and he said if we would get the paper, have the lithographing done, that during the period of tearing down one set of ads and putting up another he would give us the advantage of his billboards for that period. We secured the lithographs and our entire expense in connection with that was \$1,100. This was a contribution by Mr. Whittaker, who is a very close personal friend of Senator Johnson.

Senator EDGE. What would it have cost if you had had to pay the current rates?

Mr. McCABE. It probably would have been a \$10,000 expenditure.

Senator EDGE. The expense for billboards?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you pay in newspaper advertising?

Mr. McCABE. So far as I know, nothing at all. We did no newspaper advertising.

The CHAIRMAN. You did no newspaper advertising?

Mr. McCABE. Wait a minute—I will take that back. In southern California there with Mr. Lisner in his campaign—in a way the campaigns were divided——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Was he campaigning for delegate?

Mr. McCABE. He had entire charge—he is a delegate to the convention but had charge so far as Los Angeles was concerned, of the fight there.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you, was any money raised for Johnson locally in Los Angeles?

Mr. McCABE. I think these contributions of Mr. Cochran and Mr. Miller come from that end of the State and were toward the Los Angeles campaign.

Senator EDGE. You mean to say that they went to San Francisco and were afterwards sent to Los Angeles?

Mr. McCABE. No; these contributions, never, so far as I know, came to San Francisco at all; they were directed to Mr. Lisner.

Senator EDGE. Didn't you have one finance committee and one treasurer?

Mr. McCABE. Absolutely, and these will show—the records. Mr. Lisner got directly these moneys and has a record of that. Mr. Greenebaum has that.

Senator EDGE. But you really did not get the money?

Mr. McCABE. The money was spent in Los Angeles and the receipts were sent from Mr. Greenebaum.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the only newspaper advertising you did?

Mr. McCABE. In northern California—that is, the part of California north of Tehachati, as we call it there—there was no newspaper advertising done, so far as the headquarters were concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this active fight in California between the Hoover and Johnson forces?

Mr. McCABE. Strictly so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any evidence of any money spent by the Hoover forces?

Mr. McCABE. As I started to say a while ago, our great anxiety as the campaign progressed was to meet the very active fight that was being engaged in by the Hoover people.

The CHAIRMAN. Just describe the kind of fight that was being engaged in.

Mr. McCABE. They circularized, not once, but more than once, the voters of the State, and they maintained headquarters in each city throughout the State of any size at all; they had actively engaged agents in all the—so far as the women were concerned, the women voters of the State were called on and solicited by personal solicitation, as well as through the mails; they had—if I have not already stated it, full page ads.—they had a page in all the leading papers, not once but a number of times. I can say that with all certainty, because we each day used to run over what they were doing, trying our best to get sufficient funds available to meet it, because we didn't know how effective this sort of advertising would likely be. They were spending four or five times, possibly eight or nine times as much money as we spent, that we were able to get together to spend.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that is true of the campaign in California, that they spent eight or nine times as much as you did?

Mr. McCABE. I am certain of it. These things that were being done from day to day were matters of great anxiety with us, and we used to watch it rather closely.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be over \$400,000 in California? You spent over \$50,000; now, if they spent eight or nine times as much, that would be four or five hundred thousand dollars.

Mr. McCABE. So far as from day to day these things that we couldn't meet at all would appear, I would say that the lowest estimate of the expenses of the Hoover campaign would be \$300,000.

Senator SPENCER. You don't agree with Mr. Wile, who said the Johnson expenditures were largely in excess of the Hoover expenditures?

Mr. McCABE. Nor does anybody else in California who witnessed what was done there.

The CHAIRMAN. There wasn't anything in Mr. Wile's article about the Hoover expenses?

Mr. McCABE. I haven't read Mr. Wile's article; I knew nothing of it until I heard him testify this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe, from what experience you have had with the Johnson campaign, there and the money spent in the Johnson campaign; knowing as you do what was done in the Hoover campaign, that the expenses of the Hoover campaign would run over \$300,000?

Mr. McCABE. Everything considered, yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Can you give us the names of the men who got it?

Mr. McCABE. Who got the money?

Senator SPENCER. The Hoover money?

Mr. McCABE. You mean collected it or distributed it?

Senator SPENCER. Collected it or spent it.

Mr. McCABE. Yes; I could give you the names of the men who are actively connected with Mr. Hoover's campaign, and in that way I take it you could get the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the manager?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Ralph P. Merritt was Hoover's manager in California.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his address?

Mr. McCABE. Berkeley, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have one man starting from California Gaffney, I think is his name. Is there any such man? I understood he was the manager, a lawyer in San Francisco.

Mr. McCABE. There are two Gregorys connected with his campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Gregory is the name; yes.

Mr. McCABE. E. T. C. Gregory and Warren Gregory.

The CHAIRMAN. Warren Gregory is the man. Can he give us the information?

Mr. McCABE. Mark Gerstle, as I understood, was the treasurer of the Hoover organization in northern California. Mr. Gerstle should be able to give you the information. It is my understanding he was the treasurer of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is his address?

Mr. McCABE. San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to get the men that can give the facts and we don't want to duplicate them.

Mr. McCABE. Ralph P. Merritt was the California manager of the Hoover campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't Mr. Gregory one of the managers?

Mr. McCABE. He was one of the men very actively identified with the campaign, but Ralph P. Merritt was the man who signed as manager all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he in San Francisco? Is Mr. Gerstle in San Francisco?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Merritt in San Francisco?

Mr. McCABE. No; Mr. Merritt is in Berkeley. The southern California expenditures of Mr. Hoover were, I think, under Mr. H. S. McKee, of the Merchants' National Bank, Los Angeles.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything of your own knowledge as to the amount of money spent in Los Angeles or southern California for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. No; I have no accurate way of knowing the exact amount spent, except a very considerable amount was spent. They had a tremendous number of paid workers, so-called, that they were paying off for a considerable time after election, and those men had been employed, the story was there, for a week or 10 days, and the checks ranged from \$42 to smaller amounts, and in some instances larger amounts. However, I can give you now only what was current statement at that particular time there; I have no knowledge of Mr. Hoover's expenditures in a personal sense, except that I know they were great.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you knowledge of large numbers of people working for him?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a labor of love?

Mr. McCABE. I am certain it was not.

The CHAIRMAN. You know from the kind of people that might be doing that kind of work there that undoubtedly there were a number

of people working for Mr. Hoover just out of friendship and admiration, the same as they were for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But there are in communities men who work for a price.

Mr. McCABE. The difference in that fight is that we had of necessity to rely on volunteer organization. We had no money to spend along these particular lines; they did; they did have the money and they did spend it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us about the contributors to the Hoover campaign?

Senator REED. Before you get to that, won't you ask him—he has spoken about having a number of workers—whether they were general over the State, whether they worked at the polls, etc.?

The CHAIRMAN. I was intending to ask you about these workers. Now, how general was that over the State?

Mr. McCABE. As I stated, Senator, they had headquarters maintained by paid employees in each of the centers of population in the State.

The CHAIRMAN. How many headquarters?

Mr. McCABE. Well, that would mean not less than 50 in the State.

Senator SPENCER. Did you visit them all?

Mr. McCABE. No.

Senator SPENCER. You are just giving general information?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir. I am giving, Senator, because it was necessary for me to keep fairly close track of what the opposition was doing, knowledge that I had imparted to me, gained by various leaders in different parts of the State.

Senator EDGE. You just made the remark that you were compelled, the Johnson forces, to rely upon voluntary organization.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Didn't you have the support of the so-called Crocker organization, the Crocker interests? Do you call that a voluntary organization?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Crocker has no political organization, Senator.

Senator EDGE. He has no political organization?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator EDGE. Has Senator Johnson a political organization in California?

Mr. McCABE. In the sense that he has a very large number of men who are very much interested in his success, yes; also that he appointed while governor of California men to particular office there and gained control in the elections there, and those men are responsive to his suggestions.

Senator EDGE. What is your interpretation of a political organization if it doesn't consist of just what you have told us?

Mr. McCABE. The political organization that you possibly refer to is one made up by the men that you are able to call up and insist upon their political work or of losing their positions, or something of that sort. Nothing of that sort exists.

Senator EDGE. You were speaking of paid agents that the opposition had; did you have any paid agents at all in the State, what might be called poll workers, challengers, or anything of that kind?

Mr. McCABE. We did not.

Senator EDGE. Does the law of California permit that—the corrupt practice act—having paid challengers or whatever they may be termed?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, there is no inhibition, Senator, at all, against the solicitation of voters beyond a certain distance from the polls in the centers of population. Mr. Hoover paid for that sort of solicitation and we were unable to get it except in individual instances where men would volunteer to do it.

Senator REED. Do you mean to say that Hoover had paid representatives at the polls soliciting votes?

Mr. McCABE. I do, Senator.

Senator REED. Is that general, all over the State?

Mr. McCABE. It was true in San Francisco, Oakland, and in Los Angeles, particularly, it was true.

Senator EDGE. Was your campaign distinctly handicapped by lack of funds?

Mr. McCABE. It was; yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Could you and would you have recommended the expenditure of a large addition if you could have collected it?

Mr. McCABE. I would have recommended the expenditure of moneys in other places than California, Senator.

Senator EDGE. I just asked the question if you were handicapped in California.

Mr. McCABE. During the progress of the campaign, witnessing all of the expenditures of your opponent and anxious as to what effect it had on the voters, probably if we had had the money available we would have also paid for advertisements, and we certainly would have circularized the voters; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You got a pretty comfortable majority, as it was.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now can you give us any idea of the number of paid workers that the Hoover forces had in California?

Mr. McCABE. Well, I would not want to be inaccurate in that. I have read Mr. Lisner's statement, and he made a close investigation, and I talked to him about it. He said there were 1,600 in Los Angeles alone.

The CHAIRMAN. In Los Angeles alone?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of paid workers?

Mr. McCABE. Paid workers at the polls; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many paid workers did the Johnson people have in Los Angeles?

Mr. McCABE. None, except the headquarters.

Senator REED. They had 1,600 workers in one city?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know what that sort of work costs? Did you understand what was paid them?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Lisner issued a statement which may or may not have fallen under the notice of the committee in that regard. He said the checks ranged from \$10 to \$2.50 apiece. He made a close investigation of the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Mr. Lisner?

Mr. McCABE. He is in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Los Angeles is a city of about 700,000 people, is it not?

Mr. McCABE. Well, the county has a greater population than that, Senator. The registered vote there was 330,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Hoover carry that city?

Mr. McCABE. He did; yes, sir—he did not carry the city—he carried the county, and this reference to paid workers includes the county.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there as many in proportion in the other counties of the State?

Mr. McCABE. No; I would not say that. That did not hold good so far as either San Francisco, Oakland or the other large cities of the State went.

The CHAIRMAN. Why were so many put in there, do you know?

Mr. McCABE. Well, their plan of campaign was to carry Los Angeles by an overwhelming majority and thus try to win the State where they thought the sentiment favored them very heavily, and they did not make such a strenuous effort where plainly Senator Johnson was more popular.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were some of the leading men in the Hoover movement?

Senator REED. The witness started to say while it was not true that they had so many workers in other cities as Los Angeles—he started to say something about other cities—what was the fact about that?

Mr. McCABE. They had, Senator, of course workers at the polls in all of these other cities, particularly in Alameda County; that is, in the city of Berkeley and the city of Oakland, and they also had workers in San Francisco. They took part of the student body of Stanford University, I think 300 in number, and took them up to San Francisco for election day, to work at the polls. That is only part of the number they had.

Senator REED. Did they pay their expenses?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Were these workers that were in these other places paid workers, part of them?

Mr. McCABE. Nearly all of them, Senator, were paid workers.

Senator REED. Do you know whether they paid these students?

Mr. McCABE. That was the statement made. I have no knowledge beyond that.

Senator REED. That is, they started out the students of Stanford University in politics by putting them on the high moral plane of working for money.

Mr. McCABE. Well, I do not want to give the impression that these students were asked to do other than to solicit voters as they came up to the polls for Mr. Hoover. Beyond that I don't know.

Senator REED. That is just what I am talking about, that a young man, yet a student in college—and not only one young man but 300 of them—are initiated into politics by being paid for doing work at the polls.

Mr. McCABE. That was their situation as I understand it.

Senator REED. Well, if we keep on we will get the world on a very high moral plane, working through the colleges.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give any estimate of the number of paid workers in California for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. No further than I have indicated.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give any estimate of the paid workers for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; he had none.

Senator REED. What is the difference between hiring a man to stand at the polls all day and work for another and hiring a man to go in and do the job quick by casting his vote? Isn't it the money that is the moving force after all?

The CHAIRMAN. He may get more than one vote out of it if he works all day.

Mr. McCABE. Your opinion, Senator, would be—it is a matter of opinion purely, and your opinion is better than mine, probably.

Senator REED. Isn't true in politics, and corrupt politics, as you understand them from observation, that the safest way to buy a man's vote is to hire him to work all day at the polls?

Mr. McCABE. Well, that frequently, as I have understood it, has had an influence on his activities and on those of the people probably.

Senator EDGE. Did the Johnson campaign have any hired automobiles or conveyances of any kind in any part of the State, in the country or city districts, to bring voters to the polls?

Mr. McCABE. We did not. We, however, made a very active campaign to get volunteer cars on election day.

Senator EDGE. And you paid for no cars or conveyances of any kind?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. McCabe, I want to get a little more clearly this amount, if I can. You are speaking, of course, largely from recollection?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Therefore you are only speaking of the amounts about which you are reasonably sure.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now I understood you to say that, as far as your recollection went, the amount contributed in California up to May 4 was—as far as you could tell, did not exceed \$125,000.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you thought that since May 4, as far as you could tell, the amounts that came in had not exceeded \$25,000.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That makes \$150,000.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Then I understood you said that there was one man who had given you \$10,000 because of his personal friendship—or, I don't mean given it, but had done service for you which would have cost \$10,000, but which he only charged \$1,100 for.

Mr. McCABE. He made no charge at all.

Senator SPENCER. He made no charge at all, but it would have cost \$10,000 if you had had to pay for it.

Mr. McCABE. Had this not been done, however, no such activity would have been undertaken by us.

Senator SPENCER. But you availed yourself of it and got it.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. There would be, as I am figuring it, \$160,000. Now the only other State that we have had really very definite information from in connection with Senator Johnson is New York. I understand that you sent to New York \$25,000.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That would leave then, of the \$68,000 in New York, \$43,000 that had been raised locally.

Senator REED. Raised outside of California.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That would mean, as far as we have now gotten at the matter between California and New York, an aggregate of \$203,000.

Mr. McCABE. Well, I am afraid that we are duplicating there, although personally I don't know just where to indicate the duplication.

Senator SPENCER. I don't think we are, though it undoubtedly is true that out of the California amount were also sent the amounts, smaller sums, to different States which you have already spoken of.

Mr. McCABE. This money that I tell you was sent to New York was sent there for redistribution.

Senator SPENCER. And out of the \$150,000 which has come into California, \$25,000 of it went to New York?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is clear. So I am taking that out of New York and that leaves the receipts in New York \$43,000 outside of that \$25,000, and leaves you \$150,000 in California, which makes a total of \$173,000, and then the contribution in regard to the billboards, of which you availed yourself because they were donated by a friend of Senator Johnson, which makes a little over \$200,000.

Mr. McCABE. Well, the exact expenditure, however, Senator, I will point out to you, is \$1,100.

Senator SPENCER. Exactly; that is all you spent, but you got the \$10,000; you got just as much good for it as if it had been money.

Mr. McCABE. Well, this was a political activity that was undertaken because it came in this fashion; that otherwise would not have been undertaken.

Senator SPENCER. But you got it and used it, of course.

Mr. McCABE. The billboards were used.

Senator SPENCER. Precisely the same as if some man had given you a page in 10 California papers that you would not have taken if he had not given them to you, but you took them, and of course that is a campaign receipt.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now this does not include any contributions—this \$203,000 does not include any contributions locally, either in any State or in any city, and whether there were such contributions or not you are not prepared to say?

Mr. McCABE. Well, I would say pretty definitely that there were not.

Senator SPENCER. That is, you mean to say that there was no money raised in Los Angeles locally—raised and spent locally in the interest of Senator Johnson.

Mr. McCABE. As a matter of fact I know of no such moneys, no; but I could not say that that was not a fact.

Senator SPENCER. Then I am right in saying—

Mr. McCABE (interposing). Let me say this to you, that there could be no sum of any consequence of that sort raised there.

Senator SPENCER. I did not even say there was; I said that this \$203,000 did not include any sum of money that might have been raised and spent locally, either in different States or in different communities or in different cities, because of those matters you did not yourself have information. I am right in that, am I not?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, I did; so far as the general conduct of the campaign is concerned. If any moneys were raised in Los Angeles that entered into the expenditures there, I certainly would have had information about them; and answering your question definitely I would say no such sums were raised there except as were accounted for through the moneys I have already referred to.

Senator SPENCER. But do you want us to understand that in Los Angeles, for example, there was not a dollar raised or spent locally in the interest of Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Excepting such as would be accounted for in the contributions referred to.

Senator SPENCER. That is, excepting money that came to San Francisco. I understand you to say there was not a dollar raised or spent locally in Los Angeles.

Mr. McCABE. Frankly I don't know that that would be true.

Senator SPENCER. I assume not.

Mr. McCABE. Because I would imagine that individuals may have on election day done one thing or another in the matter of hiring automobiles or volunteering them, and things of that sort.

Senator SPENCER. Of course there might. And in addition there might well be local club organizations in Los Angeles or Sacramento or Berkeley or anywhere else that were not in direct communication, financially, with the headquarters but were working for Senator Johnson and believing in him.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is true, isn't it?

Mr. McCABE. That is quite true, but so that there may be no misapprehension in that regard I will say that nothing of any consequence of that kind occurred.

Senator SPENCER. Then I am right in what I said, that the aggregate of \$203,000 which I have indicated does not include any local funds that may have been raised or spent locally and not through your committee or under your supervision.

Mr. McCABE. If additional sums to the \$203,000 referred to were raised, they could not have aggregated but a few thousand dollars.

Senator SPENCER. Now, that is your judgment in the matter.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir; and my knowledge, I take it.

Senator SPENCER. Now, I understood you to say that in California there was no large subscription beyond \$5,000.

Mr. McCABE. I have no knowledge of any.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you know, then, the contribution of \$27,000 from one man in New York City was the largest single contribution to the Johnson campaign fund?

Mr. McCABE. Beyond question that is a fact.

Senator SPENCER. And so far as you know it was not anywhere near duplicated in California?

Mr. McCABE. That is a fact.

Senator SPENCER. I believe that was a Pennsylvania man that made that contribution. I have forgotten his name.

Now you had, I understand, about 10 traveling agents that we have called in this hearing "scouts."

Senator REED. No; only those people used in military work are called scouts.

Senator SPENCER. I rather like the word "scout." It was your origination, Senator Reed, and I like it. It is not the only thing you have originated that I like.

Senator REED. I did not originate it.

The CHAIRMAN. It came from a Wood witness. I asked him if he had a flying squadron, and he said no, they had scouts.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, you take a total of about 10 men and send them out into the different parts of the United States where they were perhaps best fitted to understand or appreciate the local situation in the interest of Gov. Johnson.

Mr. McCABE. This is the fact in that regard, Senator: These men were not in the field as scouts continuously. At various times men would volunteer—for instance, one gentleman volunteered to go into Colorado, where he formerly lived. He made a trip to Colorado. Another gentleman familiar with Texas went into Texas and reported the situation there. In each of the instances referred to the trip probably did take about a week and their expenses were paid. Now I am making this statement to you, Senator, so that you won't have the impression that we constantly maintained in the field 10 men, because at no time was that true.

Senator SPENCER. I did not intend to so infer. I understood you to say that the aggregate of men sent out from time to time was in your judgment about 10.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, when a situation arose in Colorado, Texas, or any other State that you thought could be helped in Senator Johnson's interest by sending a man there, or you wanted to get information from that place or stimulate activity there, these men went out.

Mr. McCABE. That is a fact, Senator, yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you were very glad to have them go out?

Mr. McCABE. Indeed we were.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say you could not buy any newspaper advertising. That was probably because of lack of funds?

Mr. McCABE. That is the exact fact.

Senator SPENCER. If the funds had been available you would have been very glad to have bought it and used it?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. But because of lack of funds you felt you could not do it?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. In your office force, Mr. McCabe, how many stenographers or those addressing envelopes or doing labor of that kind did you use?

Mr. McCABE. Why, not more than half a dozen.

Senator SPENCER. That is, at no time did you have more than half a dozen in San Francisco alone that were either addressing envelopes or doing stenographic work?

Mr. McCABE. Well, at particular times meetings would be called, central mass meetings, and for those mass meetings letters, probably

aggregating a few thousand, would be sent out calling attention to the time and place of meeting. At such times the ordinary stenographic bureaus handling that kind of thing would be employed too.

Senator SPENCER. And of course, if the number to be sent out was many thousand, naturally the number to be employed would be correspondingly greater.

Mr. McCABE. There would be the ordinary business of sending out the particular notice to 3,000, 5,000, or whatever the total number of letters might be. That would be in addition to the half dozen stenographers regularly maintained for regular correspondence work.

Senator SPENCER. That is, when you had notices to send out, or literature as well, you used regular stenographic bureaus.

Mr. McCABE. Literature, as I said a while ago, Senator, was very largely handled by hand distribution or by bundles in particular localities, there to be distributed by hand.

Senator SPENCER. And not sent through the mail to the individual

Mr. McCABE. Not regular circularizing, as is frequently resorted to.

Senator SPENCER. Was that because your judgment led you to the conclusion that that was the most effective way of handling it; or would you have preferred mail distribution to the individuals if you had had the money?

Mr. McCABE. We would have preferred mail distribution, but because this was the most economic method it was the only method we had.

Senator REED. That is, the way you handled it was the only way you had the money for?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now, you had the ground floor of the Palace Hotel?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I mean part of the ground floor of the Palace Hotel?

Mr. McCABE. We had the rooms that used to be occupied by the Western Pacific Railroad.

Senator SPENCER. Did the railroad give them up to you?

Mr. McCABE. No.

Senator SPENCER. They were vacant?

Mr. McCABE. They were vacated for months. It constitutes just the ordinary railroad office in the corner of a building. They were not extensive, so far as that is concerned.

Senator SPENCER. How large was it, compared to this office, this room?

Mr. McCABE. About the same size as this room.

Senator SPENCER. Then you divided it up by partitions, cheap partitions, I think you said, as suited your convenience?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And there for six weeks, six or seven weeks, on the ground floor of the Palace Hotel, you conducted your California activities in regard to Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. California and those activities that went—and let me say to you that literature that was distributed went into other States. We conducted from there the distribution of literature throughout the entire country.

Senator SPENCER. I think I quote your exact language. You had a large number of State administration people who did contribute to the campaign—I endeavored to take down your exact words, but if I am wrong you will correct me.

Mr. McCABE. We had a large number of contributors among those men who have been identified actively heretofore with Senator Johnson when he was governor and since then, politically. Some of those men still hold public positions; some of them—most of them in truth—are not holding public positions now.

Senator SPENCER. What is the term of the governor in California?

Mr. McCABE. Four years.

Senator SPENCER. And Gov. Johnson's term as governor expired in 1918?

Mr. McCABE. Senator Johnson resigned the governorship in March, 1917.

Senator SPENCER. And he had been governor how long?

Mr. McCABE. Up to that time he had been governor 7 years.

Senator SPENCER. He had a year of an unexpired term there?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. He resigned in order to take his position here?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Now a part of that same State administration is still in existence?

Mr. McCABE. Why, the succeeding governor has retained some of the men that were then in office, and has, of course, appointed others of his own people.

Senator SPENCER. And some of those who were elected in 1916, when Gov. Johnson was elected, are still filling their offices, are they not?

Mr. McCABE. Gov. Johnson was reelected governor in 1914. There has been a State election intervening, so that there is none of his original administration that still hold office, unless they have been reelected for another term or unless they were appointed by his successor in office.

Senator SPENCER. Now that organization that was in existence when Gov. Johnson was elected in 1914, is that still continuing? Is it the same State organization that it was then?

Mr. McCABE. No, far from it. As a matter of fact, so far as the State officials in California are concerned, there is a very even distribution as between Mr. Hoover and Senator Johnson in the advocacy of the two men.

Senator SPENCER. The majority of the State officers were, I understood you to say, for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. No, I did not say that.

Senator SPENCER. Let us look at some of them. Of the railroad commissioners there were three for Senator Johnson and two for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Of the bank commissioner—there was one, and he was for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Is there only one bank commissioner?

Mr. McCABE. Bank Superintendent.

Senator SPENCER. He was for Senator Johnson. The commissioner of insurance is yourself?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And I understand you are for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir; I have been for some time.

Senator SPENCER. What other commissioner did you mention, Mr. McCabe?

Mr. McCABE. There was a reference made——

Senator SPENCER (interposing). There was one other for Mr. Hoover, wasn't there?

Mr. McCABE. Reference was made to the university regents, the University of California and Stanford.

Senator SPENCER. Do they get any compensation?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is, they are appointed by the governor?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is, those appointees of the Governor who did not receive any compensation, you think were largely for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. Why, as a matter of fact, I would not say that. On the contrary, the so-called "pay-roll patriots" were very largely for Mr. Hoover, and the gentlemen in California interested in the type of government that Gov. Johnson gave California and its continuance stayed with him.

Senator POMERINE. What do you mean by "pay-roll patriots"?

Mr. McCABE. I mean those gentlemen who have a political allegiance controlled by pay very largely went for Mr. Hoover, where the money was.

Senator EDGE. And who stayed with Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Those gentlemen who were with Senator Johnson when he went into office in California as a protest against the corrupt control of that particular State. Those men who aided him in that particular effort are still in a large measure fighting with him.

Senator SPENCER. Now, let us check it up as far as you have given us concrete illustrations, Mr. McCabe. The State regents appointed by the governor, do not receive any compensation?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And there are two universities, or one?

Mr. McCABE. The State has nothing to do, so far as I refer to the University of California, as the board of trustees, Mr. Hoover being one of the members of it.

Senator SPENCER. That the State administration has nothing to do with?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Perhaps he would not have been a member of the board of regents if the State had had anything to do with that university?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Hoover has never been identified, Senator Spencer, with activities in California one way or the other politically until he was a candidate for President.

Senator SPENCER. Now, so far as the State university is concerned, whose regents are appointed by the governor, but without compen-

sation, those regents, I understood you to say, were largely for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. No; I did not make that statement, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. Then I misquoted you.

Mr. McCABE. If I had available the list of the regents I could give you, I think, pretty accurately the exact statement. I would say that I called attention to the contributions by two of the present board of regents. Mr. Crooker was a regent. That is three.

Mr. Cochran is a regent. That is four. I would say that there was about an even distribution of men as between Senator Johnson and Mr. Hoover.

Senator SPENCER. Then I had you wrong. I had you down here as a direct quotation that the regents of the State University were largely for Mr. Hoover. That is a mistake?

Mr. McCABE. It was a mistake so far as the regents of Stanford or the board of trustees of Stanford are concerned. I think they were practically unanimous for him.

Senator SPENCER. We are not speaking about those.

Mr. McCABE. I do not recall, Senator, that I made any statement as to the political allegiance of the regents of the State University of California.

Senator SPENCER. I may have jotted it down wrong. Now then the State harbor commissioner—that is a paid commission?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. He is for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Two of them are, and one of them is not.

Senator SPENCER. Two to one. The railroad commissioners are of course paid?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. There were three of those for Senator Johnson and two for Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. The commissioner on banking is paid?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. The banking superintendent is paid?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. He is for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir. Some of his subordinates were for Mr. Hoover, however.

Senator SPENCER. The insurance commissioner is paid?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is yourself?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you are for Senator Johnson?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now so far as we have got any of these administration agencies, it seems to be still true that the large proportion of those who received compensation are for Senator Johnson, and of those that so far as you have mentioned who do not receive compensation, you say they are now about 50-50, referring to the regents?

Mr. McCABE. To summarize my statement, I may say that where there are three commissioners, two out of the three may in one instance have been for Senator Johnson, and in another instance two out of three, if you would go through the entire number of paid

employees of the State, might be for Mr. Hoover. I never cast them up or tried to divide them definitely along that line with that idea in view.

Senator SPENCER. Was Mr. Crocker against Gov. Johnson in his campaign, or was he for him?

Mr. McCABE. You mean heretofore?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; heretofore, in the gubernatorial campaign.

Mr. McCABE. He has until, I think, 1916, when Senator Johnson was the Republican nominee for United States Senator, opposed him.

Senator SPENCER. And then his judgment led him the other way?

Mr. McCABE. I think in the endeavor to unify the Republican ranks there. Mr. Crocker then commenced to support Senator Johnson.

Senator SPENCER. Can you give us the names of any of the contributors to Senator Johnson's campaign who are connected with the Southern Pacific Railroad?

Mr. McCABE. I have no knowledge of anybody connected with the Southern Pacific Railroad who is a contributor to Senator Johnson's campaign. I want to make the definite statement that I do not say that some man who has been connected with the Southern Pacific in the relation of an attorney or something of that sort might not have made a small contribution, but so far as the Southern Pacific organization is concerned, he did not receive any support from it.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any solicitation, direct or indirect, of State officers for contributions in connection with Senator Johnson's campaign?

Mr. McCABE. In the sense that a public appeal was made for the support of Senator Johnson's campaign, yes; in the sense that particular individuals, as members of the State establishment holding particular office, I would say no, although I do not know. In particular instances that may have been done.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

Senator EDGE. I have just a few questions here. I understood you to estimate—and it is confirmed, I think, here in accordance with Senator Spencer's question—that the total amount raised in California was approximately \$150,000. I think you admitted that to Senator Spencer.

Mr. McCABE. This is purely an estimate.

Senator EDGE. Yes; I understand.

Mr. McCABE. I do not want to be held to be accurate in the statement made. It may not amount to that much.

Senator EDGE. We made a record of the various amounts, so far as your memory served you, that have been disbursed to the different States, including New York State; and that totaled, as I recall it, \$51,000. That would leave, if your estimate is correct, \$99,000, approximately, rather than about \$50,000, that I recall your having testified as having been spent in California. In other words, it is nearer \$100,000 than \$50,000.

Senator REED. Spent in California?

Senator EDGE. Yes.

Mr. McCABE. Let me say to you this: I told you so far as these amounts that were spent in other States, the sums only that I personally approved. I feel very certain, Senator, that not more than \$50,000 was spent in California, so that Mr. Carnahan or Mr. Johnson may have—if the total is worked out in the fashion you state, they may have spent other amounts.

Senator REED. It don't work out that way.

Senator EDGE. Now, let us go over them carefully.

Senator REED. There was \$43,000 raised in New York and \$25,000 sent to New York.

Senator EDGE. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, then, there is an accounting here of \$4,000, \$1,800, \$2,000, and other amounts that went to States directly.

Senator EDGE. I understand. Senator Pomerene added that up and said it totaled \$51,000 and something.

Senator POMERENE. \$51,800, and that included the \$1,500 expenses to the three several States.

Mr. McCABE. I am relying entirely in my statement of these sums that went to the States on my recollection.

Senator EDGE. Yes; but I am trying to reach a certain situation here. That included \$25,000 to New York, didn't it—the \$51,800?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Well, \$51,800, or \$52,000, from the figure \$150,000, has nothing to do with the \$48,000 in New York, Senator Reed, which leaves a balance of \$98,000. Now, the witness has testified that he had O. K'd all of the disbursements; therefore, if your California expenses were limited to approximately \$50,000, it is quite apparent that there is another \$48,000 that must have been sent out of California, if your estimate of \$150,000 is correct. That seems to be self-evident.

Mr. McCABE. Certainly.

Senator SPENCER. I omitted one question, if you will permit me. Do you keep your account in the Crocker National Bank?

Mr. McCABE. We do not; no, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you keep any account there?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any check, any currency payment or check for \$100,000, or anything like it in currency on the eve of the primary?

Mr. McCABE. Nothing of that sort occurred, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. Not of any substantial amount in currency?

Mr. McCABE. Nothing of that sort.

Senator SPENCER. You don't know of any such amount having been drawn, or a check for that amount?

Mr. McCABE. I know definitely no such thing occurred.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where we can get evidence of that kind, of any such thing as the Senator has suggested? I think if the Senator has the evidence, we ought to have it.

Mr. McCABE. I certainly would be glad to give the information, and I will lend every effort I can to get the exact facts.

Senator SPENCER. I got the evidence very recently—I mean I got the information that \$100,000 in currency had been drawn and delivered on the eve of the primary.

Senator POMERENE. Out of what bank?

Senator SPENCER. As I got it, out of the Crocker National Bank, but I may have misunderstood the bank.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the name to the committee and let us subpoena him? Because that comes almost in the nature of a charge now.

Senator SPENCER. I will try to get that for you. There is such a bank, the Crocker National Bank?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir; of which Mr. Crocker is president.

Senator REED. Let me ask one question on that, because that is important. You never heard of any such thing as these questions suggest?

Mr. McCABE. Not until this moment, Senator.

Senator REED. You have been out there in active charge; what would you characterize any such rumor as?

Mr. McCABE. A plain prevarication, absolutely untrue.

Senator EDGE. Mr. McCabe, I want to get at this apparent discrepancy, as far as is possible with your knowledge, and if you haven't the knowledge we will get some one else to make it up, because the question of what has been spent in California seems to be a subject of quite wide variation.

As I have followed your testimony, you have spoken of your regular expenses as being very modest. You said your rent approximated \$800 a month for six weeks, about \$1,200?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. And that you had an average of not more than half a dozen clerks?

Mr. McCABE. We had more than that, Senator. We had half a dozen stenographers, as I told you, and we had the manager of the San Francisco department——

Senator EDGE (interposing). Well, whatever you had.

Mr. McCABE. Well, I once stated, Senator, we had a publicity man and his aides, and Mr. Carnahan and his stenographers. We had probably 10 or 12 people.

Senator EDGE. How long were they employed during the period between the opening of the headquarters and the primary?

Mr. McCABE. Some of them are still employed.

Senator EDGE. Approximately how much was the total of their drawings? Can you give us that?

Mr. McCABE. I imagine the headquarters expense would run around \$10,000; but that is a pure matter of speculation on my part.

Senator EDGE. I think you stated you placed absolutely no advertising?

Mr. McCABE. We placed—Mr. Lisner in southern California advertised in one or two papers there, small amounts. In northern California we placed no advertising.

Senator EDGE. I think you said you could not get advertising?

Mr. McCABE. We could get all the advertising we wanted if we had the money to pay for it.

Senator EDGE. And you employed no agents? You had no paid agents? You made that statement several times.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Well, I am trying to find out just what you did with this \$98,000, if that is the amount, or the \$50,000, whatever the amount may be. What was it spent for?

Mr. McCABE. We had—of course in San Francisco there were several meetings. We circularized so far as the meetings were concerned; we hired bands to advertise the meetings; we sent out circulars; hall rents were heavy; the expenses of each meeting, I take it would run into \$1,500. We had meetings of that sort in San Fran-

cisco; we had them in Sacramento; we had them in Stockton; we had them in Fresno, in Modesto, and Berkeley. Our expenses in California were purely meeting expenses, headquarters expenses.

Senator REED. Did you have them in Los Angeles too?

Mr. McCABE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. And I understand you to say that in Los Angeles you saw some of the hall rents had been contributed by local people and did not appear in your statement?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Then, summing it up, the \$50,000 to \$98,000, whatever the sum the books would finally show was spent in California, has to a great extent gone for bands and hall rents?

Mr. McCABE. Yes; wherever we could get meetings in a particular locality, we would get a hall and get a group in that particular district together, and all those things, as you are well aware, cost money.

Senator EDGE. You had no paid agents, no advertising; the minimum rent extent was \$1,200—correct me if I am incorrect in any statement—the approximate expenses for headquarters, salaries, etc., was \$10,000, and the balance would have to be necessarily expended along that line.

Mr. McCABE. The expenses of the speakers and all that sort of thing.

Senator EDGE. Did you pay your speakers?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir; we paid their expenses.

Senator EDGE. You did not pay them for making speeches?

Mr. McCABE. In no instance that I am aware of was any speaker paid.

Senator EDGE. Now, Mr. McCabe, you are very helpful in giving us the benefit of rumors—I think we will call them that—of very large disbursements on the part of the Hoover campaign committee, and you give us, so far as your knowledge permits you, the actual receipts in your own finance committee; have you heard any rumors at all of any kind—on one side they would perhaps be just as accurate or furnish the same opportunity for us to look further as they would on the other—while you have heard these rumors in connection with the three or four hundred thousand dollars expenditure of the Hoover campaign, have you heard at all of any money, any time, that was raised from any source and expended in a direct way—what is sometimes termed by the newspapers “slush fund”—that did not come to your regular finance committee? Have you heard of anything of the kind on the Johnson side?

Mr. McCABE. No such thing existed. On the contrary, as I told you, our embarrassment was constantly because we could not get sufficient money to carry on what we deemed was necessary work during the progress of the campaign to meet the expenditures of the other side.

Senator EDGE. But isn't it true that sometimes in campaigns—alleged at least by reading the newspapers and general information—that money not turned into a regular campaign fund sometimes can be used to better advantage than that that has to be accounted for?

Mr. McCABE. I can say to you, Senator, with absolute certainty, that no money of that sort was expended in the interest of Senator Johnson in California.

Senator EDGE. Do you think there was in the interest of Mr. Hoover's candidacy?

Mr. McCABE. In the sense that corrupt moneys were employed in the interest of Mr. Hoover I make no such charge; I make no such statement. I do say that Mr. Hoover had a very considerable sum of money expended in his political interest in California in the method I am suggesting.

Senator EDGE. Don't your laws compel a return of all the moneys expended, your State laws, after the campaign?

Mr. McCABE. They do not.

Senator EDGE. You have no corrupt-practices act in California?

Mr. McCABE. We have no requirement to file a list of expenditure in a presidential primary. We have in the State primary.

Senator EDGE. Now, in conducting your solicitation for funds you had a finance committee?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Can you give me the names of the members of the finance committee?

Mr. McCABE. The men who took charge of the solicitation of funds were Mr. Rosseter at the outset.

Senator EDGE. Well, your official finance committee?

Mr. McCABE. I am just giving you the name of the chairman. Later on, Mr. Theodore J. Roach, because Mr. Rosseter was required to go East, took over the solicitation of funds.

Senator EDGE. Well, was there a committee in addition to these two?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir; the committee was made up of the treasurer, Mr. Greenebaum; Mr. Cosgriff was a member of the committee—Harry Cosgriff—one of the names I have given you.

Senator EDGE. Were any of these five men on the committee [indicating list]?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Fleishacker was on the committee. Mr. Cochran was on the committee as representing southern California. None of the others here were on the committee.

Senator EDGE. Who are the others?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Crocker, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Fleishacker.

Senator EDGE. You said Mr. Fleishacker.

Mr. McCABE. Mr. P. E. Bowles was a member. He is president of the American National Bank. He was a member of the finance committee. Mr. P. H. McCarthy was a member.

Senator EDGE. What is his position?

Mr. McCABE. He is State president of the Building Trades Council of California. Mayor Rolph was a member of the committee. Mr. John P. McLaughlin. He is president of the Teamsters' Brotherhood. That is all the membership of the committee that I now recall.

Senator EDGE. Now, Mr. Rossiter—you have already given testimony as to his position. He is in the millionaire class, I presume.

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Roach is also a member of the committee. Theodore Roach.

Senator EDGE. Yes; I have him. What is Mr. Roach's business connection?

Mr. McCABE. He is an attorney at law in San Francisco.

Senator EDGE. Is he a director in any of your large corporations, or anything of that kind?

Mr. McCABE. He is president of the Police Commission of San Francisco, an official position.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Greenebaum, I don't remember whether you gave his business connection.

Mr. McCABE. He is president of the Alaska Codfish Co.

Senator EDGE. Is he a wealthy man?

Mr. McCABE. He is a man worth—yes; he is probably worth \$300,000.

Senator EDGE. He is not in the millionaire class?

Mr. McCABE. I doubt whether he is.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Fleishacker I understood you to say is in the millionaire class.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. What is his position?

Mr. McCABE. He is president of the Anglo-London and Paris Bank.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Cochran, what is his position?

Mr. McCABE. He is president of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Senator EDGE. Is he in the millionaire class?

Mr. McCABE. I would say he was, yes, sir, though I am not certain of that.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Bowles, what is his business?

Mr. McCABE. He is president of the American National Bank.

Senator EDGE. What other business connection has he?

Mr. McCABE. He is president of that particular bank. He is a banker.

Senator EDGE. Mayor Rolph, what is his business in addition to being mayor of the city?

Mr. McCABE. He is a shipbuilder, or shipowner. He is in the coal business, too.

Senator EDGE. He is in the millionaire class?

Mr. McCABE. I think he is; yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. That is five, I think—no; four. A pretty strong finance committee.

Mr. McCABE. We tried to get it as strong as we possibly could.

Senator EDGE. Were these men, generally speaking—individually, if you care to—with Senator Johnson in the days that you say he upset the existing machine when he ran for governor?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Rosseter was not.

Senator POMERENE. What was that question?

Senator EDGE. I asked if these gentlemen on the finance committee at this time were friendly to Senator Johnson when he was elected as governor at the time the witness spoke of his having beaten the old machine?

Senator REED. I regard this as absolutely outside the purview of the examination, but I am not going to exactly object to it.

Senator EDGE. Oh, I am just calling attention to the fact that we are not now dealing with finances; the present question deals with the political history of California, but I think it ought to be gone into. I am calling attention to it merely so that if a little later on some of us want to go into similar phases of the matter it will not be objected to.

Senator EDGE. Do you think it is dissimilar from looking into the connection of guests at a social dinner?

Senator REED. Yes; if the dinner was called for the purpose of raising money.

Senator EDGE. I presume these men were called together for the purpose of raising money.

Senator REED. But you are now asking whether their objections were known. He does not object to it, but I call attention to it so that in the future if we enlarge this a little bit it will not be objected to.

Senator EDGE. Well, you can just generally answer the question.

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Roach is a lawyer of San Francisco—

Senator EDGE (interposing). No; you have answered that. I was asking you whether these gentlemen now on the Senator's finance committee were formerly for him?

Mr. McCABE. Rolph was not; Roach was; Greenebaum was; Cosgriff was; Fleishacker was not. Cochran was; Bowles was; Mr. McCarthy, I think, was not then, but very shortly after became very strong as a supporter for Senator Johnson. Mr. Rolph was not, but he very soon also supported Senator Johnson. Mr. McLaughlin was—

Senator EDGE (interposing). Then you just bring out this point. These millionaires, with the exception of Mr. Cochran—three or four of these millionaires, you might call them—were not friendly to Senator Johnson in his original campaign in California? Now they are members of this finance committee. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. McCABE. As a matter of fact, these men that are referred to there, with the exception of Mr. Rolph, supported after the first campaign that Senator Johnson was in; Senator Johnson is very heartily—

Senator REED. That is, supported him in his second campaign for governor?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Does that include Mr. Crocker in the second campaign for governor?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Of course Mr. Crocker's name is not on here?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Crocker is not a member, Senator, but he is one of the contributors.

Senator EDGE. Has the man been subpoenaed who can give us an accurate account of this discrepancy between the \$50,000 and the \$98,000?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Greenebaum has not been subpoenaed. Mr. Crocker has been subpoenaed, and Mr. Rossiter.

Senator EDGE. When these books arrive here—I don't want to bring anybody from California that we don't need to.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, the difficulty has been that it is a long ways, it is very expensive and we want to bring all that is necessary but we don't want to duplicate and we are trying to work that out. Now I have a telegram from Mr. Crocker here that he doesn't know anything about it—from San Francisco. I shall submit that to the committee later.

Senator EDGE. I think I have made it clear—I have attempted to—there is apparently a considerable matter running into \$30,000 or \$40,000 discrepancy, and I would like to see where it was spent.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can straighten that out for us?

Mr. McCABE. Let me make another statement in that regard. I am estimating \$50,000 just as a mere matter of estimate. I have never figured it accurately. I am also relying, so far as the distribution of moneys in the other States is concerned, and have stated only moneys that were personally approved by me. Now there may be, so far as the approval by Mr. Carnahan, who was general western manager for Mr. Johnson, and by Mr. Johnston, who also had the right of approval, additional sums running into \$15,000 or \$20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will the books show all this?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, Senator; beyond any question.

Senator POMERENE. You made it perfectly clear in the opening part of your statement that these were the best estimates you could make from memory.

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you are not guaranteeing their absolute correctness?

Senator EDGE. I simply wanted to get the facts; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Now if there is anyone, Senator Edge, that you feel should be subpoenaed on this question, I will issue a subpoena for him.

Senator EDGE. I think principally the books should be subpoenaed.

The CHAIRMAN. They have been subpoenaed.

Mr. McCABE. I wired for the books, gentlemen, just as soon as I received your subpoena.

Senator REED. There is one item that I think, Mr. McCabe, your attention has not been called to.

Did you undertake from the California headquarters to send out or have sent out in the country generally literature?

Mr. McCABE. We did send throughout the entire country, wherever a campaign was being waged in Senator Johnson's interest, literature that was printed in California.

Senator REED. Now that charge or expense is not in these particular items which you gave of moneys sent into the States or of workers or agents that you sent into the States whose expenses you paid?

Mr. McCABE. That is right, Senator.

Senator REED. So, then, the item of literature sent into other States than California has not been accounted for?

Mr. McCABE. Very true.

Senator REED. Now, how extensive was that? Do you know how many thousands of speeches were sent out, of Mr. Johnson's, and speeches of others?

Mr. McCABE. No; we had a very considerable volume of printing. I would imagine—I know many thousand dollars were expended in that fashion; just how many I could not say—I could not accurately state.

Senator REED. Did you have literature prepared giving some sketch or history of Senator Johnson and of his activities that was sent over the country?

Mr. McCABE. We did.

Senator REED. Do you know how many of those were sent out, approximately?

Mr. McCABE. Well, we sent a very considerable volume of that sort of literature first into South Dakota and then into Minnesota,

then into Michigan; and then a large abundance of that sort of thing was sent so far as Indiana, and I think quite a bit of that was sent into New Jersey.

Senator REED. Did you send some of it to the eastern headquarters to be distributed from there?

Mr. McCABE. We did; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now as a matter of fact, this circularization of the country—that is, by getting these distributed—Senator Johnson's speeches and Senator Johnson's history—ran into some considerable sums of money, did it not? You had a publicity man; do you know what the publicity department cost, what the aggregate of it was—the publicity sent outside of the State of California?

Mr. McCABE. Well, the publicity man at the San Francisco headquarters was used, particularly in the Western States, but the publicity headquarters in New York I think covered publicity for the eastern section.

Senator REED. But you furnished a lot of material from California?

Mr. McCABE. We did; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, in a country traversing 48 States and 110,000,000 people it costs some money to try and reach the people by circulars and by speeches, doesn't it?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Would it be very hard to eat up \$25,000 or \$30,000 of this alleged discrepancy in that way?

Mr. McCABE. Why, not at all, Senator. But I can't conceive that there is this discrepancy, because—I have only my own personal information, and so far as the distribution of moneys to other States I think that can very readily be accounted for.

Senator EDGE. I don't want to interfere with your questions, but ask him if this literature went out by mail or otherwise.

Senator REED. How did you send the literature, if you know, that was sent for use in other States?

Mr. McCABE. It was sent by express for distribution, very largely. The main expense attached to it would be printing and the expressage.

Senator EDGE. You didn't attempt to send it under stamp?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator REED. You sent it out to men who voluntarily distributed it?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And probably some of this is money that you sent into these different States, for instance, Nebraska, Indiana, etc.—I won't call them all—and that might have been used for postage stamps to send out some of this literature with?

Mr. McCABE. I haven't any doubt but what that was the fact. However, I did not follow the distribution of the money.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about what it cost to put full page advertisements of a political nature in the California papers?

Mr. McCABE. Well, the cost varies, of course, Senator, depending on the size of the town in which the paper is published.

Senator REED. I am talking about cities.

Mr. McCABE. Why, of a political nature, I think the full page ad costs \$700 in San Francisco.

Senator REED. And these Hoover advertisements appear frequently—you mean per issue?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. These Hoover advertisements appeared frequently in the papers of the large cities?

Mr. McCABE. There was a very considerable volume of it.

Senator REED. Do you know whether he used the billboards?

Mr. McCABE. Somewhat; not to the same extent that he did other means. He had street car advertising and all that sort of thing.

Senator REED. Do you know whether that is expensive?

Mr. McCABE. Well, it was too expensive for us to try. I know that.

Senator REED. Is or is this not the fact, that the Hoover campaign was carried on through an unusual and unprecedented system of advertising in street cars, on billboards, and in newspapers?

Mr. McCABE. So far as billboard advertising is concerned, no, Mr. Hoover did not, except in what I think are called one-sheet posters, which he distributed quite freely; advertised widely. He did, though, in the street cars, and he did advertise extensively in newspapers—most extensively.

Senator REED. Now, just one other matter which I want to clear up. As I understand you, there was some money raised in Los Angeles by—what was his name?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Cochran.

Senator REED. Mr. Cochran. He himself gave, did you say, \$5,000?

Mr. McCABE. No; I think only \$1,000.

Mr. REED. But he raised other moneys, and with those moneys he carried on the campaign in Los Angeles and in that county?

Mr. McCABE. No, Senator; that is not it. The moneys for Los Angeles which were raised by Mr. Cochran, so far as the books of Mr. Greenebaum were concerned, were expended in Los Angeles where the money was raised.

Senator REED. That is what I am getting at; while he raised the money in Los Angeles, he accounted for it to the general headquarters, the same as though the general headquarters had sent the money to him?

Mr. McCABE. In the statement that the California campaign cost, say, \$50,000, the moneys raised by Mr. Cochran and expended in Los Angeles are included.

Senator REED. Exactly. And, as far as you know, while there were local organizations in different towns in the State carrying on, of course, a campaign for Senator Johnson, if there was some kind of a local organization and if they raised any moneys, those moneys were accounted for through the central organization and will appear in this total?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, you have been asked a good deal about five millionaires working for Mr. Johnson and about their connection, and you stated that all of them except one had been for Senator Johnson in past years; some two or three of them had not been for him when he first ran for governor, but got for him when he ran the second time, after they had seen a sample of his work?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Mr. REED. Are these millionaires "reds"? [Laughter.]

Mr. McCABE. I don't believe that they would characterize themselves in that way.

Senator REED. Nobody else would characterize them that way, would they?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir; they are some of the leading citizens of California.

Senator REED. I have so often heard it charged that Senator Johnson is a red that I was curious to know why substantial business men, men of large affairs in California, would be supporting him unless they also were reds, and I wanted to know about their character for that reason.

Mr. McCABE. Well, Senator Johnson's final majority in California in this primary was about 162,000.

Senator REED. Do you think that proportion of the people of California are in sympathy with redism?

Mr. McCABE. I don't think that it could be honestly charged that there is a higher percentage of reds in California than elsewhere.

Senator REED. Even in New Jersey? [Laughter.]

Mr. McCABE. Senator Johnson's support in California is a statewide thing, due entirely to his conduct of affairs while Governor of that State.

Senator REED. You have stated something about Mr. Gregory, a Mr. Gregory, who I think you said was connected with the Hoover campaign.

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Warren Gregory of San Francisco. There are two Gregorys actively identified with Mr. Hoover's fight there, Mr. T. T. C. Gregory, who was identified with Mr. Hoover in his European efforts and Mr. Warren Gregory, a leading lawyer who I think was officially the head of the Hoover San Francisco bureau.

Senator REED. Is he connected with the canning interests or there, or does he represent them?

Mr. McCABE. I think not.

Senator REED. I think that is all I have.

Senator POMERENE. I have just two or three questions. Are you a lawyer by profession?

Mr. McCABE. I am not, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Are you familiar with your election laws in California?

Mr. McCABE. I am to some extent, yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Under those election laws is it permissible for candidates to employ workers at the polls and pay them a per diem or otherwise?

Mr. McCABE. Entirely so, Senator, yes.

Senator POMERENE. And that has been the practice in your State?

Mr. McCABE. Why, it formerly was, but recently I don't think that it has been.

Senator POMERENE. But the Johnson committee did not pursue that policy, whether regular or irregular?

Mr. McCABE. Absolutely not, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. You have been active in politics in California for a good many years, I take it?

Mr. McCABE. I have been, yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And during this campaign you were pretty closely in touch with the character of the campaign conducted, both for and on behalf of Senator Johnson and for and on behalf of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now can you give us your best judgment as to the relative amount of newspaper advertising in behalf of Senator Johnson and the amount of advertising in behalf of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. The amount of advertising in the interest of Mr. Hoover was more extensive in volume than has ever been employed in any political campaign in California before. The amount of newspaper advertising for Senator Johnson in his campaign was practically none. It was practically—oh, infinitesimal.

Senator POMERENE. Are you able to give an estimate as to the cost of the newspaper advertising on behalf of Mr. Johnson, and a similar estimate on behalf of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. McCABE. In northern California there was, I would say, no newspaper advertising. If there was any at all, \$500 would cover the entire amount of Senator Johnson's advertising.

In southern California Mr. Lisner advertised in one of the evening papers because it was the only method of reaching a particular group of voters that he wanted to reach. I don't believe that his advertising bills down there, though, would run more than—oh, they would be easily within \$1,000.

Senator POMERENE. Now answer the rest of the question.

Mr. McCABE. So far as Mr. Hoover's advertising is concerned, day after day in the papers, there would be several thousand dollars worth of advertising.

Senator POMERENE. You have given the cost of the advertising in the daily papers in San Francisco; can you give us the cost of advertising in the Los Angeles or San Diego or Oakland or Sacramento papers?

Mr. McCABE. Well, the same rule would apply, Senator, down there that does in the northern end of the State. When I say that there was thousands daily, that included the big cities in northern California and in southern California. I mean by that that there are five important papers in San Francisco, morning and afternoon, and advertisements would appear, half page, quarter page, sometimes whole page advertisements, day after day for Mr. Hoover.

Senator POMERENE. Was that true in the papers published in the county seats generally throughout the State?

Mr. McCABE. Throughout the entire State; yes. And beyond that, what was known as a "reading ad"—I suppose you gentlemen are familiar with it—an advertisement that was cloaked as an editorial or cloaked as a reading notice, and that sort of thing. There would be paper after paper appear throughout the entire State with those articles in them.

Senator POMERENE. Under your law are political advertisements to be so designated?

Mr. McCABE. There is no law requiring that, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crocker has wired us that he will not be able to give us any information.

Mr. McCABE. None at all, I would say, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Could Mr. Greenebaum give us any more information?

Mr. McCABE. Mr. Greenebaum could give you no more information in addition to the records kept by him, I would say.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be in shape to explain these records to us?

Mr. McCABE. Well, I don't know with certainty that I would, except that they are plain records. They show an account of the receipts and expenditures.

The CHAIRMAN. There would be no use, you think, in having Mr. Crocker—he could not give us the information, but Mr. Greenebaum might give us some? I hate to bring a man who has wired us that he doesn't know anything about it.

Mr. McCABE. I can answer, I think, with regard to Mr. Crocker. He contributed \$4,000, \$2,500 and later \$1,500.

Mr. Greenebaum has been treasurer for a long time and he is the one man who can give you the detail of every expenditure and everything of that sort.

Senator EDGE. Is there a man named Alton or something of that kind in your campaign?

Mr. McCABE. No, sir.

Senator EDGE. There is no other man with a name similar to that?

Mr. McCABE. I don't recollect that name.

Senator EDGE. Let me ask you this question. It is rather startling to me, with all the progressive advanced thought developed in California, that you haven't any corrupt-practices act of any kind, as brought out by the question by the Senator from Ohio. Has the legislature ever attempted to pass a corrupt-practices act of any character?

Mr. McCABE. I think there is a corrupt-practices act which applies to State elections in California. As to presidential primaries I don't think it applies.

Senator EDGE. It doesn't include presidential primaries?

Mr. McCABE. I think not, so far as I know. And as to that, I don't want to be absolutely certain that no act of that kind is not on the books.

Senator EDGE. It would make a great difference in this campaign if there had been; that is sure, I should think, from all we have heard about it.

Mr. McCABE. I can say to you in answer to your suggestion, so far as the expenditure of moneys by Senator Johnson are concerned, there is no expenditure—there isn't anybody in the world that is not perfectly welcome to know all about it.

Senator POMERENE. Was there any account of Senator Johnson's expenditures, or of Mr. Hoover's expenditures, filed with any State or other authority?

Mr. McCABE. Not to my knowledge, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McCabe, we will have to keep you until those books come. If Mr. Greenebaum should wire that he would come here, then we could let you know. I wish you would write his name out in full for me and his address. We will have a subpoena made for him.

Senator Hitchcock, we will give preference here to all presidential candidates.

STATEMENT OF HON. GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, A UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, you have known in a general way the purpose of this investigation; now will you just go ahead and tell us about the campaign contributions and expenditures of your campaign in such way as you desire?

Senator HITCHCOCK. I received your invitation to have my manager come and explain my campaign expenditures. I have no manager and no campaign, so I have come in person.

During the election of delegates in Nebraska a Hitchcock-for-President Club was organized in Omaha, and under the laws of the State filed a statement through the proper authorities of their receipts and expenditures. I have asked them to forward me a duplicate of that statement and I have it here. The club was organized with J. H. Mithen, president; H. S. Daniel, treasurer, and Edwin C. Boehler, secretary.

The report, which I will leave with you, shows receipts of \$3,337 from 48 contributors, the names being given. I appear as the largest contributor, having contributed \$500.

(The paper referred to follows:)

STATE OF NEBRASKA,
Douglas County, ss:

Edwin C. Boehler, being first duly sworn, deposes and says that he was, on or about the 1st day of April, 1920, made secretary of the Hitchcock-for-President Club, and that he has been at all times since said date and at the present time is acting as such secretary; that on the day of affiant's selection as secretary, H. S. Daniel was made the treasurer of the Hitchcock-for-President Club, and that he acted as such treasurer from the date of his selection up to April 20, 1920; that since said last-named date affiant has been the acting treasurer of said club; that exhibits A1, A2, A3, and A4, hereto attached, constitute a statement of the receipts and disbursements of said H. S. Daniel, showing all moneys received and all money paid out by him as such treasurer up to April 20, 1920, and that a report thereof was duly made out and verified by him under oath and filed with the election commissioner of Douglas County, Nebr.; that Exhibit B, hereto attached, constitutes a statement of the receipts and disbursements of affiant, showing all contributions received and all money paid out by him, as such acting treasurer, from April 20, 1920, to May 10, 1920, and that a report thereof was duly made out, verified by him under oath, and, on said 10th day of May, 1920, filed with the election commissioner of Douglas County, Nebr.

Affiant states that Exhibit C constitutes a statement of all receipts and disbursements since May 10, 1920, to date.

EDWIN C. BOEHLER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 24th day of May, 1920.

[SEAL.]

WM. C. RAMSEY.

My commission expires July 18, 1923.

EXHIBIT A1.

Contributions.

| | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|-------|
| 1920. | | |
| Apr. 5. | T. C. Byrne, Omaha..... | \$100 |
| | V. E. Wilson, Lincoln, Nebr..... | 50 |
| | Keith Neville, North Platte..... | 150 |
| | E. M. Marvin, Beatrice..... | 50 |
| | George W. Little, Lyons..... | 50 |
| 17. | J. M. Gilchrist, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | B. McNeny, Red Cloud..... | 150 |

1920.

| | | |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| Apr. 17. | J. A. C. Kennedy..... | \$50 |
| | P. L. Hall, Lincoln..... | 5 |
| | Cash..... | 5 |
| | M. R. Murphy, Omaha..... | 25 |
| | A. S. Campbell, Imperial..... | 5 |
| | Ward Burgess, Omaha..... | 250 |
| | H. S. Daniel, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | J. J. Hanighen, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | J. H. Mithen, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | T. J. Dwyer, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | H. E. Newbranch, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | W. F. Moran, Nebraska City..... | 50 |
| | J. H. Bulla, Omaha..... | 50 |
| | J. W. Welch, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | J. A. Swanson, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | W. L. Holzman, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | Joseph Hayden, Omaha..... | 25 |
| | Gene Melady, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | Lee Huff, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | H. R. Gering, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | H. V. Hayward, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | Fred Metz, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Ralph Kitchin, Omaha..... | 10 |
| | G. M. Hitchcock, Omaha..... | 500 |
| 20. | Harley Conant, Omaha..... | 50 |
| | H. H. Harper, Omaha..... | 100 |
| | Edson Rich, Omaha..... | 25 |
| | Leo Hoffman, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. C. C. Allison, Omaha..... | 50 |
| | Mrs. Newbranch, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. Bolin, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. Arthur Mullen, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. George Parks, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. James C. Dahlman, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. Harry Doorly, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. J. M. Dougherty, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. C. H. Creighton, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. Albert Sibernsen, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. Nathan, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. Peter Jolly, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Mrs. Peter Konecky, Omaha..... | 5 |
| | Total (48 contributors)..... | 3,550 |

EXHIBIT A2.

Disbursements—Newspaper advertising expense.

1920.

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Apr. 19. | Omaha Daily Tribune..... | \$100 00 |
| | Ansley Herald..... | 3 00 |
| | Ashton Herald..... | 4 00 |
| | Bellwood Gazette..... | 3 00 |
| | Burwell Tribune..... | 3 00 |
| | Butler County Press..... | 3 00 |
| | Cedar County News..... | 5 00 |
| | Central City Non-Parteil..... | 4 00 |
| | Clay County Patriot..... | 4 00 |
| | Elwood Bulletin..... | 3 00 |
| | Express Printing Co. (Superior)..... | 3 00 |
| | Franklin County Tribune..... | 2 00 |
| | Fullerton Post..... | 4 00 |
| | Gibbon Reporter..... | 3 00 |
| | The Genoa Times..... | 3 00 |
| | Grant County Tribune..... | 4 00 |

1920.

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Apr. 19. | The Gordon Journal Co. | \$5. 40 |
| | The Greeley Citizen. | 5. 40 |
| | Gretna Breeze. | 5. 00 |
| | Harlan County Journal. | 3. 60 |
| | The Headlight (Stromsburg). | 6. 00 |
| | Harvard Printing Co. | 4. 50 |
| | The Herald Company (Fremont). | 4. 50 |
| | Holbrook Observer. | 2. 70 |
| | Hooker County Tribune. | 3. 60 |
| | Johnson County Journal. | 3. 60 |
| | Kroh Publishing Co. | 4. 50 |
| | Lawrence Locomotive. | 3. 60 |
| | Loup Valley Queen. | 3. 60 |
| | Lyons Mirror-Sun. | 4. 80 |
| | Mason City Transcript. | 2. 70 |
| | Maxwell Telepost. | 2. 70 |
| | The Mediator. | 18. 00 |
| | Minatare Free Press. | 3. 60 |
| | Nebraska City News. | 2. 88 |
| | Nebraska Signal. | 1. 80 |
| | Nebraska Signal. | 5. 40 |
| | Neligh Register. | 2. 70 |
| | North Nebraska Eagle (Dakota City). | 3. 60 |
| | Oak Leaf. | 1. 80 |
| | Omaha Daily Tribune. | 15. 00 |
| | Ong Sentinel. | 3. 60 |
| | Ord Journal. | 4. 86 |
| | Pender Times. | 2. 70 |
| | Phonograph (St. Paul). | 4. 50 |
| | Palmer Journal. | 2. 25 |
| | Peoples Journal. | 2. 70 |
| | Plymouth News. | 3. 60 |
| | Ravenna News. | 3. 75 |
| | Red Cloud Chief. | 2. 70 |
| | Saline County Democrat. | 4. 50 |
| | Schuyler Messenger. | 2. 70 |
| | Seward Independent Democrat. | 4. 50 |

EXHIBIT A3.

Disbursements—Newspaper advertising.

| | | |
|----------|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1920. | | |
| Apr. 19. | Sherman County Times. | \$3. 60 |
| | Sidney Telegraph. | 3. 60 |
| | Surprise Enterprise. | 4. 80 |
| | Springfield Monitor. | 3. 60 |
| | Sutton Register. | 2. 70 |
| | Ulysses Dispatch. | 2. 70 |
| | Polk County Democrat. | 5. 40 |
| | Walthill Citizen. | 3. 25 |
| | Western Nebraska Observer. | 4. 50 |
| | York-Daily News-Times. | 5. 04 |
| | Jewish Bulletin. | 18. 00 |
| | Hay Springs News. | 3. 60 |
| | The Democrat. | 3. 60 |
| | True Voice Publishing Co. | 48. 30 |
| | World War Veteran. | 27. 00 |
| | Guizda Zochrudu Publishing Co. | 60. 00 |
| | Nebraska Democrat. | 4. 50 |
| | Nemaha County Herald. | 4. 50 |
| 20. | Clipper-Citizen. | 3. 96 |
| | Colfax County Press. | 5. 40 |
| | Cherry County Messenger. | 5. 00 |
| | Holt County Independent. | 4. 50 |
| | Lynch Herald. | 3. 60 |

| | | | |
|----------|---------------------------------|--------|--|
| 1920. | | | |
| Apr. 20. | Sargent Leader..... | \$4.50 | |
| | Wahoo Democrat..... | 6.00 | |
| | The Tribune..... | 4.00 | |
| | The Humboldt Standard..... | 4.00 | |
| | Cedar Rapids Outlook..... | 3.00 | |
| | Albion Argus..... | 3.00 | |
| 21. | Neligh Weekly..... | 4.00 | |
| | Stanton Register..... | 4.00 | |
| | Wood River Sunbeam..... | 3.00 | |
| | Cozad Local..... | 3.00 | |
| | Midwest Labor News..... | 27.00 | |
| | The Riverton Review..... | 2.50 | |
| | Beatrice Daily Sun..... | 27.00 | |
| | Star-Herald Printing Co..... | 9.00 | |
| | Independent Publishing Co..... | 5.00 | |
| | Wheeler County Independent..... | 1.00 | |
| | Blue Valley Journal..... | 3.00 | |
| | Custer County Chief..... | 14.00 | |
| | The York Democrat..... | 3.00 | |
| 19. | M. H. Prall..... | 3.00 | |

EXHIBIT A4.

Disbursements—Miscellaneous expenses—To whom paid, and purpose.

| | | | |
|----------|---|---------|--------|
| 1920. | | | |
| Apr. 19. | Burkley Envelope & Printing Co., stationery..... | \$6.50 | |
| 19. | Western Newspaper Union, plates for advertising..... | 204.00 | |
| 20. | Corey & McKensie Printing Co., printing..... | 93.00 | |
| 20. | Paxton Hotel, rent, headquarters..... | 245.00 | |
| 20. | J. M. Lichnowsky, salary..... | 20.00 | |
| 21. | Arthur E. Smith, band at auditorium..... | 77.00 | |
| 21. | City of Omaha, rent for auditorium..... | 150.00 | |
| 21. | Claude F. Boessie, salary..... | 200.00 | |
| 9. | Postmaster, stamped envelopes..... | 66.30 | |
| 9. | Hotel Fontanelle, lunch for Senator Robinson..... | 37.65 | |
| 14. | Burkley Engraving & Printing Co., printing..... | 110.00 | |
| 14. | Comstock & Riha, printing..... | 152.10 | |
| 14. | N. C. Leary Co., printing..... | 7.50 | |
| 14. | Paxton Hotel, expense, headquarters..... | 23.00 | |
| 19. | Arthur F. Mullen, expense, State-wide Hitchcock dinner..... | 313.00 | |
| 20. | M. F. Shafer & Co., printing..... | 90.00 | |
| 20. | E. E. See, flag decorations..... | 15.00 | |
| 20. | Eddy Printing Co., printing..... | 22.50 | |
| 20. | Midland Office Supply Co., typewriter supplies..... | 3.10 | |
| 20. | Mable Lehre, stenographic work..... | 17.50 | |
| 20. | Darlow Advertising Co., advertising..... | 9.15 | |
| 19. | Postage..... | 29.20 | |
| 19. | J. H. Mithen, for: | | |
| | Telegrams..... | \$36.40 | |
| | Hitchcock sign, Fontanelle..... | 5.50 | |
| | Phones..... | 23.00 | |
| | 500 letterheads and envelopes..... | 16.15 | |
| | 3 telegrams to Lincoln..... | 1.99 | |
| | Supplies..... | 28.06 | |
| | Total..... | | 111.00 |

EXHIBIT B.

Disbursements— newspaper advertising expense.

| | | | |
|-------|----|----------------------------------|---------|
| 1920. | | | |
| May | 6. | Star Publishing Co..... | 224. 00 |
| | | Watkins-Clute Printing Co..... | 5. 40 |
| | | Springview Herald..... | 2. 70 |
| | | Spalding Enterprise..... | 4. 50 |
| | | Schuyler Weekly Sun..... | 4. 50 |
| | | Rock County Leader..... | 3. 60 |
| | | Progress Printing Co..... | 5. 40 |
| | | Pokrok Publishing Co..... | 12. 00 |
| | | Plattsmouth Journal..... | 21. 50 |
| | | Petersburg Index..... | 10. 80 |
| | | The Omaha Nebraskan..... | 13. 50 |
| | | The Oconto Register..... | 4. 00 |
| | | The News Journal..... | 3. 60 |
| | | Nebraska Journal Leader..... | 3. 60 |
| | | Lincoln Herald Co..... | 9. 00 |
| | | The Humphrey Democrat..... | 4. 50 |
| | | Gothensburg Times..... | 5. 40 |
| | | The Gering Midwest..... | 4. 80 |
| | | Garden County News..... | 4. 50 |
| | | The Friend Sentinel..... | 3. 60 |
| | | The Daily News (Falls City)..... | 4. 50 |
| | | Campbell Citizen..... | 3. 60 |
| | | Bloomfield Journal..... | 4. 50 |
| | | The Arthur Enterprise..... | 3. 60 |
| | | L. A. Kinney (Hastings)..... | 20. 56 |
| | | Bee Publishing Co..... | 112. 00 |
| | | Blaine County Booster..... | 3. 96 |
| | | Crete Democrat..... | 3. 60 |
| | | The Battle Creek Enterprise..... | 3. 60 |
| | | McCook Tribune..... | 3. 24 |
| | | Nebraska Democrat..... | 8. 00 |
| | | Burr Printing Co..... | 5. 40 |
| | 8. | Kroh Publishing Co. (Grant)..... | 3. 60 |
| | | State Journal Co..... | 58. 80 |
| | | Omaha Daily News..... | 30. 80 |

Miscellaneous expenses, to whom paid and purpose.

| | | | |
|-------|----|--|---------|
| 1920. | | | |
| May | 8. | C. A. Phillips, music..... | 35. 00 |
| | | Andrew Murphy & Sons, truck and driver..... | 11. 25 |
| | | N. C. Leary Co., printing..... | 5. 50 |
| | | Thomas Cusack Co., banners..... | 8. 00 |
| | | Comstock & Riha, printing..... | 48. 74 |
| | | Nebraska Telephone Co., long distance calls..... | 120. 78 |
| | 6. | L. A. Kinney, expense of hall at Hastings..... | 66. 72 |
| | | Contributions, none. | |

EXHIBIT C.

Disbursements since May 10, 1920.

| | | | |
|-------|-----|---|--------|
| 1920. | | | |
| May | 11. | Chadron Chronicle, advertising..... | 4. 50 |
| | 11. | The Messenger (Walbach), advertising..... | 2. 50 |
| | 11. | Minden Courier, advertising..... | 3. 80 |
| | 14. | Curtis Enterprise, advertising..... | 3. 60 |
| | 17. | Paxton Hotel, room and café..... | 11. 25 |
| | 19. | Cuming County Democrat, advertising..... | 3. 60 |
| | 21. | Tribune Printery (Crawford), advertising..... | 3. 60 |
| | | Contributions, none. | |

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any reduced rates to presidential candidates in the World-Herald for advertising? It has been claimed here that some candidates are discriminated against in advertising. [Laughter.]

Senator HITCHCOCK. So far as I know, the World-Herald did not discriminate against me in any respect.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get a reduced rate there? [Laughter.] Is there anything more you want to say, Senator?

Senator HITCHCOCK. I haven't anything more to say, except that in addition to the \$500 which I contributed to that club, and which appears in the statement, I spent some \$515 for railroad fare, stenographer, hotel bills, stamps, stationery, and so forth, in a very brief campaign that I made out there with my secretary.

Senator EDGE. Who is Mr. Keith Neville?

Senator HITCHCOCK. Keith Neville was one of the candidates for delegate to the convention. He is a former Governor of Nebraska, and was elected a delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no contribution here from Mr. Bryan is there? [Laughter.]

Senator HITCHCOCK. My opposition seems to be centered very largely in Mr. Bryan and Mrs. Hitchcock, as near as I can find out. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Senator. Senator Moses, will you take the stand?

STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE H. MOSES, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You are not a presidential candidate, Senator?

Senator MOSES. Not yet. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Very few Senators are not.

Senator, you are one of the managers of the Wood campaign?

Senator MOSES. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Having charge of what part of the country?

Senator MOSES. The headquarters located in Washington, and general charge of some 10 or 12 States in the South.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give us the States?

Senator MOSES. I have charge of a certain portion of West Virginia, Maryland in part, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Florida and I did have Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee, but later the conduct of the campaign in those States was taken over by the headquarters at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the general plan, Senator, of the organization, to divide the country into different districts?

Senator MOSES. Probably, Senator, it would be clearer if I reviewed somewhat the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Senator MOSES. Particularly my own connection with the campaign. I have been identified in one sense and another with the Gen. Wood campaign for something over a year, and in the early months of my activities for Gen. Wood I had no connection with any organization. I had made a statement in favor of Gen. Wood which had been somewhat widely published, and immediately following that I was in receipt of a great many communications from various parts of the country, and when the writers of those letters seemed to me from any internal evidence in their communications to be people of substance, I would get in touch with them, with the

view that if they seemed to be the proper kind of persons to having them procure their own election as delegates in Gen. Wood's interest.

Senator EDGE. What do you mean by "proper kind of persons"?

Senator MOSES. People of standing and character in their own communities; people who are active in the party, men who by reason of their party service or general standing in the communities seemed to be likely to be able to elect themselves without any help. Where it was possible, I got such men as that to announce their candidacy for delegate to the Chicago convention and then promptly scratched that district and let them attend to themselves.

I discovered a great many people of that kind over the country who had revealed themselves to me by letter, and that was all I did in connection with the campaign until the explosion which resulted in Mr. King's withdrawal from the management, and at that time it seemed desirable to organize the campaign rather more closely, and I think that my own suggestion—though of this I am not quite clear—a headquarters was established in Washington and I was put in charge, and these States which I have named were originally assigned to my care but there were some changes in the assignments later, as I have indicated.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have charge of the campaign in either Georgia or Alabama?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. You did not name those two States.

Senator MOSES. I thought I did, Senator. I beg pardon. Yes; I had those States. I thought I went right down the coast, naming the States.

The campaign was organized and the headquarters were organized here, and the staff was assembled; rooms were hired in the Willard Hotel, and I was supplied with funds from time to time from the general headquarters. A set of books was kept by my secretary, and I wish to add here that all the work in connection with the Wood campaign in Washington was carried on quite apart either from my office in the Senate Office Building or my committee room in the Capitol, and I think the books were all kept either at the headquarters in the Willard Hotel or in my secretary's apartment.

My secretary at the minute, chances to be in Indiana, attending the funeral of a relative, so I have not been able to put my hands on the books in the last several days, but inasmuch as the volume of money flowing through the headquarters and disbursed by me was not large, I think I could probably account to the committee from memory pretty accurately what it was and where it was disbursed, if that is what the committee desires to hear.

The CHAIRMAN. We can have the books later if we desire it.

Senator MOSES. Yes, sir. The books have been kept for the purpose of an audit, because I intended to report to Col. Procter about my disbursements, and I know that Col. Procter's books are audited by a public accountant every fortnight, and my books have been kept to be subject to the same scrutiny.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got some money to give back to the Colonel?

Senator MOSES. I have something over \$1,000 remaining in my hands.

The CHAIRMAN. Shall we adjourn to 2 o'clock now, gentlemen?

Senator POMERENE. Before adjourning last night there was left on my desk this memorandum from Mr. Edwin H. Moore, relating to an article which was printed in one of the newspapers here, in which it was said that he, Mr. Moore and others, were interested in having Mr. Baruch recalled. He denies that and asks that this statement be incorporated in the record.

(The paper referred to follows.)

STATEMENT OF E. H. MOORE, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN AND CAMPAIGN MANAGER FOR GOV. JAMES M. COX.

MAY 28, 1930

My attention has been called to an article appearing in a Washington newspaper to the effect that representatives of Gov. Cox in connection with representatives of another presidential candidate have joined in a demand to the Senate investigating committee to recall to the stand Mr. Bernard M. Baruch.

The only representatives of Gov. Cox are former Congressman George White of Ohio, and myself. No one else is authorized to speak for him. We regard Mr. Baruch as a man of honor, and when he says that he has not contributed to the campaign funds of any presidential candidate we accept that statement as absolutely true.

We believe that all the candidates for the Democratic nomination are conducting the same kind of a clean campaign as we are, and we have no criticism to make of the candidates, their supporters, or their campaign methods.

I am somewhat weary, however, of repeated statements in the papers of combinations between Gov. Cox and certain other presidential aspirants. There is neither now nor has ever been any Cox-Edwards, Cox-Palmer, Cox-McAdoo, or Cox-Anybody combination, either consummated or attempted. Neither Mr. White nor myself, nor anyone else on behalf of Gov. Cox has ever visited the headquarters or held a conference with the representatives of any other candidate. We are fighting "our ain hand" only.

EDMUND H. MOORE

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock p. m., the committee recessed until 2 o'clock p. m. this day.)

AFTER RECESS.

At 2 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee reassembled pursuant to the taking of recess.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you when the recess was taken, Senator Moses—do you remember?

TESTIMONY OF HON. GEORGE H. MOSES, A SENATOR FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE—Resumed.

Senator MOSES. I think I had reached the point of testifying about the organization of the branch headquarters in this city, and I testified to the States which were to be cared for from these headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were the central headquarters? Were there any?

Senator MOSES. In Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. In Chicago? You did your work with the Chicago office?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And never with the New York office?

Senator MOSES. No; except by way of conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator MOSES. But there were no financial relations.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a separate fund here from all other funds?

Senator MOSES. No; I received remittances from the Chicago headquarters from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive contributions during that time from any sources?

Senator MOSES. I received contributions in small sums, the largest of which, as I recall, was \$1,000. Those contributions I transmitted to the Chicago headquarters, inasmuch as I did not wish to keep any accounts here, except of transactions with the general treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. You remitted everything that you received to the Chicago headquarters, and then they checked back to you?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any estimate as to the amounts that you collected?

Senator MOSES. I received \$1,000 from a man in Kansas City; as I recall, he was absolutely unknown to me, and his name meant nothing to me. I received \$200, or \$250, from Gist Blair, in this city, and I received several small contributions of \$5 and \$10 each from individuals in the District of Columbia whose names at the minute I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you send to Chicago altogether, approximately?

Senator MOSES. Well, I would say less than \$1,500.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you receive from Chicago?

Senator MOSES. About \$40,000; I think the exact amount is \$39,500.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom was that sent to you by?

Senator MOSES. That was sent to me by the treasurer, Mr. Sprague, and from Gen. Burt. Two remittances came from Gen. Burt at the time when Mr. Sprague was not in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he an assistant of some kind to Mr. Sprague?

Senator MOSES. Gen. Burt was connected with the Wood headquarters in Chicago in some way; in what capacity I do not know. My acquaintance with him was wholly casual.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that all the money that you had?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a headquarters did you keep here?

Senator MOSES. The expenses of the headquarters were about \$1,000 a week.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you keep them going?

Senator MOSES. Substantially five months; I think it was 19 weeks, to be exact.

The CHAIRMAN. The literature that you sent out—I assume that you did—you received from Chicago?

Senator MOSES. Yes; some from New York; some from Mr. Frederick Moore, who was head of the publicity department, I think, of the Leonard Wood League, with headquarters in New York. Some came to me from Chicago. I think the matter that came to me from Chicago, however, was wholly playing cards bearing Gen. Wood's picture. And I had printed here some slips of an editorial from the New York Tribune, printed in such form that they were used as envelope fillers, and one of those was put in every letter sent out from headquarters here.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what was the nature of your work as southern manager?

Senator MOSES. I got in touch with the Republican leaders in the States which were committed to my care.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they get in touch with you?

Senator MOSES. Some of them did.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent?

Senator MOSES. But it is fair to say that I took the initiative. I sought to bring the leaders of the factions in the party in the Southern States into accord, as far as possible. I suppose you know, Mr. Chairman, that, as to the southern Republican Party, generally, they may be described in the adage of the Near East, which reads, "Five Greeks and six generals." That was the situation generally in those States. While there was no Republican Party, there were a good many factions there, and it was with great difficulty that the factions were brought together; and in many of the States they were not wholly brought together, but we did succeed in doing that in some of the States. My effort all the time was to secure the co-operation of the regular organization; that is to say, of the men who had been officially recognized by the national committee as being the official national committeemen in the States, and the men who had been similarly recognized as being State chairmen, because I did not wish the campaign, so far as I was connected with it, to have a basis in the scandalous contests that had taken place in the Southern States heretofore.

And I wish to state for the record that, with the exception of one State, and one district in another State, the Wood delegates do not go to Chicago in the attitude of contestants.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there contestees in many of those States?

Senator MOSES. Our claim is that the Wood delegates were elected under the regular auspices of the party, in accordance with the call of the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send money into these different Southern States?

Senator MOSES. I sent money into some of the States—not to all.

The CHAIRMAN. To which ones, and to whom, and how much?

Senator MOSES. I sent into West Virginia something less than \$500, which was paid to a man named Emerson, who was a field agent; he went about through the State. I would get a list of men whom I wanted him to see, and he would sound them out, and after having made a visit to them he would come back and report to me what they said. If those men were found to be friendly, I would get into communication with them by letter, and have them organize a Wood club in their town, or county, and generally try to get them to start the candidacies of delegates in their congressional districts who would favor the nomination of Gen. Wood.

I sent into the State of Maryland \$1,000 to the Leonard Wood League.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the party to whom it was sent?

Senator MOSES. I can not recall whether the check was made payable to Col. Hill, or to Mr. Blanchard Randall, the president of the Leonard Wood League in Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you about West Virginia before you leave that: That \$500 you did not send to Mr. Dorch?

Senator MOSES. No, I sent no money to him whatver.

The CHAIRMAN. That would not be included in the money that he told us of having received in West Virginia?

Senator MOSES. No; but all the sums I have been speaking of would be included in the sums that Col. Procter has spoken of as having been received in the general headquarters.

I still have some obligations in connection with the Maryland primaries, but no very great sum. I have already testified that I have something like \$1,000 or \$1,500 still remaining in my hands. That is the sum named in my estimates as conveyed to Gen. Procter, representing the money which I would spend in connection with the Maryland campaign, and I have not learned from either Col. Hill or Mr. Randall what the amount of that obligation is; but it is within the figure I have named.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hill had charge of the general Maryland campaign, did he?

Senator MOSES. Col. Hill was an officer of the Leonard Wood League I think Col. Hill was the most active man in connection with the Leonard Wood campaign in Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go on to the other States.

Senator MOSES. I sent into Virginia at one time \$1,000, which was used in the ninth congressional district, and I think a portion of it was also used in the seventh congressional district. That money was sent very early in the campaign over there, and was used at the time the county mass conventions were held, and my understanding was that it was expended for the purpose of bringing the voters to the mass conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was that?

Senator MOSES. That was \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom was that sent?

Senator MOSES. That was sent to Dr. Dougherty. I have forgotten the name of the town where he lives; he is a delegate from the ninth congressional district.

I gave—I think it was to State Senator Chase—my impression is \$300, which was spent in the field work of the nature which I have described in West Virginia. These one or two men went about through the State into the districts and communicated with the men whose names were given to them, and then reported to me as to whether those men were friendly. And that is all the money that I expended in Virginia, except a few hundred dollars which I paid for a stenographer and for some printing in connection with the contest in the Eighth Virginia District.

The CHAIRMAN. There were local organizations, in Virginia, were there not—Wood organizations?

Senator MOSES. No. With the exception of one or two counties, there was no organized movement in Virginia, so far as I know. Virginia is a State where we were able to accomplish for Gen. Wood nothing but the election of these men of whom I spoke earlier in the course of my testimony, the men who were competent to have themselves elected as delegates, and who did so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make an active campaign in Virginia?

Senator MOSES. Only in some of the districts.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find evidence of expenditures by other candidates in Virginia?

Senator MOSES. Well, I heard rumors of expenditures in of one other candidate, but they were so nebulous that I was able to give much credence to them, and my impression as to Virginia is that it was not necessary to spend much money in beating the only opponent whom Gen. Wood met in the State, because the organization in the State was very strongly for that candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, go on to the other States.

Senator MOSES. I sent \$5,000 to Zeb B. Waltzer, of Lexington, N. C., which was used by him in the county mass conventions leading to the holding of their State convention.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a colored man, was he?

Senator MOSES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. A white man?

Senator MOSES. He was a former attorney general of the State and former speaker of the House of Representatives of North Carolina.

Senator POMERENE. What was his name?

Senator MOSES. Zeb B. Waltzer; his home is in Lexington. He is the president of the Leonard Wood League in that State.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all that you spent in that State?

Senator MOSES. No. When it became evident that we were to have a contest in the North Carolina primary, which takes place on the 5th of June, it became necessary to supplement the work that had been done prior to the conventions, and I telegraphed Mr. Waltzer that he was at liberty to draw upon me here for \$3,000 additional, which he did.

The CHAIRMAN. That is \$8,000.

Senator MOSES. That is \$8,000.

Senator POMERENE. Will you pardon a question there? You said that this \$5,000 was used in connection with the county conventions?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And now you indicate that the primary will be held on June 5?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What is the relation between the work of the county conventions and that of the primary?

Senator MOSES. The county conventions, Senator Pomerene, in North Carolina choose delegates to the national convention; and those conventions are generally held very early in the course of the campaign. The date of the primary is fixed by law, and in that primary the voters nominate their State ticket. In connection with that State primary they may also hold a preferential primary in the presidential campaign, and while that vote is not mandatory, it is advisory upon the delegates; and the filing for that primary was much later than the filings for the conventions, and it was only a few weeks ago that it became evident that we would have to supplement what had already been done in North Carolina, by going into the preferential primary also.

Senator POMERENE. Did you get delegates "after your own head?"

Senator MOSES. Judge Pritchard is the favorite son of North Carolina, and so far as the eastern management of the Wood campaign concerned, we have never made it our policy to be obnoxious to the favorite sons; we have felt that there are some ethics in politics after all.

The CHAIRMAN. You went into West Virginia, did you not?

Senator MOSES. Yes; but as I testified, I had only part of West Virginia under my jurisdiction, and only a very small part of the work in West Virginia was done under my direction.

The CHAIRMAN. What other Southern States did you go into?

Senator MOSES. In South Carolina I expended something like \$600, which was expended in connection with the conventions in two districts only; and that money was paid to a Mr. Andrews, a colored man, who was a delegate in his district.

Senator POMERENE. Was this money paid to him?

Senator MOSES. Yes; paid to him in connection with the work of organizing the mass conventions in the county prior to the district convention. I do not know if you are familiar with the method of conducting conventions in the Southern States, generally speaking, Senator Pomerene.

Senator POMERENE. No.

Senator MOSES. They call a lot of mass conventions in the counties, in which all the members of the party come in, and there is no registration; there is no check list; there is nothing to safeguard the voting; and these mass conventions choose the delegates to the district conventions, representing their counties, and the district conventions elect delegates to the national convention, exactly as they do in States where the party is better organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all the money in that State?

Senator MOSES. That is all in South Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next?

Senator MOSES. In Alabama—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What about Georgia?

Senator MOSES. In Georgia, I sent \$5,000 to Roscoe Pickett, the chairman of the Republican State committee.

Senator POMERENE. What State was that?

Senator MOSES. Georgia. I have since—very recently—paid a few hundred dollars for the printing of briefs in the contested cases in Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all the money you sent to Pickett?

Senator MOSES. That is all the money I sent to Mr. Pickett.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all the money you sent to Georgia?

Senator MOSES. All the money I recall sending to anybody in Georgia at all.

Senator POMERENE. How much?

Senator MOSES. Five thousand dollars.

Senator POMERENE. I thought you said a few hundred dollars?

Senator MOSES. No; I paid a few hundred dollars for printing after.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been quite an active fight in Georgia or contested delegations, has there not?

Senator MOSES. I would say that "active" was a mild adjective to use in describing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I have a communication here from Mr. Henry Lincoln Johnson, who was to be here today, but was unable to come, and who has sent a man in his place. Do you know Mr. Henry Lincoln Johnson?

Senator MOSES. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a pretty active man down there?

Senator MOSES. He is, indeed.

Senator POMERENE. When did you get acquainted with him?

Senator MOSES. I got acquainted with him in the course of the national campaign four years ago, when Mr. Henry Lincoln Johnson and I were both favoring the nomination of Senator Weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Henry Lincoln Johnson says in this letter which I will put in the record—but it may be interesting to discuss it a little first—that:

Coincident with conferences held by Republicans who believe as I did, there came into the State—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). How did he believe?

The CHAIRMAN. He was a Lowden man, was he not?

Senator MOSES. He told me in December that he was committed to Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Emerson testified that he sent money to him. Mr. Johnson continues:

There came into the State agents such as Mr. Bean, of Florida, in conjunction with Capt. Henry Blun, of Savannah, and grouped around themselves men in Georgia whom they said would make the fight for the control of Georgia's delegates by Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock.

Who is Mr. Bean?

Senator MOSES. Mr. Bean is the Republican national committeeman from Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a sort of scout in that country?

Senator MOSES. After Mr. Hitchcock became more actively identified with the Wood movement, Mr. Bean visited two or three Southern States, with the view of bringing together the factions, as far as possible, for Gen. Wood.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Bean?

Senator MOSES. He is the national committeeman from Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Bean had authority to spend money, of course?

Senator MOSES. Not from me.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he was not under you, was he?

Senator MOSES. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. And who else was with Mr. Bean through the country, do you know?

Senator MOSES. No, I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. He mentions Capt. Henry Blun, of Savannah, who was he?

Senator MOSES. Well, he lives in Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Mr. Bean was a sort of "flying squadron" man going all over the South?

Senator MOSES. My first contact with Mr. Bean came in connection with the contests which arose. Mr. Bean reported to me with reference to the contests, and he gathered the evidence in some of the contested cases; but he did not do it under my direction, nor was he reporting to me, except casually.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the expenditures of Mr. Bean?

Senator MOSES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how long he was going through the Southern States?

Senator MOSES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many months he put in at it?
 Senator MOSES. Well, I would say that Mr. Bean, under the circumstances, could not possibly have been engaged in that work in the South more than two months, up to now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that he has been at that work for a couple of months?

Senator MOSES. Well, I know he has been doing a good many things in connection with the Wood campaign for about two months.

The CHAIRMAN. Henry Lincoln Johnson further says:

To summarize: My side, coupled with men like J. H. Watson, of Albany; Walter S. Scott, of Savannah; E. L. Wheaton, of Macon; Col. C. P. Goree, Mr. M. H. Karnes, and Mr. J. W. Martin, of Atlanta, stood open in Georgia for uninstructed delegates as above stated.

Do you know any of those gentlemen?

Senator MOSES. I know Mr. Goree by name, but I know none of the others.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

The other group, led generally by Roscoe Pickett—

He is the one you sent the \$5,000 to?

Senator MOSES. Yes; he is chairman of the State committee.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Clark Grier—

Who is he?

Senator MOSES. He is very active in Georgia politics. I do not know him personally.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

D. C. Cole—

Who is he?

Senator MOSES. D. C. Cole is a former business man at Marietta, Ga.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he goes on:

and others, began honeycombing the State with agents in an endeavor to take charge of the Republican organization in this State and make a complete delivery of it to Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock. This set the stage and the fight was on.

Is that the way you understand the stage setting?

Senator MOSES. No; I understand that Henry Lincoln Johnson had the scenery all laid before we arrived.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you arrived—and pulled off the play?

Senator MOSES. Well, he had it advertised; and the prologue had been performed.

Senator POMERENE. Who is going to deliver the epilogue?

Senator MOSES. I think the national committee and the committee on credentials.

The CHAIRMAN. Further on he says:

The Hitchcock group began in open meetings on the 4th day of December, 1919, when Roscoe Pickett and Clark Grier called a meeting in Atlanta—

Senator MOSES (interposing). Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt you from time to time?

The CHAIRMAN. I will be glad to have you do so.

Senator MOSES. So far as Mr. Hitchcock was concerned, at the time named, Mr. Hitchcock was not identified with the Wood campaign in any sense.

The CHAIRMAN. In December, 1919?

Senator MOSES. Nor had Mr. Pickett communicated with me, had I ever seen him.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time?

Senator MOSES. At that time. I never saw Mr. Pickett or anything about him until some time after the 8th of January.

The CHAIRMAN. About a month later?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Further, he says:

At that meeting, though the Republican State central committee had been called for the purpose of conference by Mr. Pickett, the only, sole, and exclusive purpose of Mr. Pickett did was to call every man who had traveled from afar and ask him how much his expenses had been in coming to Atlanta and offered money to him. A few did accept. For instance, Mr. Harris, of Athens, Ga., accepted \$50, the railroad fare for the round trip is but \$7.40. This is not a sole case; this is one of the cases.

Do you know anything about that?

Senator MOSES. No. But, Mr. Chairman, I will recall to your attention the fact that Mr. King testified that he had given money to Mr. Pickett, and at the date of which Mr. Johnson speaks, Mr. King was the active field marshal of the Wood campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. I had forgotten that. Do you remember Mr. King sent down there?

Senator MOSES. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Then Mr. Johnson follows along:

Clark Grier then comes upon the scene, traveling all over the State, and on every side he was trying to seduce friends of my side with the offer of money in the most plentiful abundance.

Do you know anything about that?

Senator MOSES. No. I have already testified that I do not know Mr. Grier at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Then he goes on:

All sides went to the meeting of the Republican national committee in Washington, December 10, 1919.

Senator MOSES. Yes. I saw Henry Lincoln Johnson here at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. You had not at that time sent anything to Mr. Pickett, however?

Senator MOSES. No; that was prior to the opening of the Washington headquarters; the Washington headquarters were not opened until after Mr. King had withdrawn from the management of the Wood campaign, and it became necessary to make a different organization.

The CHAIRMAN. He further says:

The first public move in Georgia in 1920 was the calling of the State central committee February 28, 1920. Just prior to this meeting Gen. E. F. Glenn had come to Atlanta and actively taken part in the manipulation of Georgia matters.

Do you know anything about Gen. Glenn's activities throughout the South?

Senator MOSES. I do not know Gen. Glenn at all, except I once saw him at the Wood headquarters in Chicago. I have some letters from Gen. Glenn, and I do know that he went throughout the South, but that was under the direction of the Chicago headquarters. He did not report to me, and I do not know what his errand was.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he now?

Senator MOSES. I think he is at his home in Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. He was commandant at the Chillicothe cantonment—Camp Sherman—and had charge of that camp ever since it was organized.

Senator SPENCER. Is he still in the service?

Senator POMERENE. No; I think he is on the retired list.

The CHAIRMAN. He goes on:

Mr. Bean, of Florida, had made several antecedent visits there; Mr. Fox, from Oklahoma, had been in Atlanta.

Who is Mr. Fox, of Oklahoma?

Senator MOSES. Mr. Fox is a newspaper editor who came to Washington along in the early winter and sought me out, and said he was going to Florida for a vacation; that he was interested in the Wood campaign, and that he would look the ground over and send me some information. After he left here, he sent me some newspaper clippings containing interviews which he had given out in some of the cities which he had visited; but that is all the connection I have ever had with him, or all that I know about him. I have never seen him since.

The CHAIRMAN. There are other statements in this letter with regard to the use of money, which I do not think we ought to use without verifying them by witnesses. There are witnesses here; I will take that up later. He says:

For instance, I was personally present at Dublin, Ga., when the eleventh district held its convention and elected S. S. Incey, a friend of mine. The fight in that convention was for the delegate to go uninstructed.

Do you know anything about that convention?

Senator MOSES. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. He said:

I made a fight for nobody. Mr. Clark Grier spent money with a recklessness that you could scarcely believe. For instance, he gave \$500 to the delegates from Emanuel County to vote for instructions.

Do you know anything about that situation?

Senator MOSES. Not the slightest.

The CHAIRMAN. He says:

He openly carried a wad of money in his pocket, called men in the hall, told them he wanted to pay their expenses and give them something, and did it.

Do you know anything about that?

Senator MOSES. I never saw Mr. Grier in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does Mr. Grier live? What is his post-office address?

Senator MOSES. I think he lives in Atlanta, but that I do not know. My impression is that I never had any communication with Mr. Grier. I may have had a letter from him; I do not think so. He was not a man that I had any contact with in connection with the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. In any event, the money that you sent into Georgia, you do not mean to say covered all the money sent into Georgia in the Wood campaign?

Senator MOSES. I could not express any opinion on that, because I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go down there yourself?

Senator MOSES. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I want to ask.

(The letter referred to by the chairman is as follows:)

ATLANTA, Ga., May 28, 1920.

Hon. W. S. KENYON,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

MY KIND SENATOR: It is a matter of extreme regret on my part that professional engagements as an attorney compel me to ask relief from appearance this week before the committee of the Senate investigating expenditures of candidates for the presidential nomination.

The campaign in Georgia for delegates to the national convention has been practically for one year. Another feature entering into the campaign making it intensive was my own personal candidacy for election by the State convention as the Georgia member of the Republican National Committee.

My group of friends and myself early determined upon the program in Georgia of having delegates elected to the national convention without any instructions—leaving them free agents at Chicago to do best for the party as they might see it.

Coincident with conference held by Republicans who believed as I did there came into the State agents such as Mr. Bean of Florida in conjunction with Capt. Henry Blun, of Savannah, and grouped themselves around men in Georgia whom they would make the fight for the control of Georgia's delegates by Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock.

To summarize: My side, coupled with men like J. H. Watson, of Albany; Walter Scott, of Savannah; E. L. Wheaton, of Macon; Col. C. P. Goree, Mr. M. H. Karr and Mr. J. W. Martin, of Atlanta, stood open in Georgia for uninstructed delegates as above stated.

The other group, led generally by Roscoe Pickett, Clark Grier, D. C. Cole, and others began honey-combing the State with agents in an endeavor to take charge of the Republican organization in this State and make a complete delivery of it to Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock. This set the stage and the fight was on.

The Hitchcock group began in open meetings on the 4th day of December, 1919, when Roscoe Pickett and Clark Grier called a meeting in Atlanta. At that meeting though the Republican State central committee had been called for the purpose of a conference by Mr. Pickett, the only, sole and exclusive business Mr. Pickett did was to call every man who had traveled from afar and asked him to state how much his expenses had been in coming to Atlanta and offered money to all, and a few did accept. For instance, Mr. Harris, of Athens, Ga., accepted \$50, although the railroad fare for the round trip is but \$7.40 and Mr. Harris was here for but a half day. This is not a sole case; this is a type of the cases.

Clark Grier then comes upon the scene, traveling all over the State and on every side he was trying to seduce friends of my side with the offer of money in the unprofligate abundance. All sides went to the meeting of the Republican National Committee in Washington, December 10, 1919. Shortly afterwards Mr. Pickett returned to the State and on his return to Georgia he announced to various group-men that he was going to make an open fight in the State for delegates instructed to Gen. Wood and proceeded with the campaign. About this time Mr. Pickett was outspoken for delivery to Gen. Hitchcock.

The first public move in Georgia in 1920 was the calling of the State central committee February 28, 1920. Just prior to this meeting, Gen. E. F. Glenn had come to Atlanta and actively taken part in the manipulation of Georgia matters. Mr. Karn will hand you a copy of a letter showing the beginnings of Gen. Glenn's activities on this behalf. At the State central committee meeting there came Mr. Sidney Beebe from Washington, D. C.; Mr. Bean, of Florida, had made several antecedent visits here; Mr. Fox from Oklahoma had been in Atlanta; Clark Grier and D. C. Cole came on with shameless proffers of money only to people and then Mr. Pickett declared that he, too, was for Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock's domination of Georgia matters, and the first came to a clear-cut issue of Grier, Bean, Beebe, Blun, Gen. Glenn, all fighting to take charge of the Republican organization in Georgia for absolute delivery to the will of Gen. Hitchcock, and our group was fighting from being thus delivered to Mr. Hitchcock.

Without money we were lost. We needed it for the employment of men and automobiles to go into the 156 counties of the State, covering a territory over 300 miles long and 250 miles broad; printers' bills in publishing county calls, the hiring of public halls for public meetings, the employment of speakers. Clerk hire, stenographer, the maintenance of headquarters and advertising and circulating involved an elaborate outlay far greater than we had desired but to which we were absolutely driven.

self-defense by the profligate expenditure of money by Clark Grier, who openly stated to me if he spent \$100,000 he was going to get the delegates for Gen. Hitchcock.

The \$9,000 received from Mr. Emmerson was used for the expenditures related in the paragraph above; but in all frankness, my dear Senator, I beg to assure you that was not all the money I used. I spent upward of \$4,500 of my own personal property in addition, and other sums from friends throughout the State, like Mr. Joseph H. Watson, of Albany, who spent upward of \$2,000 for the keeping of the control of the Georgia Republican organization in the hands of the Georgia Republicans. The aid I received from outside the State did not contain a stipulation other than a fight for uninstructed delegates to the national convention. In our group there are friends of Senator Harding, Senator Johnson; there are many friends of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler; some friends for Gen. Wood, but most friends for Gov. Lowden, not by instruction, but, if you will pardon the seeming egotism, because those friends know I am for Gov. Lowden.

It would weary the patience of your committee too much for me to go into the whole matter, but let me give some typical matters. For instance, I was personally present at Dublin, Ga., when the eleventh district held its convention and elected S. S. Mincey, a friend of mine. The fight in that convention was for the delegate to go uninstructed. I made a fight for nobody. Mr. Clark Grier spent money with a recklessness that you could scarce believe. For instance, he gave \$500 to the delegates from Emanuel County to vote for instructions. He gave, so the man stated in his presence and with his approval, to McCray \$200 just to make the motion to instruct. He openly carried a wad of money in his pocket, called men in the hall, told them he wanted to pay their expenses and give them something, and did it.

Now, the convention goes on when it had been bought by Mr. Grier. The motion was made to instruct by Mr. Grier's bought man, McCray. They gave me a chance to make an appeal for uninstructed delegate. McCray made the motion; it was seconded. Prof. H. A. Hunt, of Fort Valley, moved to lay the motion to instruct on the table; the motion was seconded, and by a vote of 31 out of 34 in all in the convention the motion to instruct was laid on the table. Thereupon, Mr. Grier ran around frantically to men in the convention and publicly exclaimed that I gave you money and you have got to give it back to me because you did not keep your promise—a public scandal and a public disgrace. My expenses on that trip on the line above outlined were \$150; Mr. Grier by his statement spent \$1,700. He failed to get an instructed delegate. I succeeded in having an uninstructed one. Now, Mr. Senator, this is but a type.

At the State convention on April 7, 1920, we had a convention of about 356 delegates. Three hundred and ten of these men, delegates by the admission of Mr. Pickett, in credentials received by him, stood in the open hall of that convention and made affidavit that they voted for Col. Goree and those that were with me, and it was the convention. The galleries were filled, and members of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals of the State of Georgia were witnesses. The president of the Georgia State Senate was a spectator from the galleries. Now, when the convention adjourned, my office place, at the Odd Fellows Building, was honeycombed with agents of Clark Grier, and that crowd, and in my hearing and the hearing of others, told men to come and get a hundred dollars, and in that way got perjured affidavits that they will carry to Chicago. Mr. Grier, Mr. Cole, and all that crowd openly boasted that they did not need to win in the convention; that all they had to do was to hatch up a contest; that Mr. Hitchcock had in his control two-thirds of the members of the Republican national committee, and all they needed to do was to take a scratch pad and pencil and bring contests to Chicago and everything would be well.

Mr. M. H. Karnes, a citizen of Atlanta, Ga., personally accompanied me on all my goings throughout the State in this campaign. He knows very near in the last detail of everything I know, and he will be pleased, without reservation whatsoever, to make unto your committee, sir, a statement of the real truth.

Thanking you for your kind indulgence, which relieves me from sacrificing clients and appearing this week, believe me to be,

Most sincerely, yours,

HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON.

Senator REED. Did you have appeals or requests for money. Senator?

Senator MOSES. From Georgia?

Senator REED. From Georgia.

Senator MOSES. Without number.

Senator REED. What did you do with them? Did you reply that you would not send it, or did you refer them to Chicago, or to the eastern headquarters?

Senator MOSES. I generally answered that Mr. Pickett and Mr. Ackermann and Mr. Tilson were looking after Gen. Wood's interests in Georgia, and that I hoped that all Georgia Republicans who were interested in Gen. Wood's cause would get in touch with those gentlemen and cooperate with them.

Senator POMERENE. You did that very diplomatically.

Senator MOSES. I tried to be diplomatic.

Senator REED. And did you forward the requests for money or or did you just file them away in your office?

Senator MOSES. I filed them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any communication with Mr. Stebbins about business or money down there?

Senator MOSES. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stebbins was the eastern treasurer?

Senator MOSES. Yes; but I never had any transactions with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us where Mr. Stebbins is?

Senator MOSES. I have not the slightest idea.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the eastern treasurer?

Senator MOSES. He was so represented to me at the only time I ever saw him, which was at the time I was introduced to him at the New York headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Take up the other States, if you will. You referred to Alabama?

Senator MOSES. In Alabama, I found an inheritance from Mr. King's management, and as a result of that I gave Mr. Joseph O. Thompson, of Birmingham, \$3,000, a part of which—I think about \$1,000—was to repay him for money of his own which he represented to me that he had expended; the balance of that money which I gave to him was to be used in the organization of a Leonard Wood League throughout the State of Alabama, or in those districts where it seemed most likely that we could elect a Wood delegate.

Later, after Mr. Hitchcock came into the campaign, he asked me if I would send \$1,000 to Col. Dallas B. Smith, of Opelika, Ala. and I did so. Mr. Hitchcock later asked if I could send \$1,500 more to Col. Smith, but unhappily—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). That is Dallas Smith again?

Senator MOSES. Yes; but unhappily, I was not in funds to do it and those are the only instances in which Mr. Hitchcock had any exchange at all with reference to funds in the Southern States.

To Florida I sent no money whatever.

To Mississippi and Louisiana I sent no money whatever.

I sent \$1,000 to Dr. S. H. Thompson, of Tennessee.

Senator POMERENE. How much?

Senator MOSES. \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What were the total amounts that you sent into Alabama?

Senator MOSES. \$4,000. And to the best of my recollection that covered all the money that I sent into any of these States.

Senator REED. Did you cover South Carolina?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

Senator REED. I did not get that; how much did you spend?

Senator MOSES. Well, I sent into South Carolina less than \$1,000. My present impression is that it was between \$600 and \$700. I sent, as I recall, two sums to this Mr. Andrews, who was elected as a delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. Were all the people you sent money to afterwards elected as delegates?

Senator MOSES. Oh, no.

Senator POMERENE. Let me clear up this matter: As I have your testimony before me, you said you sent to two districts \$600.

Senator MOSES. In South Carolina?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Senator MOSES. Did I say two districts?

Senator POMERENE. That is as I have the memorandum, and that is as I have the recollection about it.

Senator MOSES. No; I think I testified before, as I have just repeated, that I sent two sums, that is, on two occasions; and I think I mentioned Mr. Andrews as the man to whom I sent it.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Senator MOSES. And I sent money to Mr. Andrews on two occasions.

Senator POMERENE. I had in mind \$600, and now you say you sent less than \$1,000.

Senator MOSES. Yes; \$600 or \$700.

Senator POMERENE. You intended that \$1,000 to include the \$600?

Senator MOSES. Yes; those were all the transactions that I had in South Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other States?

Senator MOSES. No; that covers all the States with which I had to do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bean was traveling through all of these States, was he?

Senator MOSES. Well, to my knowledge, Mr. Bean traveled only in South Carolina and Georgia. And my impression is that he went into the eighth district of Virginia, after the convention was held there, and when the contest arose.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the man from Washington who traveled through there?

Senator MOSES. Mr. Bieber.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bieber—who was he?

Senator MOSES. I think Mr. Bieber was once the national committeeman from the District of Columbia; I think he is in the real estate business here.

The CHAIRMAN. He was in the employ of Gen. Wood's campaign, was he?

Senator MOSES. Not under my charge. I gave him no money whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. But you know he was, do you not? He was traveling through the South with Mr. Bean?

Senator MOSES. No; I think Mr. Bieber was a friend of Mr. Hitchcock's; whatever he did was done in connection with Mr. Hitchcock.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mr. Hitchcock himself went into the Southern States?

Senator MOSES. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. How many contesting delegations are there in the Southern States?

Senator MOSES. Well, there are three delegations who claim seats from Florida.

The CHAIRMAN. Three?

Senator MOSES. Three. There are two who claim seats from South Carolina. There are two claiming seats from Georgia; there are some contests in North Carolina, the nature of which I do not know. There are contests in one district in Virginia of which I have knowledge, and I understand that a general contest has been instituted regarding all of the delegates from Virginia.

Senator POMERENE. Instituted by whom?

Senator MOSES. A Mr. Burroughs, of Norfolk, Va., came to me possibly a month ago, with the suggestion that there was a fertile field for contests in Virginia, and intimated that he was all ready to enter upon them; and I told him that, so far as I was concerned, I had no interest in any contests; that I did not wish to institute any, and that I did not want the candidate whom I favor to be under the imputation at Chicago of instituting contests; that in every case, or substantially every case with which I had to deal, we were not contestants. We claim absolute regularity. But in looking over a list printed by the Republican national committee I observe that there are a great many contests from Virginia; I think there are contests in Louisiana and Mississippi. But, as I have testified at the outset, the management of Louisiana and Mississippi was taken over by the Chicago headquarters within a month after I had organized the Washington headquarters, and I do not know the basis of these contests.

Senator POMERENE. Now, generally—I do not expect you to go into details—are these contests in these several Southern States substantially of the same character?

Senator MOSES. Well, my understanding of the contests is this: That the regular call for the national convention was issued by the national committee, and issued by the officers of that committee; the national committeeman in the State; that is to say, the man who had been officially recognized by the national committee as the national committeeman in that State. That, through him, the call was transmitted to the recognized State chairman in the State; that is to say, the man who had received the same official recognition from the national committee that the national committeeman had; and that under the terms of the call the chairman of the State committee called the convention.

Senator POMERENE. Now, what conventions—State conventions or county conventions or district conventions, or what?

Senator MOSES. No; they issued the general call. Of course, the call differed with the practice and the statutes of the different States. But they issued the call, first of all, for a State convention, which was called by the State chairman, as I understand it. The others were district committees, which held similar recognized relations with the State committees, and these district committees called the district conventions.

Senator POMERENE. Well, the three contests down in Florida—are they contests between the friends of several candidates?

Senator MOSES. I can not answer that, Senator Pomerene; but I can tell you the nature of those contests, as I understand it, if the committee wishes to have it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I do not think I care to go into that.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the usual contests in the South, are they not?

Senator MOSES. I think they are the usual contests for recognition as the Republican party in the State, looking forward to success at the election and the distribution of the Federal offices.

Senator REED. I do not think, Senator, that you finished answering Senator Pomerene's rather long question a few moments ago: He asked you if these were the same kind of contests generally throughout the States, involving the same principles, and you started and stated to him that the calls had been given out, but you did not tell us about the contests.

Senator MOSES. Well, to complete that testimony: A regular convention would be called, and it might be that a group would withdraw from the regular convention and hold a convention of its own on the sidewalk, or in another hall, or in an adjoining room, and I think that is the way most of the contests originated. Or possibly the aggrieved faction would wait until the regulars had held their convention, and then they would go on in the same room and hold a convention of their own. I think the practice varied in accordance with the conditions as they existed at the minute.

Senator REED. Did you understand that those contests were promoted by outside influences?

Senator MOSES. Well, I have no understanding about that at all, Senator; that would be a mere assumption on my part.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any information of any large amount of money in currency, alleged to have been drawn from the Crocker National Bank, in California, on the day of the primary there?

Senator MOSES. No; I have been told of a large sum that was withdrawn a few days prior to the primary.

Senator SPENCER. Who told you?

Senator MOSES. I would rather consult with my informant before giving his name; he is a thoroughly reputable citizen of California.

Senator SPENCER. How soon can you consult with him?

Senator MOSES. I think the man is in town, at one of the hotels, to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you tell about it?

Senator MOSES. Oh, I have spoken to several people about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You say your informant is a reliable citizen?

Senator MOSES. I should judge from his public record that he is a reliable citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a public man, is he?

Senator MOSES. Yes, in one sense.

The CHAIRMAN. A member of the Senate?

Senator MOSES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think when a charge of that kind is made, Senator, that we are entitled to the name of your informant?

Senator MOSES. Yes; and at the time the information was conveyed to me there was other information of a similar character, and I asked the man to furnish me with a memorandum about it,

which he promised to do and said I would have it today, but it has not reached me.

Senator SPENCER. Well, I asked a question about that this morning, and I think we ought to have definite information about it, because, as Senator Kenyon says, it is a serious charge and it ought not to go out without a statement as to who made it.

The CHAIRMAN. When a charge of that kind is made, the name of the person making it should be given.

Senator MOSES. I quite agree with you.

Senator REED. You say you at the same time heard of other sums?

Senator MOSES. No; at the same time other information—that is, of like nature—that is, statements bearing upon a large expenditure of money were made.

Senator REED. Does this man live in California?

Senator MOSES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was he active in the campaign of either party?

Senator MOSES. Do you mean either the Democratic or Republican Party?

Senator REED. No; but in the primary.

Senator MOSES. That I do not know.

Senator REED. Was he a man who pretended to speak as of rumor, or as of his own knowledge?

Senator MOSES. He spoke with great positiveness, and I asked him for some corroborative testimony on the point, and he said he would send me a memorandum, which has not yet been received.

Senator REED. When did he say he would do that?

Senator MOSES. He said the memorandum would be in my hands to-day, and I thought from the way he spoke that he meant this morning.

Senator REED. When did he tell you that?

Senator MOSES. Yesterday.

Senator REED. Did he come to you to give you this information?

Senator MOSES. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. You say you were told that this money was drawn from a bank several days before the primary; did he undertake to say how the money had been disposed of?

Senator MOSES. Oh, no.

Senator REED. Just merely that money had been drawn from the bank?

Senator MOSES. Yes. The story as he told it to me was that \$100,000 in currency had been withdrawn from the Crocker National Bank. He said that he could not tell me the name of the person who made the withdrawal; but he said that it would be perfectly easy to ascertain that from the Crocker National Bank.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is five days away.

Senator MOSES. I told him that while it was an interesting story and fitted in with the large figures that had been used so frequently in the course of this investigation, I thought there ought to be more definite information about it; and he promised to send a memorandum.

Senator REED. Well, of course, the statement that \$100,000 currency was drawn from a large bank several days before an election does not mean anything at all; it absolutely gets us nowhere; there-

might have been \$100,000 drawn from 1,000 banks in the United States in currency, and there is no inference to come from it.

The CHAIRMAN. But did not the man go further—

Senator REED (interposing). Now, I am going to ask the question whether this man pretended to say what had been done with this money?

Senator MOSES. Oh, no. I have already stated that.

Senator REED. Then as we trace this story up, we get to this, that all the story amounts to is that somebody some days before the primary drew \$100,000 in cash—

Senator MOSES (interposing). Possibly I can furnish the connecting link there, Senator.

Senator REED (continuing). From a bank somewhere in California. Now, we have tried, not with entire success, Senator, to not bring into this case just vague, wild rumors; on the other hand, we have tried to trace any substantial story to its base. And I do not think we ought to have any wild rumors here that reflect upon men. But did this man—as I understand you, this man did not pretend to say what use this money had been put to when the party drew it?

Senator MOSES. Further than to say that a man very closely connected with one of the candidacies in California drew it.

Senator REED. Yes; was it the manager? Whom did he say had drawn it?

Senator MOSES. He did not give the man's name.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean connected with one of the presidential candidacies?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, I will say this to the committee, and state it publicly here: That I do not think there is any confidential relation in the world about that sort of a disclosure. I think when an investigation is going on and a man comes to another man and tells him that a certain thing has transpired, and then that fact is communicated to a member of this committee, and that member of the committee inquires about it so that the thing is given publicity, there is no element of confidence about it, and I think that we ought to ask Senator Moses to tell us this gentleman's name.

Senator MOSES. And you do ask me that question?

Senator REED. Yes.

Senator MOSES. Well, I will say in answer to that, Senator Reed, that I take a position with reference to this conversation, exactly as was taken by the Committee on Foreign Relations, in connection with the charges which were made against Secretary Colby, where we made every effort to get the person who had first conveyed the information to the committee to come forward and substantiate it. I will make that same effort to get my informant to come before your committee.

Senator SPENCER. Will you see if you can get at him this afternoon?

Senator MOSES. I will make the effort.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your informant about to leave town?

Senator MOSES. I have not any information as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, speaking for myself, I feel that there is no confidence about a thing of that kind.

Senator REED. The trouble is that the information has been made public. Now, the Committee on Foreign Relations, in examining

into the story about Secretary Colby, about which I know nothing except that they had some sort of an investigation, let nothing outside of its doors which reflected upon Secretary Colby at all.

Senator POMERENE. That situation, if I may be permitted to interpolate here, was in effect this: Serious charges were conveyed in a letter to a Senator not a member of the committee. Later other information came to another Senator who was a member of the committee. They had a delicacy about calling the witnesses but after some little delay, the names were disclosed and the witnesses appeared. That is correct, is it not?

Senator MOSES. It is. And I purpose to follow exactly the same procedure here.

Senator REED. You see the point is this: This information was given for the purpose of its being used, and it was given to you, and you gave it to a member of the committee, Senator Spencer, who proceeded to ask a question about it. Thus, all the injury that can be done by the mere asking of a question in regard to the fact has been done. Now, the gentlemen who initiated that movement is in Washington?

Senator MOSES. So far as I know, he is. I am not certain about that; I think he is.

Senator REED. We ought to know his name, and we ought to have the chance to bring him here and find out what he knows. I am going to say now that I saw Senator Johnson at noon, and he denounced this story as baseless; and he requested that it be run to earth; that the men responsible for it be put upon the witness stand, and if they claim that they spoke from rumor, they should be compelled to tell their informants, in order that the matter could be run down. And I think that is fair to Senator Johnson; and I will not accord to him a single right that I would not accord to any other candidate, of course.

I think that will strike you, Senator Moses, as a pretty fair proposition; and I wish you to give us this man's name, to the end that we can subpoena him and bring him here, and let us look him in the eye and see what he has to give us.

Senator MOSES. I will make that effort, Senator Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you come back when you find out, Senator Moses, whether you can give us his name.

Senator MOSES. Yes, sir; will you be sitting here through the afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN. Through the afternoon, and most of the night, I think, unless we get through before that.

Senator MOSES. I will get in touch with the chairman of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And we would like to have you come back, because the committee will decide whether or not to insist on your answering the question, if your informant is unwilling. I do not know of any reason why it should not be answered.

Senator REED. I do not know any reason why it should not be answered; but on account of courtesy to the Senator, I am not going to insist on his answering it.

The CHAIRMAN. No; not now.

Senator MOSES. Well, I have told you that the position I am taking is exactly the same position that we took in the Committee on Foreign

Relations, with reference to the investigation as to Secretary Colby. The Senator from Ohio (Senator Pomerene), who was a member of that committee with me, knows perfectly well that if the gentleman who had made the charges against Secretary Colby had not come forward, the matter would not have been pressed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further?

Senator REED. I only wanted to ask this: Senator Moses, you have made a statement of the moneys sent by your committee into these various States: Do you know of other moneys that have been sent in that were not sent in by you personally, or through your own committee?

Senator MOSES. In to these States that I have mentioned?

Senator REED. Yes; into any of these States.

Senator MOSES. Any State in the Union, do you mean?

Senator REED. Yes; but I will first say, in these particular States you have mentioned?

Senator MOSES. No; I know of no sums of money; I know in general that some money was sent from the New York headquarters to the State of Maryland; I do not know to whom, or in what sum. The only other State that I know about is the State of New Hampshire, where, upon the appearance of the Hoover campaign in the primary there, some advertising was done, and the Wood men in New Hampshire appealed to me; but the State was not in my jurisdiction, and I appealed to the New York headquarters, and I think that \$2,000 was spent in New Hampshire.

Senator REED. How extensive was the Hoover advertising campaign in that State?

Senator MOSES. I do not think there was any Hoover advertising in that State; at least, I do not recall any. I said that when the Hoover campaign began in that State, it became necessary for the Wood people to enter upon a campaign of advertising, and my impression is that the country newspapers were used for two weeks in advertising, and I think the city papers were also used for advertising the pledge to the Wood delegation.

Senator REED. Do you know of a Wood organization in the State of New Hampshire that was raising and spending any money?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

Senator REED. Do you know of any moneys that were sent into other States than those you have named?

Senator MOSES. Well, only by hearsay.

Senator REED. Well, I am not asking for what we ordinarily call hearsay; but you were a part of an organization, and I am asking you for information which came to you through the organization.

Senator MOSES. No; none.

Senator REED. These men that you sent money to in the South, were they all white men?

Senator MOSES. With one exception, yes.

Senator REED. Who was the exception?

Senator MOSES. Mr. Andrews, of South Carolina.

Senator REED. And how much money did he get? I have forgotten.

Senator MOSES. As near as I can remember, something like \$600 or \$700, all told.

Senator REED. You said there was a gentleman who came here and said Virginia was a fruitful place for contests. I do not quite understand that: Did he indicate why they wanted to make contests?

Senator MOSES. Well, in his conversation with me he did not but they instituted the contests later.

Senator REED. What did you understand the purpose of the contests was, as outlined by these gentlemen?

Senator MOSES. Well, I think their contests were for the purpose of getting hold of the party organization in the State.

Senator REED. It was also for the purpose of carrying some delegates to the national convention?

Senator MOSES. Oh, yes; of course, primarily.

Senator REED. And if you could have a contesting delegation from that State, it might be advantageous to seat that delegation at some time, if it was necessary? That was the plan, was it not? Let me put it in plain language——

Senator MOSES (interposing). I understand you.

Senator REED. That was the plan, was it?

Senator MOSES. Yes; of course. But I declined to lend myself to any such movement of that character.

Senator REED. I understand you did as I would expect you to do. But this gentleman who made the suggestion did go on and there were some contests?

Senator MOSES. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. Do you know whether he was financed by anybody?

Senator MOSES. I do not know.

Senator REED. He was a white man?

Senator MOSES. Yes. But I think his purpose was to institute the contest on the basis of the colored Republican vote there.

Senator REED. Yes. That is to say, he wanted to get some colored delegates sent up to Chicago?

Senator MOSES. Yes.

Senator REED. And they might be very pliable, under certain conditions?

Senator MOSES. I would think that a fair inference.

Senator REED. Yes. I suppose he told you that it had been done and that you would be neglecting a valuable opportunity if you did not embrace this scheme?

Senator MOSES. He did not have to tell me that, Senator Reed. I have been through two other national campaigns.

Senator REED. You knew that was done?

The CHAIRMAN. Is that why you were selected for southern manager?

Senator MOSES. No; I think I was selected for southern manager because of my prudence and thrift—because I feel like a “piker” here, in speaking of these small sums that I expended.

Senator POMERENE. Senator Reed did not mean to suggest by that question that there would be anybody in the Republican convention who would make use of the pliable character of these delegates.

Senator MOSES. I hope not.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, no.

Senator REED. Did you have any reports made to you as to the amounts of money that were being used on the other side in the Southern States?

Senator MOSES. Well, I had general statements made to me about the amount of money being used in Virginia and the amount being used in Georgia.

Senator REED. What was the amount that you were informed by your assistants and agents was being used there?

Senator MOSES. No sum was mentioned, but it was reported to me with frequency from those two States that other candidates were apparently well supplied with money for the purpose of carrying on their campaigns in those States.

Senator REED. What other candidates were there?

Senator MOSES. In each State, Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. Did you understand from the reports made to you that a pretty difficult situation had been created for Gen. Wood by these expenditures that you have related?

Senator MOSES. Why, Senator Reed, that is the natural course of events; a field agent, or a worker, always tries to set up a bad situation, to show his own value in straightening it out, or for the purpose of securing sums of money for use.

Senator REED. But you did find that there was an active opposition in these States, did you not?

Senator MOSES. I did, indeed.

Senator REED. And a good deal of it was being done through the colored brethren?

Senator MOSES. In Georgia, yes; outside of Georgia, I think not.

Senator REED. Well, in Virginia, the contesting delegations were largely colored, you said; were they for Gen. Wood, or were they for Gov. Lowden, or were they just for themselves?

Senator MOSES. Well, I do not know. I have a letter received this morning from two of the contesting delegates in Virginia, who represent to me that they are for Gen. Wood, and that the expenses of the trip to Chicago would be \$300, and would I please send it to them.

Senator REED. They were colored gentlemen?

Senator MOSES. I assume so.

Senator REED. Have you had other requests from other individuals who were elected delegates, or contesting delegates, or from any other persons for money to transport gentlemen to Chicago and pay their expenses?

Senator MOSES. No.

Senator REED. Have you heard of any necessity of raising money or using money for that purpose?

Senator MOSES. I do not think so. You see, I am a little confused about that, because I am thinking about those two other campaigns with which I was connected. But I know of nothing that has come specifically to me in connection with the Wood campaign.

Senator REED. I will put it this way: Do you not understand from the information that has come to you in this campaign that there is a sort of understanding that it is necessary to have some moneys to bear the expenses of patriots from the South who may want to attend this convention?

Senator MOSES. Oh, I think that has been the case in every campaign. I do not know specifically about that——

Senator REED (interposing). Do they generally pay the railroad fare and entertainment and hotel bills of this class of delegates that we have been discussing?

Senator MOSES. Oh, I think that has been very generally done in the past.

Senator REED. And does the gentleman who furnishes the entertainment and pays the expenses generally get the votes—if he is the last man to see the delegates?

Senator MOSES. I think the ultimate destination of the vote is always problematical.

Senator REED. Well, I can see how it would take something of a campaign fund to run a southern campaign under those circumstances.

Senator MOSES. It takes a great deal of money to carry on a campaign under present circumstances anywhere, Senator Reed, whether in the South or anywhere else.

Senator REED. Well, it is not generally true in the Republican Party that you pay the expenses of delegates from other parts of the country—from that part of the Nation lying north of Mason's and Dixon's line, is it?

Senator MOSES. Well, my impression is that, in the campaign of 1908, with which I had something to do, the expenses of some of the delegates outside of the South were paid at Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not believe that poor men should be shut out of being delegates, do you?

Senator MOSES. Oh, I understand the primary is the thing for the poor man; it gives everybody a chance.

Senator REED. Well, coming back to the South, generally speaking the southern gentleman, the gentleman from the South, does not expect to have his expenses paid, or his entertainment, does he?

Senator MOSES. Oh, no. As a matter of fact, there is a delegation from one of the Southern States which I think has more millionaires on it than were testified to this morning as being connected with Senator Johnson's finance committee.

Senator REED. You do not regard that as any reflection at all on your candidate, that there happened to be some men of means on his committee, do you?

Senator MOSES. Not the slightest. On the contrary, I am glad they are with him, and feel kindly enough disposed to him to contribute.

Senator REED. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all, Senator Moses.

Senator POMERENE. You had nothing to do with Texas or Oklahoma, had you?

Senator MOSES. No. I know nothing about Oklahoma, except by hearsay, and nothing whatever about Texas.

Senator POMERENE. Or Kentucky?

Senator MOSES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We are much obliged, Senator. You will get that information for us, will you?

Senator MOSES. I will go immediately and try to get in touch with the man.

TESTIMONY OF MR. FRANK WOODWORTH, ASSISTANT SERGEANT AT ARMS, UNITED STATES SENATE.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. WOODWORTH. Frank Woodworth.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your position?

Mr. WOODWORTH. Assistant Sergeant at Arms, United States Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock testified before this committee on last Monday; and he was asked this question:

Can you give us any information about the names of the contributors and the expenditures?

Mr. Hitchcock replied:

That information can be given, I understand, by the treasurers. I have had very little to do with the financial side of the campaign. I came to them under the condition, when I entered the campaign, that I should not be called upon to collect campaign funds, and I have followed that policy. After the announcement of my connection with the campaign various people, from time to time, sent in checks to me and I turned them over to the organization. The total of those checks did not exceed from \$20,000 to \$25,000 for the entire campaign. The money was collected by finance committees in the various States. Each State has a Wood campaign committee and that committee has appointed a subcommittee on finances. Members of that subcommittee in each State have made collections.

The CHAIRMAN. To whom do they report?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. They turn in their money to the treasurers of the campaign. There are two treasurers, one in New York and one in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are they?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. Horace S. Stebbins is the eastern treasurer, and his address is 44 Leonard Street, New York City. Mr. Albert A. Sprague, 600 West Erie Street, Chicago, is the other treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Can these gentlemen be found at these addresses now?

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I assume so. I am not sure about Mr. Stebbins. When I received your telegram Saturday night I tried to get in touch with him to suggest that he come over with his records, but I found that he was out of town and I have not been able to locate him.

I may state that after Mr. Hitchcock's testimony, I wired to the address of Mr. Stebbins given by him. Hearing nothing from my wire, we placed in the hands of the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate a subpoena. Did you handle that subpoena?

Mr. WOODWORTH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I ask you what you did, and whether or not you found Mr. Stebbins?

Mr. WOODWORTH. I took the subpoena and went to New York; and in the meantime I had learned his home address, which is 31 West Fifty-eighth Street. I went there first; I got there about quarter of 8 in the morning.

The CHAIRMAN. What date was that?

Mr. WOODWORTH. That was on Thursday morning, the 27th of this month. I asked the elevator man if he could show me Mr. Stebbins's apartment; and he said, "There is no use to go up there; he is not there; he has not been there in 10 days." I said, "Well, he might have come in, and you might not have seen him. I want to go up there." In the meantime, I had found that this house was a bachelor apartment house. Mr. Stebbins is a widower, and he lives in this bachelor house. And I said to the elevator man, "You had better take me up to his apartment anyhow; he may have come in, and you might not know about it." And he took me up there; and there was no bell on the door of the apartment; it had been broken off. And I found in front of the door of the apartment three or four morning's accumulation of papers, which would indicate that no one had been there for three or four days. I knocked on the door a number of times, but got no reply.

I then inquired of the superintendent of the building as to where Mr. Stebbins was, and I secured from him the same information, that he had not seen Mr. Stebbins in 10 days; but he had received from Bridgeport, Conn., a bundle, from Mr. Stebbins, and a little note on the outside, to take care of this until he came back. He gave me the information in a general way that he understood that Mr. Stebbins was a member of a fishing club in Connecticut, and was also a member of a fishing club in Canada; and that he had heard Mr. Stebbins say that he was going off on a fishing trip.

I saw that I could not get any more information from him. So I went to Mr. Stebbins's business address, No. 44 Leonard Street.

The first man I encountered there was the head salesman. I went into the place and asked for Mr. Stebbins; and the head salesman said, "He very seldom comes here, and I have not seen him for several days."

I was very insistent to find Mr. Stebbins, but the man said he could not tell me. He said, "You had better wait and talk to one of the partners of the firm; he will be here soon and you can talk to him. And about 15 minutes later Mr. Grinnell, one of his partners, came in and I had a conversation with him and he, in the same vague way said that he did not know where Mr. Stebbins was; that he had not heard from him.

Senator POMERENE. Partners in what?

Mr. WOODWORTH. In the linen and cotton business—in their business; the mercantile business. I rather doubted this man's statement, which he could see; and I went so far as to tell him that I thought I would subpoena him down here and put him under oath; and he would probably then be able to tell where Mr. Stebbins was. We had quite a long conversation and finally he convinced me that he did not know where Mr. Stebbins was.

Senator POMERENE. That he did not know?

Mr. WOODWORTH. That he did not know. But his partner said, "It is possible that Mr. Stalling, the credit man upstairs, might know." I went upstairs and I had a conversation with that man with the same result. I then asked him if there was not some one there that received letters for Mr. Stebbins and answered his mail; and he said, "No; because he gets no private mail here; but there is a young lady there that answers his letters, Miss Davison." I went up there with him to see that young lady. And she said she had not written any letters for him for two weeks past, of her knowledge.

So, then I left there and went up to the Wood headquarters in the Hotel Imperial; and I met a young lady in the hall and asked her for Mr. Stebbins, and she said, "I have not seen him for some time" and she went into a room and came back and brought me word that he had not been in, and she did not know where he was.

I then asked for the man in charge of the office, and she introduced me to Mr. Bladell, Mr. Stebbins's secretary. And I asked Mr. Bladell where Mr. Stebbins was and he said he did not know. And I put up the argument to him that Mr. Stebbins was the treasurer of the campaign, and I thought it very funny that they did not know where he was; and he said he had always had that trouble with Mr. Stebbins—that if you wanted to get in touch with him, you would find it very hard to do it; you would have to telephone in for him a number of times. He was gracious enough to tell me that Mr. Stebbins put :

most of his time in the Metropolitan Club, the Racquet and Tennis Club, or the Park Club.

I visited all of those places with the very same result—that they had not seen Mr. Stebbins for several days; no one would fix an exact date when they had seen him last; some would say 8 or 10 days; some would say a week; some would say 3 or 4 days; so that I could not fix any particular date as the last time anyone had seen him.

Senator POMERENE. What was the latest information you got from anyone concerning him as to his location?

Mr. WOODWORTH. Well, the most definite information I should say was from his apartment; they said that 10 days ago he left there, and did not leave any word as to where he was going, except that the superintendent of the building mentioned that he was quite sure that Mr. Stebbins was going on a fishing trip.

Senator SPENCER. Going on what?

Mr. WOODWORTH. Going on a fishing trip. He is quite a club man, I believe. And I tried to find out somebody—some friend, or somebody like that—who would know where he was; but I could not find anybody. And I found that I could not make any headway, and I decided that the best thing I could do was to put the subpoena in the hands of the United States marshal, which I did, and I believe that it has been returned.

The CHAIRMAN. How long had they had it?

Mr. WOODWORTH. I gave it to them Thursday at half past 1 o'clock, and I believe it came back yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you in your possession the subpoena with the return of the United States marshal on it?

Mr. WOODWORTH. Yes, sir; I think it came back yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have the subpoena.

Senator SPENCER. Has Mr. Stebbins a family?

Mr. WOODWORTH. I do not know whether he has any children; he is a widower.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to put in the record at this point a telegram which I sent to Mr. Frank H. Hitchcock yesterday with reference to this man, and his answer received this morning.

(The telegrams referred to are here printed in full as follows:)

[Telegram.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 28, 1920.

Hon. FRANK HITCHCOCK,
Congress Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

Sergeant at Arms unable to locate Stebbins.

We want to do no injustice in the matter, and before taking any steps ask you to wire committee the location of Mr. Stebbins and where he can be reached with subpoena.

Please wire me.

WM. S. KENYON, *Chairman.*

(Charge to Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections.)

[Telegram.]

CHICAGO, ILL., May 28, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Answering your telegram just received, I regret that I have no information regarding present whereabouts of Mr. Stebbins. On receiving summons from you last

Saturday I endeavored to get in touch with him in order to ask that he accompany me to Washington with his records, but learned that he was away for week end. Have been informed to-day that he went to Maine on vacation trip. Am wiring his New York office to endeavor to communicate with him without delay message from me urging that he return as speedily as possible in order to testify before your committee.

FRANK HITCHCOCK.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Also I asked the Western Union Telegraph Co. this morning to ascertain whether or not the telegram sent to Mr. Stebbins on May 24 had been delivered. I will put their answer in the record.

(The communication referred to is as follows:)

[Telegram.]

NEW YORK, N. Y., May 29, 1920.

Senator KENYON, *Washington, D. C.*

Yours, 24th, Stebbins, 44 Leonard Street, delivered 12.17 p. m.

MANAGER WESTERN UNION.

Senator POMERENE. Did you learn where his books as treasurer of that committee were?

Mr. WOODWORTH. No, sir; I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Was there an assistant treasurer there?

Mr. WOODWORTH. No, sir; not that I could find. I asked Mr. Bladell about that.

Senator POMERENE. And there was not anybody about that headquarters that knew anything about his books?

Mr. WOODWORTH. Absolutely not, so far as I could ascertain.

The CHAIRMAN. How are they carrying on a campaign without an eastern treasurer—do you know?

Mr. WOODWORTH. I asked them that question.

Senator REED. Did you find out who was in charge there?

Mr. WOODWORTH. A secretary, Mr. Bladell.

Senator REED. It would be interesting to have Mr. Bladell here, and let us find out where they pay their bills.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; and we could subpoena him to bring all the books relating to the finances of that headquarters. It is very funny if they have not got somebody up there who knows something about those things.

The CHAIRMAN. I will also place in the record a copy of the telegram I sent to Mr. Stebbins on Monday.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 24, 1920.

HORACE C. STEBBINS,

44 Leonard Street, New York City, N. Y.

Committee investigating campaign expenses presidential campaign requests you to appear here Tuesday morning May 25 at 10 o'clock, with all books, vouchers, and information relating to contributions and expenditures in Wood campaign. Please reply.

W. S. KENYON, *Chairman.*

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). I thought this matter should be called to the attention of the committee before sending it; and I wired Mr. Hitchcock, and he does not seem to know.

We would like to have, Mr. Woodworth, the subpoena here as a basis for any further proceedings in the matter.

Mr. WOODWORTH. All right; I will bring it.

TESTIMONY OF MR. THOMAS W. MILLER, OF WILMINGTON, DEL.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your full name.

Mr. MILLER. Thomas W. Miller, of Wilmington, Del.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a former Member of Congress?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; and I am associated with Congressman Norman J. Gould, of New York, as eastern managers of the Wood campaign; and I am also chairman of the executive committee of the Leonard Wood League.

The CHAIRMAN. You were also a soldier in the war, were you not, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; I enlisted in July, 1917, and was in the service 27 months.

The CHAIRMAN. And when did you become connected with the Wood campaign?

Mr. MILLER. Last summer, about July, upon the return of my division from France. I was asked by Mr. Grenville Clarke, a law partner of Elihu Root, whether I favored Gen. Wood for the Republican nomination, and I said that I did. Then he asked me if I would aid them in collecting together a group of young men to further Gen. Wood's candidacy, and I told him that, inasmuch as I had had four or five years of busy political life before going to France, and wanted to see my family, and attend to some of my business, I preferred not to be associated with them too actively, but that I would help them in my own State, Delaware. A little later on—to be specific, last October—the so-called "Leonard Wood League" was actually formed, and I was asked if I would serve on the executive committee.

Senator POMERENE. That is the national league, is it?

Mr. MILLER. The Leonard Wood League is its name.

Senator POMERENE. I mean, it is not confined to a State?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; and they held meetings every once in a while. Practically every one of them were amateurs and had not had any political experience; and at these meetings those of us who had had political experience were able to advise them from time to time. I was able to give them advice on national affairs, because when I was in Congress I devoted all of my campaigns to the Republican Congressional Committee, and I knew all the conditions over the country nationally.

About the 1st of November, the so-called Leonard Wood League opened up headquarters in the Hotel Imperial, New York City. I understand that the rooms used by them in the Hotel Imperial were donated by the hotel gratis; three or four rooms were used; it was impossible to get office space; and at these headquarters in the Hotel Imperial—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Who is the proprietor of that hotel?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Stack.

Senator POMERENE. A special friend of Gen. Wood's?

Mr. MILLER. He was a man who was interested in the Plattsburg camps, and who had a warm admiration for Gen. Wood; and at these headquarters the usual run of stenographers and office people

were employed, and as far as I could see none of the people in active charge there had ever had any political experience.

Along in November William Cooper Procter, of Cincinnati, was asked to be chairman or president of the Leonard Wood League, and he accepted it. The principal function of the Leonard Wood League, as I understand it, was to interest people throughout the country in Gen. Wood's candidacy.

Senator POMERENE. Why was Col. William Cooper Procter made president of the league?

Mr. MILLER. I really can not say, except that I know a number of names were considered and a number of people were approached. I do not know who they all were in detail; but his name came before some of the meetings and he finally accepted. And the function of this organization was to get in touch with men all over the country: to get them to form Leonard Wood leagues. I understand that there are 4,000 or 5,000 cities and towns and municipalities throughout the country where these leagues are in existence. They have an active membership of 60,000 or 70,000 people.

They began to circularize. One man would send in his card and they would send him back a card to get three more. In that way the sentiment for Gen. Wood among the people throughout the country was more or less crystallized, with a view of enlisting it and bringing it to bear in the selection of delegates to the national convention.

The organization went on during the months of November and December, and about the middle of January it became apparent to all that some sort of political leadership should be found; men who had had political experience. And about that time Congressman Gould and I were asked if we would take charge of the Eastern States, the 11 States in the East.

Senator REED. When was that, now?

Mr. MILLER. That was about the middle of January. I had been asked several times personally by the candidate, Gen. Wood, if I would do that. It is work that men in certain positions—of course, I do not know about under these circumstances—can accept pay or a salary for; and to go into a campaign like this meant sacrificing a whole lot of your time and home life. But when Mr. Gould consented to do it, I said I would stay with them; and we have been established over there since the third week in January, as the eastern managers. Our States are Maryland in part, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and all of New England—11 States in all.

A little later on—that is, after the 1st of February—the so-called Leonard Wood League and the so-called campaign committee, headed by Mr. Gould and me—two separate and distinct organizations—were more or less welded into one, and I was made chairman of the executive committee of the league, so as to more or less have its operation under political management—

Senator REED (interposing). I am sorry I did not quite understand you. When was this that the campaign started? About the middle of January you were asked to take charge of the eastern division, and that was as a member of the campaign committee?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then you continued your connection with the league and became a member of its executive committee?

Mr. MILLER. I had been a member of the executive committee from its inception, but in order to coordinate its activities under the political management of Mr. Gould and myself, I was made chairman of the executive committee.

Senator REED. So that after that the league became an auxiliary or arm of the campaign committee?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. It has branches in practically every State of the Union; and literature was sent from the New York headquarters, either in bulk to be distributed by mail from these State branches or else, in some instances, mailing lists were taken right to the New York headquarters and the force there sent them out.

Do you want me to proceed, Mr. Chairman? I have some other points to bring out.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you would go ahead as long as you wanted to, and then we would ask you some questions.

Mr. MILLER. The candidacy of Gen. Wood, of course, has not the backing of the so-called political organizations in hardly any of the States; and it was necessary, of course, to go to the voters in these 48 States from which delegates are elected and to appeal to them directly. It takes a good deal of organization and of effort to do that. As I see it now—as we see it—there are several ways of conducting a campaign for delegates. One was in the way indicated by Mr. John King in his testimony given the other day.

Another is to have an organization that not only goes down to every State, but in those large States goes into the congressional districts; and in all of these States we have been forced, practically, to start an organization and conduct our campaign for delegates without the help of the regular organization. You either had to get some men who had had political experience and who had so much confidence in your candidate that they were willing, probably, to fly in the face of their organization and support a man whom they honestly believed in, whether the leaders in the organization did or did not; or when we did not have any people of political leanings or connections, we had to build up our organization out of the raw. A good many of them were amateurs.

The CHAIRMAN. What you call the "old guard" in the Republican Party were against Gen. Wood, were they?

Mr. MILLER. I do not want to call it the "old guard," because — —

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Well, that term is not used in any uncomplimentary way.

Mr. MILLER. I am a regular organization Republican myself. The days of the old guard, while they may have ceased to exist, we had less political hysteria then than we have now along certain lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I asked you, I think, a very polite question: What is known as the "old guard" were against Gen. Wood, were they not? That made your campaign harder?

Mr. MILLER. I did not mean to offend you at all, because your question was very fair; but you can say practically that, yes. But to take up the question of — —

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Well, let us be a little explicit about that; forget the phrase "old guard." Was the Republican

organization, the regular Republican organization, for or against Gen. Wood in these several States?

Mr. MILLER. I should say, Senator Pomerene, in a great majority of the States, the so-called Republican organization was not in favor of the Wood candidacy, but the Republican organization, as personified in the national committee——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). As what?

Mr. MILLER. As illustrated by the national committee, has studiously followed the pace set by their chairman—that their duty is to elect, not select a candidate. But in building up out of the raw, it was necessary to get people who had had no political experience: people who were amateurs; people who, perhaps, did not see beyond the horizon of their particular State or district or county. And the initial start of the organization, the Leonard Wood League, was probably planned on a more expensive scale than it would have been if there had been people of more political experience in its make-up.

Now, a good deal has been said in the past testimony about the size of various campaign figures in this campaign. I just want to call attention to some hearings before this committee, back in 1912. On September 10, 1912, former President Roosevelt testifying before this committee said:

I do not draw the line against size, and never shall, of contributions. The conditions I impose are that the contributions shall be received without any kind of promise or obligation, express or implied: being accepted only on the announced principle that the person making it has no end to serve, except to assist the cause he is championing; and secondly, that the money shall be spent in honest fashion and only for legitimate expenses. I have no sympathy with the proposal to limit contributions to \$5,000, \$10,000, or any other sum. If the virtue of a party is so frail that it will weaken it if a contribution is over \$10,000, it will also weaken it if it is under \$10,000. I am proud of the fact that there are at least a few men of wealth who possess the farsightedness and the general understanding of the needs of the day which make them powerful champions of the cause of the American people. I honor the man of wealth whose fealty to an ideal makes him freely spend his wealth to aid the cause of justice, no more and no less than I honor his brother who has no wealth and gives what he can in its place.

I have read that because a good deal has been said and a good many deductions have been drawn from the testimony given by our chairman, Col. Procter, as to the size of the loans that he made for the carrying on of the work that I have outlined of the Leonard Wood League, and later on, of the campaign committee.

Senator POMERENE. Now, what moneys has your league received?

Mr. MILLER. The national treasurer, Mr. Sprague, is here. And one of the stipulations that Mr. Gould and I made when we went into the campaign was that we were not to be bothered with speaking, and were not to be bothered with raising money.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any information as to the contributions?

Mr. MILLER. Of the contributions?

The CHAIRMAN. The contributions, yes—who the contributors have been, and how much has been contributed?

Mr. MILLER. No; but I understand that the national treasurer, Mr. Sprague, who is here, and who is to follow me, has the details along that line. I have heard of some by hearsay, in just the same way that the chairman testified the other day.

Senator POMERENE. You are here, as I understand, in connection with the Leonard Wood League?

Mr. MILLER. And as one of the eastern managers.

Senator POMERENE. Now, we will get to Mr. Sprague after a while.

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Sprague has no official connection with your league, has he?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; the whole thing, Senator Pomerene, has been amalgamated, and Mr. Sprague is the national treasurer of the whole organization.

Senator POMERENE. Well, is he treasurer of the Wood League?

Mr. MILLER. I understand he is, yes; I know of no other.

Senator POMERENE. Well, have you any knowledge as to what contributions the Wood League has received?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir. I know this, that the national treasurer at Chicago, Mr. Sprague, sent to the eastern treasurer a sum of money amounting, approximately, to \$135,000, against which Mr. Gould and I have drawn from time to time to use in the 11 States of our district. And I am prepared to tell the amounts of money used in those States.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we would like to have.

Senator POMERENE. Just let me ask you a question or two here: You say \$135,000 was sent to the eastern headquarters. When did the league begin to draw from that?

Mr. MILLER. Let me qualify that, Senator—because, while I have been a member of this executive committee since last fall, I was merely attending meetings; I did not have any active control of anything until late in January, as I have stated. I can tell you of money contributed by a number of people to the Leonard Wood League. I have it right here.

Senator POMERENE. That is what we want.

Mr. MILLER. Commencing Dec. 23, 1919, up to and including May 28, 1920, there were approximately 1,800 people, who subscribed approximately \$21,000 to the Leonard Wood League, through the New York headquarters. These sums range all the way from \$1 upwards. I will say there is one contribution of \$1,000; but the most of them are all under \$100 besides that one.

Senator POMERENE. Who is that one?

Mr. MILLER. I am trying to find it here [indicating] because I knew you would like to have that. [Examining papers.] That was contributed by Mr. Norman Bridge, of Chicago, Ill. Just running over these [indicating] I notice that most of them are \$1, \$2, \$3, \$5, and \$10, and they were invariably accompanied by letters showing that they came from people in all walks of life.

Senator POMERENE. How many subscriptions were there of over \$100 each?

Mr. MILLER. I can give you that roughly.

Senator POMERENE. Just give their names as you go along.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. E. A. Sumner, Detroit, Mich., gave \$250; Mr. Frank J. Hecker, Detroit, gave \$100; Mr. William H. Hill, Detroit, \$100; Mr. James K. Clark, Palm Beach, Fla., \$100; Mr. William Jones, Tacoma, Wash., \$100; Mrs. J. H. Lancashire, New York City, \$100; Mr. Oliver Wolcott, Reidville, Mass., \$100; Mr. Louis Brooks, New York City, \$100; Mr. W. N. Schill, New York City, \$100; Mr. William H. De Gumones, \$100; Mr. S. K. De Forrest, New York City, \$100;

George B. Dabney, Boston, Mass, \$100; Henry Chalfant, Pittsburgh, \$100; W. Harry Brown, Pittsburgh, \$500; Julius F. Stone, Columbus, Ohio, \$100; C. N. Runyon, Hollywood, Calif., \$100; Joseph T. Alling, Rochester, \$100; L. Y. Speer, Groton, Conn., \$500; W. T. Doer, Benton Harbor, Mich., \$350; Hendon Tubb, New York City, \$100; W. F. Morgan, New York City, \$100; John Magee, New York City, \$100; Houston Wyeth, Miami, Fla., \$250; Homer A. Dunn, Madison N. J., \$100; J. R. Swann, New York City, \$100; C. N. Runyon, Hollywood, Calif., \$100; Warren Delano, New York City, \$100; W. J. Hawkins, Montclair, N. J., \$100; F. C. Norton, Racine, Wis., \$100; William S. Patton, Boston, Mass., \$100; L. A. Thomas, Augusta, Ga., \$100; W. M. Lewis, Racine, Wis., \$100; George Blumenthal, New York City, \$100; Gen. McConskery, New York City, \$100; Edward Orton, jr., New York City, \$100; G. C. Whitehead, Norwalk, Conn., \$100; Charles C. Brace, Tarrytown, N. Y., \$100; Newbold Morris, New York City, \$100.

I brought that list along——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Who prepared the list that you have brought with you?

Mr. MILLER. That was prepared in my office, from letters that had come in. I anticipated that the committee would want to ask some of us managers if we knew specifically of contributions, and as being more or less familiar with New York headquarters, I wanted to give all the information that I could along that line.

Senator POMERENE. Did you not have a treasurer who kept those?

Mr. MILLER. No—well, these are undoubtedly a part of the treasurer's information, but none of this whatever has come from the treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would send that money to the treasurer when you got it?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That all goes through the eastern treasurer?

Mr. MILLER. That all goes through the eastern treasurer. And that is in addition to the sum of money which I said had come from the Chicago headquarters to the eastern treasurer to be distributed in these States——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Let us not get confused about this; possibly I am confused; I am talking about the Wood Legion.

Mr. MILLER. The Wood League, you mean?

Senator POMERENE. The Wood League—yes; and the moneys they got. It has appeared in the testimony heretofore that there was a Wood League.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And that there was a Wood national headquarters.

Mr. MILLER. National campaign.

Senator POMERENE. I have gotten the idea, and, I think, rightly, that those were two separate and distinct organizations.

Mr. MILLER. No, Senator Pomerene, pardon me; but William Cooper Procter is so-called chairman or president of the Leonard Wood League, and he is the chairman of the Leonard Wood National Campaign Committee; and Mr. Sprague is the national treasurer of both organizations, as I understand it, and I know I am correct.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have two treasurers, have you not?

Mr. MILLER. The eastern treasurer is merely a clearing house.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; he seems to have "cleared out."
[Laughter.]

Mr. MILLER. He would get the money in the total sum I have indicated, and it would be expended in these States, as I have stated, by Mr. Gould and myself, and in addition thereto I know that he has received the sum of \$21,000 from 1,800 small subscribers.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to this amount that you have named from the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That makes a total of how much?

Mr. MILLER. \$157,000, approximately.

The CHAIRMAN. For use in those Eastern States that you and Mr. Gould have charge of?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; and for the paying of some of the salaries and the running expenses at our New York headquarters. And it is also fair to say that when Mr. Gould and I took charge there we insisted on cutting down, and did cut down a considerable part of the personnel and the employees there.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell where the eastern treasurer, Mr. Stebbins, is, Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. I can not, but as I mentioned to you, Mr. Chairman, when I heard the sergeant at arms testifying that Mr. Bladell mentioned by him is nothing more than one of my clerks, and he would not know as much as I would about it. I know this, that Mr. Stebbins is a business man in New York, of no political affiliations or connections; that he has gone off on a trip that he takes as regularly as the sun rises, every spring. And I can say this, that he is a man of the highest character; he is a man that will not resort to any political chicanery of any kind; and I would like to have him come down here, because there is not a thing that he has in his records that we would not want shown.

Senator POMERENE. Well, he is the treasurer; does he draw the checks on the funds of this committee?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; he pays the bills.

Senator SPENCER. Do you draw checks, too?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How long has he been gone?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I have not seen him since—what is to-day?

Senator POMERENE. Saturday.

Senator SPENCER. Saturday, May 29.

Mr. MILLER. I have not seen him for about 12 days; and I have no hesitancy in saying that if he could be reached—and I take it that he has gone up to Canada, or some place where it is very difficult to reach people, especially if he is on a canoe trip or a fishing trip—we would like to have him here, and I know very well that he would like to be here if he knew that he was being sought after in this way.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Miller, he is the treasurer of this Wood campaign committee?

Mr. MILLER. No; he is the eastern treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. Well, the eastern treasurer; we will not quibble about that; you are here and it is within six or seven days of the convention, and I assume that your activities are increasing as you approach the day of the convention. Now, does it not seem to you

a little bit queer that he is not here or within reach of the members of this committee?

Mr. MILLER. Senator, that would be the natural inference; but I want to tell you, on the contrary, that our work, so far as any treasurer was concerned, or so far as Mr. Gould and I were concerned, was closed up some weeks ago; and whatever bills remained to be paid are not pressing bills and have nothing to do with the convention; if for anything, they are for rent, etc., up there at the Imperial Hotel.

Senator SPENCER. Who is drawing those checks now?

Mr. MILLER. I do not understand that they are being drawn—unless, Senator Spencer, the clerk or somebody in his office has a power of attorney to draw the checks.

Senator SPENCER. Who has his books with regard to the contributions and the expenditures?

Mr. MILLER. I do not know. I know this, that I left New York late last night, not expecting to be back there until after the convention; and in order to clear my records I dictated several letters to his office stating that these bills were O. K., and to pay them; and I told the people they would be paid as soon as he came back.

Senator SPENCER. Can you get his books and explain them?

Mr. MILLER. I have not any idea where his books are, and as I say, Mr. Gould and I were not bothered with the details of bookkeeping, or with money.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about that—that is, the bookkeeping?

Mr. MILLER. All that I can tell you is the sums of money that went into the various States in that district.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us anything about the amounts contributed, or who contributed them?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When did you have this statement made up [indicating]?

Mr. MILLER. This was made up by some of the employees in my office; it has been kept day by day: that is the reason I have it. Here [indicating] it goes back to December 23; and here [indicating] is March 2, and here [indicating] is March 3.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you made a statement which is not quite clear and which is susceptible of misunderstanding.

Mr. MILLER. Certainly——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). You made the statement that you made this up from the letters in your office.

Mr. MILLER. From the letters that came in day by day.

Senator POMERENE. You wish to be understood to the effect that this statement has been made up from day to day as these checks came in?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, that is the way it was made up. For instance, I notice here [indicating] March 6, and March 8. Frankly, I have not bothered with the details of an office manager up there.

Senator REED. Was not that statement taken from the books?

Mr. MILLER. No; as I said, after Senator Pomerene brought it up, these [indicating] were made up in my office, and they were evidently made up day by day, and running in sequence as the money came in; and the checks were sent, of course, to the treasurer.

Senator SPENCER. As the eastern manager I presume the treasurer is more or less under your direction, is he not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, surely; whenever we wanted anything——

Senator SPENCER (interposing). Now, if we wanted to get those books or that information, and Mr. Stebbins is on this fishing trip in eastern Canada, how can we get them?

Mr. MILLER. I reiterate, Senator Spencer, that we have never been bothered with bookkeeping, or any of that sort of thing, because we have not been there as paid employees, or as office managers; we are there as political managers.

Senator SPENCER. You made that clear; but if Mr. Stebbins is under your direction, certainly those books are under your control.

Mr. MILLER. To show you how much information we have had, there has been as much as two weeks at a time that we have not been able to come up with it in the campaign, when things were very pressing.

(Senator Pomerene returns papers to witness.)

Mr. MILLER. Is that satisfactory to you, Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. Well, I accept your statement about it, of course; I have no reason to do otherwise.

Senator REED. You have no office force there now?

Mr. MILLER. We have practically three rooms there, which, as I said awhile ago, were donated to us by the hotel, and will be kept until after the convention because it is impossible to close things up.

Senator REED. Did you have at one time larger quarters there?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; at one time in the campaign there were a dozen rooms, approximately, used.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. MILLER. Well, the peak of the campaign came, I should say, about the middle of April; they have been cut down.

Senator REED. Were those dozen rooms donated?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; on all of those rooms over three the rent was paid. Mr. Gould and I have been trying to run it as we would run our own business, economically.

Senator REED. You took charge before April, did you not?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; I took charge in January.

Senator REED. What was the rent you were paying over there when you had the full sized headquarters?

Mr. MILLER. I would like to answer that in detail, but, honestly, Mr. Gould and I did not bother with the details of office management. I would say, approximately, that the rooms were \$100 a month, \$100 a month for one room, and we had 9 or 10 rooms——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). In what hotel?

Mr. MILLER. The Imperial. If we had 9 or 10 rooms, I should say it was on an average of \$100 a month for each room.

Senator POMERENE. \$100 a month?

Mr. MILLER. \$100 a month.

Senator POMERENE. I will stop at the Imperial Hotel hereafter.

Mr. MILLER. I think you will find it more economical than a good many hotels—and every political headquarters that has ever been established there has always nominated its candidate. [Laughter.]

Senator REED. I suppose that goes into the price of the rooms?

Mr. MILLER. I suppose it does.

Senator SPENCER. When were those rooms reduced in number to three?

Mr. MILLER. They are reduced to three now.

Senator SPENCER. For how long back?

Mr. MILLER. We have had six rooms, I should say, since the 1st of May.

Senator SPENCER. And before that you had 12?

Mr. MILLER. I should say approximately that; the peak of the load was back in April.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know anything about the expenditures of any other candidate except Gen. Wood?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir; I have heard some information—that is, what you might call hearsay evidence.

Senator SPENCER. We do not want any hearsay evidence.

Mr. MILLER. I know that; but a good deal of evidence has been read into the record, such as certain disclosures in the New York World; and when they came down to the facts they found that three of the gentlemen mentioned, for instance, had never contributed anything. But I have heard various things said.

But it has been the policy of those of us who are in the eastern headquarters, as Senator Moses brought out, not to wage this campaign on a personal issue, but to make it on clean-cut political issues, to make a clean-cut campaign with no personalities, so far as the campaign managers were concerned.

But about New Jersey, I have heard—and this is not hearsay either—that a man named Justice Cohalon is interested in an organization that already has spent some money in the State of New Jersey and other States.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his full name?

Mr. MILLER. Justice Cohalon, a former New York State justice. Some of the men from New York may know his name; but I understand that an organization in which he is interested or is an officer has spent some money in the State of New Jersey.

Senator POMERENE. In whose behalf was it spent?

Mr. MILLER. In the interest of the candidacy of Senator Johnson. I understand that there is also some money of Justice Cohalon's organization that went into Michigan, but I can not speak as specifically with regard to Michigan as I could New Jersey.

Senator SPENCER. Can you speak any more definitely in regard to New Jersey than you have?

Mr. MILLER. I don't see why I should not answer that in this way, Senator, because so much evidence of a like character has come in.

Senator REED. I don't think we ought to have mere guesses.

Mr. MILLER. It is not guesses, Senator Reed. I have heard—maybe you have—that some money by Henry Ford was put in back of the Johnson candidacy.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that is true?

Mr. MILLER. That, I should say, is in line with a lot of other evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. But do you believe yourself that you have enough information to say that Henry Ford put money into the Johnson campaign?

Mr. MILLER. I understand that there were drafts or checks coming from Michigan that were understood by certain people to have come from the so-called Ford interests.

Mr. MILLER. The New Jersey fight, Senator Reed, was handled by Gould and myself.

Senator REED. By Gould and yourself?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How much money did you spend in that fight?

Mr. MILLER. Approximately—specifically I know of \$10,255.

Senator REED. You don't mean to say that that fight was carried on in New Jersey for \$10,000, do you?

Mr. MILLER. One moment—Mr. Hitchcock testified here the other day, \$15,000.

Senator REED. Yes. How much money was raised—how was that fight carried on? Did you undertake to carry it on from New York or were there local organizations?

Mr. MILLER. We undertook to carry it on from the city of New York. We were right there; we knew the leaders in all the congressional districts, and we knew the leaders in the State, and they were very accessible and there were hardly two or three days went by but what Gould or myself were down there consulting with them.

Senator REED. Weren't there leaders of organizations in each of the congressional districts?

Mr. MILLER. No; we did not have a Leonard Wood League organization in the congressional districts in New Jersey.

Senator REED. But in carrying on this fight for delegates wasn't there an organization in each congressional district?

Mr. MILLER. Why, we saw to it, Senator, that in each congressional district there were two delegates running in the Republican primaries who were friendly to Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. And didn't you have somebody to look after that fight for those delegates, some local man?

Mr. MILLER. That is handled through former Gov. E. C. Stokes, who was Republican State chairman. And I can explain my not knowing the names of all the people, because New Jersey was one of the few States where we had the Republican organization with us.

Senator REED. Now you had Gov. Stokes and you had the whole Republican organization of the State fighting with you?

Mr. MILLER. Practically; yes.

Senator REED. Do you mean to say that Gov. Stokes and that organization did not raise funds themselves and employ them?

Mr. MILLER. I will say this, that to my best knowledge—and I think I know what I am talking about—they did not, because I know this, that before the Jersey primaries I know that our funds were low, and that the money that I have indicated, a total of \$15,000, as testified by Mr. Hitchcock, and \$10,255, which I know went through our headquarters, we thought was mighty little to use in that big State.

Senator REED. And did you send any literature in there?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where did you get that?

Mr. MILLER. That, as I explained earlier, Senator, the Leonard Wood headquarters in New York would get mailing lists and we would send out in response to those mailing lists literature.

Senator REED. Very well. Who furnished the literature?

Mr. MILLER. That was bought through our regular organization there in New York, but it was not allocated by States.

Senator REED. That was not counted as a part of the \$10,000 or \$15,000?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, no; I am speaking of money, Senator, now that went in for political work and organization.

Senator REED. Now let me ask you a few questions there. To what extent did you circularize the State?

Mr. MILLER. Whenever in the opinion of the people who were advising as to the details over there it was thought necessary to circularize a city or a district we did it through our headquarters in New York. I remember in Hudson County we sent out some 14,000 letters with a letter in there and certain Wood literature. I remember fixing it so it would not carry more than a 2-cent stamp.

Senator REED. Did you pay for that out of the \$15,000?

Mr. MILLER. No; we did not.

Senator REED. You paid that out of your expenses in New York?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now you sent that to one county. How many counties are there in New Jersey?

Mr. MILLER. I don't know how many counties. There are 12 congressional districts, but we did not by any means circularize all of them.

Senator REED. Did you circularize the other districts?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; we did not.

Senator REED. Did you circularize any of the other districts?

Mr. MILLER. You mean in New Jersey?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; not that I recollect. I am certain that we did not.

Senator REED. Didn't you flood the State of New Jersey with literature, literally flood it, for days and weeks?

Mr. MILLER. No, Senator, unless——

Senator REED (interposing). Wasn't it literally sown down with Wood literature for days and weeks?

Mr. MILLER. Not that I have any knowledge of, and if we did, it is perfectly legitimate.

Senator REED. I am not saying it is not legitimate; I am asking about the facts. You can not say that was not done, can you?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I know that we took every advantage when we were advised to by our friends.

Senator REED. I am not asking you about advice; I am sticking to the one question: I want to ask you if you can say that the State of New Jersey was not very liberally and generously circularized for a considerable period of time. Now, if you can say that it was not, just say so.

Mr. MILLER. I will say honestly, I don't think that the amount of literature sent into New Jersey was at all commensurate with the size of the State and the fight we had there.

Senator REED. Well, you can't say to what extent it was sent in?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Senator REED. Whatever literature was sent in, was not paid for out of the fund you sent to New Jersey, was it?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Senator REED. Did you send any speakers into New Jersey?

Mr. MILLER. Why, yes: there were speakers all over New Jersey
Senator REED. Who paid the expenses of the local meetings?

Mr. MILLER. Well, now, the only meetings that Gen. Wood had—that the Wood organization really had; meetings that you would consider meetings, with bands and theaters, and all that—was a proposed meeting in Newark at the time Gen. Wood was to speak there and did not speak.

Senator REED. Oh, Mr. Miller, you just said you sent speakers all over the State.

Mr. MILLER. Yes: certainly, Senator; but every time a man goes to speak we don't have to pay him nor——

Senator REED (interposing). I didn't say you had to pay him; I just asked you who paid the expense of the meetings. You can't hold a political meeting without spending something.

Mr. MILLER. I can give you all the information you want about meetings in New Jersey.

Senator REED. I asked—you said you sent speakers all over the State; now, I asked you who paid the expenses of them. Now, that is easy to answer.

Mr. MILLER. If there were any speakers, Senator Reed, whose expenses were paid, they were paid——

Senator REED (interposing). Who paid the expense of the meetings?

Mr. MILLER. I know of only one meeting, Senator Reed——

Senator REED (interposing). That cost anything?

Mr. MILLER. That cost anything in Newark.

Senator REED. I didn't say in Newark; I said in New Jersey.

Mr. MILLER. I am frank with you; I don't want you to think for one moment——

Senator REED (interposing). I want you to answer my question. Who paid the expenses of these meeting that you say you held all over the State?

Mr. MILLER. But let me go back a minute so we will get it right. You asked me if we sent speakers into New Jersey.

Senator REED. Yes; and you said you sent them all over the State.

Mr. MILLER. Yes; they would be small meetings, parlor meetings, and things like that; but the only real public meetings that I have any recollection of was the one in Newark the night that Gen. Wood was supposed to be there and did not come, and Senator Moses and Mrs. Douglas Robinson spoke there.

Senator REED. Well, do you mean to tell me that you sent speakers all over the State of New Jersey and that they had private meetings—private public political meetings? Now, that is the first time I ever heard of that. Didn't you have speeches in halls?

Mr. MILLER. I will say it again now, because I want you to understand it——

Senator REED (interposing). I would like to understand it, because I am getting initiated into some new mysteries here.

Mr. MILLER. I didn't think I could ever initiate a Senator into any mysteries in politics.

Senator REED. You can me, when you say you can have meetings all over the State and none of them cost any money and none of them held in a public hall.

Mr. MILLER. Of course, we have used up a good deal of talk this. I want to say this, that the only meeting that I know of, where it was necessary to go to the expense of hiring halls and bands, etc., was the one in Newark the night Gen. Wood was supposed to be there, and in his place Senator Moses and Mrs. Robinson spoke.

Senator REED. Who paid for the expense of that one meeting?

Mr. MILLER. I understand some friends of Gen. Wood in Newark paid for it. I think it cost—I think the hall, the armory there cost \$1,000. It rained that night.

Senator REED. So that that one meeting, the hall costing \$1,000 and the band having to be paid, and the advertisement having to be paid, was paid locally and did not come out of this money that you say you sent into New Jersey?

Mr. MILLER. It did not; no.

Senator REED. Now, who were the speakers that you sent in there and sent all over the State?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I am not retracting anything, Senator, but when I say "sent all over the State," we had a speakers' bureau in New York, and if they wanted a speaker we tried to get them or, and they were speakers that were—I don't know of any speaker that were paid to go, and I can't recall now the towns in which Gen. Wood rallies were held.

Senator REED. Well, I was not speaking about them being Gen. Wood rallies.

Mr. MILLER. I will tell you, here is something on what you are getting at. I understand Col. Lewis, who lives out at Montclair, had a meeting at which some prominent people came out there and spoke for Gen. Wood, and I understand he paid the bill for the hall himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Col. Lewis?

Mr. MILLER. Col. I. N. Lewis.

Senator REED. At what place?

Mr. MILLER. Montclair.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the inventor of the Lewis gun?

Mr. MILLER. Yes; that is the Lewis.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much he contributed to the Wood campaign?

Mr. MILLER. I haven't the remotest idea, Senator Kenyon.

Senator POMERENE. What did this meeting cost?

Mr. MILLER. I don't know, Senator. I don't want to reiterate too much, but details like that we have not really been bothering with.

The CHAIRMAN. Can we get Col. Lewis? Where is he now?

Mr. MILLER. I understand he went to Europe three weeks ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you no knowledge of what he contributed to the Wood campaign?

Mr. MILLER. I have no knowledge whatsoever, as I just said, Senator.

Senator REED. You could not even give enough information for a newspaper man to base a rumor on, could you?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I can if necessary, Senator. But speaking of New Jersey, the distinguished chairman himself campaigned up there for Senator Johnson, and he knows——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). And paid my own expenses.

Mr. MILLER (continuing). He knows the character of the halls, etc.—I know you did that, sir, but your services and your ability that you carried for Senator Johnson, was something, of course, that was worth far more than money.

Senator REED. Well, coming back to the meetings, we found that Mr. Lewis had a meeting. Now where else were some meetings held?

Mr. MILLER. Senator, if I had known you wanted a list of the speaking dates held in New Jersey for Wood I would have brought them with me, if it were possible to get them.

Senator REED. Well, whatever expense there was for meetings was borne by the local people, so far as you know?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Whatever expense there was for literature was borne either by the local people or by some other headquarters than your own, so far as you know?

Mr. MILLER. The only literature that officially went in there, Senator, was what we sent out from our New York headquarters.

Senator REED. Well, you paid that, and it didn't come out of this \$15,000. Was there some newspaper advertising done in that State?

Mr. MILLER. I haven't read a Jersey newspaper with a Wood advertisement in it, and no Wood advertisements were authorized or sent in by the New York headquarters.

Senator REED. Were there some newspaper advertisements for Wood in the New York papers that circulate in New Jersey?

Mr. MILLER. No; Gould and myself have never hired any space in New York newspapers.

Senator REED. I didn't say whether you and Gould did it or not; was there newspaper advertising in the New York newspapers, or any of them?

Mr. MILLER. There was no newspaper advertising in the New York newspapers that circulated in New Jersey.

Senator REED. Was there newspaper advertising done in the country papers of New Jersey?

Mr. MILLER. If there was, Senator Reed, it was done through the central publicity organization in Chicago, and whenever country newspapers would be mailed in to us with any of Wood's advertisements in them, it was the first knowledge we had of it.

Senator REED. Exactly. So that whatever there was in the way of advertising did not come out of this \$15,000, did it?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Senator SPENCER. Did you see any of it in New Jersey?

Mr. MILLER. Senator, I haven't had the time to bother with it.

Senator SPENCER. I say, did you see any of it in New Jersey?

Mr. MILLER. No.

Senator REED. Now I am curious to know if all the advertisements and all the literature and all the halls were paid by funds other than the \$15,000, just what you were doing with this \$15,000.

Mr. MILLER. That was sent into New Jersey through the people—by Mr. Hitchcock and myself.

Senator REED. To whom did you send it?

Mr. MILLER. We sent it to Hamilton Keane, national committeeman from New Jersey.

Senator REED. What did he say he was going to do with that?

Mr. MILLER. Of course, we have used up a good deal of talk on this. I want to say this, that the only meeting that I know of, when it was necessary to go to the expense of hiring halls and bands, etc., was the one in Newark the night Gen. Wood was supposed to be there, and in his place Senator Moses and Mrs. Robinson spoke.

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Mr. MILLER. That was sent into New Jersey through the people—by Mr. Hitchcock and myself.

Senator REED. To whom did you send it?

Mr. MILLER. We sent it to Hamilton Keane, national committeeman from New Jersey.

Senator REED. What did he say he was going to do with that?

Mr. MILLER. Well, I take it that Mr. Keane is perfectly able to answer that himself. I can not answer it.

Senator REED. Well, I asked you what he told you he was going to do with it, and you don't know.

Now I want to take up these other States in the eastern district. You sent some money into Massachusetts, did you—no, Maryland?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. We have 11 States.

Senator REED. Was that money sent to Maryland to take care of meetings, or were the meetings taken care of locally?

Mr. MILLER. The \$12,500 sent into Maryland, which Mr. Hitchcock testified to, was in addition to \$2,000 sent to Blanchard Randall, head of the so-called "Leonard Wood League" there. It was sent to him for the purpose of organizing the State.

Senator REED. But if there were local meetings there, you did not pay that from your headquarters?

Mr. MILLER. As I understand it, Senator, that came out of the funds that went to the Leonard Wood League, and there were no so-called "Wood meetings" in Maryland that I know of, unless they were open-air meetings.

Senator REED. Didn't you have a meeting in Baltimore for Leonard Wood?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir; Gen. Wood did not speak there.

Senator REED. Very well. I did not speak about Wood himself: I mean for Wood—on his behalf.

Mr. MILLER. The only speech that I recall in Maryland was when we sent a speaker to some newspaper association meeting, a dinner, and they asked for a Wood speaker.

Senator REED. If there were meetings in Maryland then, you people did not pay for it out of your funds: it was paid for locally?

Mr. MILLER. If there were any meetings in Maryland, Senator Reed, they were paid for out of this money that we have spent, as I have indicated.

Senator REED. How can you say that when you don't even know there was a meeting there?

Mr. MILLER. I know this, that the details, the intricate details of most of the States I can usually carry in my head, and I can say this that there were no Wood meetings in Maryland that cost money, unless there was some expense connected with this one meeting that I have mentioned in Baltimore and to which we sent a Wood speaker.

Senator REED. Now, let us go to Delaware. If the expense was paid by local people in any of these meetings, you would not know about the meeting: it would not be reported to you, would it?

Mr. MILLER. Oh, we usually would have a call for a speaker to come down there, and we would supply him. But you know very well, Senator, political campaigns—there can be any number of open-air meetings at practically no expense whatever, especially if the speakers are not paid.

Senator REED. And there can be any number of hall meetings that the local people pay for, and that is what I am dwelling on.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, and I am giving you correct information about Maryland, and we have already discussed New Jersey.

Senator REED. How about Delaware? Did you send literature in there?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Senator REED. What I am trying to get at is whether, as a matter of fact, while you sent some money to these States, a large part of the expense of the campaign was literature that was sent in to them in addition to the money in all of these States.

Mr. MILLER. And we are prepared——

Senator REED (interposing). Just answer that. That is true, isn't it?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, and we are prepared to show, Senator, what our entire publicity campaign cost.

Senator REED. I trust you will show it, but we can't get it very well from a gentleman in Canada.

Mr. MILLER. If you will pardon me right there, as long as you have gone back to the gentleman in Canada, he don't know anything more about it than you do. Mr. Sprague, national treasurer, who will follow me, can give you those details.

Senator REED. Maybe he can.

Mr. MILLER. I know he can.

Senator REED. Then if there was local money spent in these States in carrying on this campaign—I am not saying it in any improper way—that would not be reported to you?

Mr. MILLER. No, it would not be reported through our treasurer no, any more so than any other candidate who has friends working for him, like, for instance, the amount of advertising given our rival, Senator Johnson, by the Hearst newspapers, worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Are you going to charge that up against his expenses?

Senator REED. Oh, no, but I am trying to get at the expenses of the campaign. Do you know of any funds having been——

Mr. MILLER (interposing). May I follow that out just a moment?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. I could not help but hear the discussion as to the Hoover-Johnson controversy in California. One of the Hoover managers, Mr. Royal Victor, told me day before yesterday that Hoover could not get an advertisement in a California newspaper unless it was censored and was not at all unfriendly to his rival, Senator Johnson, and even then it had to be censored before it went in.

Senator REED. I do not know who that gentleman is, but I know and you know that is not true, because you know a great part of the press of California was favorable to Mr. Hoover, and I don't think we want any of that sort of rumor or comment.

Mr. MILLER. When you speak of publicity you have got to consider the great amount of free publicity that the Hearst newspapers are giving candidates.

Senator REED. Then we would consider the great amount of publicity that the corporation newspapers have given Gen. Wood.

Mr. MILLER. Yes; or the congressional franking privilege that is given Senators or people who are running for the nomination. That is a great privilege, a great advantage, too.

Senator REED. Yes, possibly.

Mr. MILLER. Certainly it is. A man who is in the Senate and has a franking privilege can send any amount of literature all over the country into every State free, and it is done.

Senator REED. And he pays for the printing, doesn't he?

Mr. MILLER. At flat Government rates.

The CHAIRMAN. He can't do it now, in the present paper situation.

Senator REED. Now, don't let us get into an argument about that.

Mr. MILLER. We don't want to do that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get down to business now and get through.

Senator REED. The point that I have been trying to get at, and it is a very simple one and might have been answered long ago, is this: Whether or not it is a fact that so far as you know local moneys were raised in these different States and expended in these different States to promote the candidacy of Gen. Wood and which relieved the burden to that extent?

Mr. MILLER. Now, if you want figures, and in answer to that question I can go from the tip of Maine to Maryland and give you the answer that you want. If you want me to start in——

Senator REED (interposing). I am just asking you for a general answer; whether that is not true.

Mr. MILLER. I know that in Maine there was no money raised locally for Gen. Wood, and what money was used there was sent in from our New York headquarters, and if you want the amount I will give it to you. It was approximately \$8,000.

Now going over to New Hampshire, approximately \$3,000 was sent up there, and no money was raised up there for local use by Gen. Wood's friends.

In Vermont approximately \$4,000 was used there, and no amount of money was raised locally for use in Gen. Wood's interest by his friends.

In Massachusetts approximately \$10,000 was sent from New York headquarters, and I understand the expenses of the headquarters of of the Leonard Wood organization in Massachusetts, at the Bellevue Hotel the rent was paid by people locally.

Senator REED. Nothing else?

Mr. MILLER. I think a contribution of—I think it was \$2,000, but I am not certain, was paid to cover those expenses in the Hotel Bellevue. There was not a cent spent in Gen. Wood's behalf in a rally in connection with the delegates. There was a Leonard Wood league there, but it was merely an advisory committee, and the State of Rhode Island was not circularized.

Senator REED. Did you send any money in there at all?

Mr. MILLER. No. In the State of Connecticut there was no local Leonard Wood league. The State was not circularized and no money was spent up there from New York headquarters.

Senator REED. No money was sent in from any other headquarters?

Mr. MILLER. I have given you all the facts, Senator.

Senator REED. I say, was there any money sent in from any other headquarters?

Mr. MILLER. No; and, for instance, it would be a funny political organization where——

Senator REED (interposing). I just asked you if you knew there was money sent in from other places.

Mr. MILLER. If people were trying to go over their submanagers head and send money in—no; there was not.

Now in the State of New York the only money used for the New York headquarters in New York was \$7,800 for circularizing a list of names in some of the congressional districts in the State of New

York. Congressman Gould of New York is more or less familiar with New York conditions, more so than I would be.

Senator REED. No local money was raised there?

Mr. MILLER. In the city of New York there is a Leonard Wood committee of greater New York, and I understand that about \$13,000 was raised there, maybe more, but that is all that I have information of.

Senator REED. Who is at the head of that local Leonard Wood ganization?

Mr. MILLER. Herbert L. Satterlee is the chairman of the Leonard Wood organization for the city of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the son-in-law of J. Pierpont Morgan?

Mr. MILLER. That is the gentleman.

Now you started to ask me about Delaware a while ago. The only money spent on Delaware was the cost of circularizing a list of 14,000 voters in the city of Wilmington, and for a meeting held in the principal hall there, the playhouse, at which Gen. Wood was to speak, but he was called West on duty and his place was taken by Senator Moses and several other speakers. I paid for that personally.

Senator REED. That doesn't count, then, in this money?

Mr. MILLER. I put down here—that is, I have carried it that it cost approximately, we would say, \$1,000 was spent, approximately, on that circularizing.

Senator REED. Does that come out of the \$15,000, or did you put that up yourself?

Mr. MILLER. That comes from New York headquarters, and the expenses of the meeting and so forth I paid myself.

Senator REED. I don't get you yet. What I want to know is whether you paid it out of the New York headquarters fund or whether you paid it out of your own private funds.

Mr. MILLER. I paid it out of the New York headquarters funds, the circularization.

Senator REED. Well, does that include the meeting?

Mr. MILLER. No; the meeting I told you I paid myself out of my own funds.

Senator REED. What was the amount of that that you paid out of your own funds?

Mr. MILLER. I should say the whole proposition cost \$500. The other day I noticed when Delaware was mentioned something was said about a certain corporation, the Du Pont Powder Co., contributing to the Wood campaign. I want to say emphatically that no Du Pont Co., and no Du Pont has contributed to Gen. Wood's campaign.

Senator REED. There was some dispute about what the future course of Gen. Wood would be, and Du Pont wanted to know before he put up.

Mr. MILLER. Well, the chairman of this committee, Senator Kenyon, and Senator Moses, my comanager, can give you more information on that than I can.

Senator REED. Very well. Let us take the next, because if we don't get along here we won't get through till to-morrow morning. What about the other States?

Mr. MILLER. That finishes them all, Senator. That is Maryland—up to Maryland.

Senator REED. Now, you spoke about——

Mr. MILLER (interposing). Oh, pardon me—Pennsylvania. From New York headquarters there was approximately \$1,500 sent by Gould and myself to the Leonard Wood League of eastern Pennsylvania, and the Leonard Wood League of western Pennsylvania, that had under it the conduct of the campaign in the 14 congressional districts west of the Alleghenies, had no money sent to it from the New York headquarters, except the payment every month of a salary of a certain man working there of \$750 a month.

Senator REED. Who was the certain man?

Mr. MILLER. A man named E. F. Wood.

Senator POMERENE. \$750 a month?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. For how many months?

Mr. MILLER. He has been working there, I understand, since about the 1st of December.

Senator REED. Did he have an expense account, too?

Mr. MILLER. Well, he had an organization there known as the "Leonard Wood League of Western Pennsylvania," and I understand that about \$27,000 was sent in to the western Pennsylvania organization for the conduct of the campaign in western Pennsylvania by Chicago headquarters. That cleans up all the States that Gould and myself had.

Senator REED. And so far as you know, with the exceptions you have stated, the local people did not raise any money?

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

Senator REED. So that this whole campaign, instead of being promoted by a general uprising on behalf of the people and contributed to by a great number of people throughout the country, had to be totally financed by outside capital, most of which, as far as the evidence goes, you got from Mr. Procter.

Mr. MILLER. So far Mr. Procter has been the chief contributor. But right there, Senator, the Leonard Wood League has a membership of some 60,000 people throughout the country, who are active workers in each State of the Union in Gen. Wood's behalf, and they have been collected together and banded together in a few months.

Senator REED. They have contributed an astonishingly small amount of money. They have not contributed as much as 50 cents apiece on an average.

Mr. MILLER. They have according to the list I have brought you, but I have no knowledge of what some of them may have contributed through the general headquarters at Chicago.

Senator REED. Now, let me ask you another question. You stated that the organization throughout the country, the regular organization, of the Republican Party, was pretty much, if not against Gen. Wood, at least in favor of somebody else. Does that apply to the national committee?

Mr. MILLER. I think you were out, Senator, when I said in answer to a question by Senator Pomerene, that as far as we were concerned the national committee has followed the statement of their leader, Will Hayes, that their duty is to elect, not to select the candidate.

Senator REED. Do you know of them releasing three women that they had in their employ and sending them out to Nebraska or permitting them to go to Nebraska to campaign for Gen. Wood?

Mr. MILLER. I know nothing about such a report. I know nothing about the affairs of the national committee.

Senator REED. Would you know if I would furnish you with the names of those ladies?

Mr. MILLER. I might happen to know them, but I don't anticipate that I would.

Senator REED. I don't see the man who gave me the information in the room.

Mr. MILLER. You mean the Republican National Committee released three women to work for Gen. Wood?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. MILLER. Well, I have no knowledge of that, but from the attitude of the committee it is as I have just stated. The chairman and the national committee in the various States are not mixing up in the candidacies.

Senator REED. I think that is all I want to ask.

Senator POMERENE. I want to ask just one or two questions. Calling your attention again to your cash account there, that was kept in your office—that is, the office of Mr. Gould and yourself as managers. You had Mr. Stebbins as treasurer. When you received these checks and other remittances, under what method did you turn them over to your treasurer?

Mr. MILLER. They would be sent down to him to deposit.

Senator POMERENE. Well, would they be deposited by your managers, or somebody for you in the bank, or would they be sent to the treasurer direct and by him deposited?

Mr. MILLER. By him deposited.

Senator POMERENE. What bank did he have his account in?

Mr. MILLER. I do not know, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. On what bank did he draw his checks?

Mr. MILLER. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you sent money from time to time to these various States; how did you send it?

Mr. MILLER. I sent it upon a Stebbins check—or he sent it for us, and it is an oversight that I—I should have had that information here, but frankly speaking, I don't know what bank it is.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if Stebbins should continue his fishing until after the Republican convention is over, how are we going to get this information?

Mr. MILLER. Senator, I tried to make it plain at the opening when the Stebbins matter came up that no one is more anxious for you to see Stebbins than we are, and I know that the man is not the kind of man that perhaps you may have insinuated he is just now.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I am from Missouri on that proposition and I want to see Mr. Stebbins.

Mr. MILLER. Well, when he comes he will not come from Missouri, evidently. He will be here though.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Miller, didn't Col. Lewis have a good deal to do with financing the New Jersey campaign? Didn't he take it off your hands?

Mr. MILLER. I can't say that he did. In fact, I know that he did not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. He had a meeting you speak of to help on the New Jersey campaign?

Mr. MILLER. The meetings were just like the meetings you addressed in New Jersey, only these people were speaking for Wood.

The CHAIRMAN. He just got up the meeting, did he?

Mr. MILLER. It was just a meeting in a little town hall in a particular town.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought it was a meeting where people were called in to talk about the campaign.

Mr. MILLER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, he was a very heavy contributor, was he not, to the Wood campaign?

Mr. MILLER. I have answered your question before, Senator; I don't know how much money he gave.

The CHAIRMAN. Where can we find out how much he gave?

Mr. MILLER. If he gave any money it should show.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stebbins's books will show it?

Mr. MILLER. It will show through the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Will Mr. Sprague's books show it?

Mr. MILLER. They should; yes.

Senator REED. Didn't you receive contributions in New York?

Mr. MILLER. The contributions in New York, in addition to this \$21,000, that I have outlined, that went through Stebbins's hands, came through this committee, the Leonard Wood committee of Greater New York, of which Herbert L. Satterlee is the chairman. And I want to make it clear again——

Senator REED (interposing). I don't get that——came through the Leonard Wood committee of New York of which Herbert L. Satterlee is the chairman?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now do you know what Mr. Satterlee turned over?

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Satterlee used that money for his own campaign committee, known as the Greater New York Leonard Wood campaign committee.

Senator REED. What I want to get at is this: Do you mean to say that there was nobody in the East desiring to contribute to the Wood campaign, who would turn the money over to the eastern headquarters? Whether they kept it and used it or sent it on to Chicago is immaterial for my question now. Didn't they receive contributions at the New York headquarters?

Mr. MILLER. Any contributions received, Senator Reed, were sent directly to the eastern treasurer, as I have indicated in these lists, and I want to reiterate again that Gould and myself——

Senator REED (interposing). Sent to the eastern treasurer?

Mr. MILLER. These here were sent to the eastern treasurer, this \$21,000 collected from 1,800 people. But I want to say again and be emphatic about it that Gould and myself stipulated that we were not to be concerned with raising money and any bookkeeping or anything like that, because we were not over there as paid employees; we were merely there giving time to the advising.

Senator REED. I am quite advised of that. You have told us that.

Mr. MILLER. I must bring it out again.

Senator REED. But you do not seem to understand my question. Now let me ask it, if I can, so you will understand it. I think I must be very dull in the manner of asking it, probably.

Mr. MILLER. We have sat here since 10 o'clock this morning and can't be blamed for being a little dull.

Senator REED. Do you mean to tell this committee that the treasurer of the eastern headquarters may not have received large contributions outside of those which you have scheduled here, coming to you from the Leonard Wood League?

Mr. MILLER. I can not give you any information on that, and from what I know of the conditions and our policy, all money came in to the campaign through Mr. Sprague, the national treasurer, and the only ones that I know differently are those amounts that I hold in my hand here [indicating paper].

Senator REED. Now Mr. Sprague is the man who is away?

The CHAIRMAN. No, he is here, right in the room.

Senator REED. Did you have any financial committee in New York—a finance committee?

Mr. MILLER. None other than the committee that I have already mentioned in connection with the Greater New York committee, the Leonard Wood committee.

Senator REED. All right. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Miller.

Senator Moses, what have you to say now to the question asked by the committee to produce the name of the man you spoke of this morning?

Senator MOSES. I still decline to give the man's name until at least I have had an opportunity to tell him that I am going to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you tried to find him?

Senator MOSES. I have, indeed. I have been telegraphing all over this town and to New York ever since I left the committee room.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is he supposed to be, do you know?

Senator MOSES. He is supposed to be playing golf this afternoon, and I have left word at the club where he is playing to call me as soon as he comes into the club house.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that here or in New York?

Senator MOSES. It is in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we ask you to give us the name of the man.

Senator MOSES. I decline for the present.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, the committee will take the matter up in executive session.

Mr. Sprague, will you take the chair? Give your full name to the reporter.

STATEMENT OF MR. ALBERT A. SPRAGUE, CHICAGO, ILL.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. SPRAGUE. Albert A. Sprague.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. Sprague?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I am a wholesale grocer in Chicago.

Senator REED. What is the firm?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Sprague, Warner & Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the western treasurer of the Wood campaign committee?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; I am the national treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Do all the contributions come to you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. They do.

Senator SPENCER. For the whole country, both east and west?

Mr. SPRAGUE. For the national committee, the Wood national campaign committee; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been treasurer?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Since about the middle of January, 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. And who was the treasurer before that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't think they had a treasurer before that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Sprague, is it fair to say that all of the contributions, whether to the Leonard Wood League or to the general campaign of Leonard Wood, come to you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. The Leonard Wood League, sir, has nothing whatsoever to do with the Leonard Wood national campaign committee. I am not treasurer of the Leonard Wood League; know nothing about their funds and have never received a cent from them.

The CHAIRMAN. So that whatever they received is not shown upon your books?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have books showing all the contributors?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have a set of books showing the names of all contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. And the amounts?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; in so far as—yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That would not cover—I suppose the funds that might be raised and used in the State independent of your organization, you have no check on that, have you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have no knowledge of those amounts, sir. I don't know whether there are such funds or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you produce the books, please, showing the subscriptions to the campaign committee which you have referred to?

(Mr. Sprague consulted a paper.)

Senator REED. We asked for the books, Mr. Sprague.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have no books, sir. I have a list here of the contributors.

Senator REED. Don't you keep books?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have a receipt book; yes, sir.

Senator REED. A book showing receipts of money?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, have you that with you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Showing the receipts for the moneys I have received?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have it; yes, sir.

Senator REED. I would like to see the book.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I haven't the book, sir.

Senator REED. You were subpoenaed to bring your books here. You do keep books, do you not?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I keep a receipt book; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then you mean, when you say "receipt book"—you mean a book showing receipts of money?

Mr. SPRAGUE. A book on which a receipt is drawn and the duplicate stub is left.

Senator REED. Oh, you don't keep a cash account?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, where is the book that has got the cash account in it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. It is in Chicago.

Senator REED. Why didn't you bring it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Because I had these drawn off from it.

Senator REED. Well, let us get at what you have.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us what you have.

Mr. SPRAGUE. You wish me to read the list with the name of the contributor?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPRAGUE. J. K. D. Shaffer, \$5,000; P. deRonde, \$5,000; G. H. Payne, \$6,000; William Wrigley, jr.—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Won't you give the addresses of these different men as we go along?

Mr. SPRAGUE. The city?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't know their street addresses. I never solicited or collected any funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they in Chicago, or where?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Mr. Wrigley is in Chicago; Mr. Payne is in New York; Mr. Shaffer is in Chicago; Mr. deRonde is New York, I believe.

Senator POMERENE. Wrigley's contribution was how much?

Mr. SPRAGUE. \$10,000. C. B. Shaffer of Chicago, \$10,000; W. C. Procter of Cincinnati, \$10,000; H. M. Bilsby, Chicago, \$15,000; Smathers—I don't know his initials—of New York, \$20,000; A. E. Monell, of New York, \$20,000.

You asked me the question whether I knew all of the names. I don't know all of the names, because certain money was collected in New York through a committee and it was sent by one person to me. I don't know how many parties subscribed or what their names were, or what the amounts were.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the particular item you are going to refer to now?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir. The money was sent to me as national treasurer from William Loeb, jr., and the amount is \$225,000.

One contribution obtained by Mr. Sunday from John E. Rockefeller, jr., of \$25,000.

Senator POMERENE. What is Mr. Sunday's first name?

Mr. SPRAGUE. George M.

Senator REED. I did not quite understand you. How was that contribution made?

Mr. SPRAGUE. It was obtained by Mr. George M. Sunday.

Senator REED. And it was from John D. Rockefeller, jr..

Mr. SPRAGUE. John D. Rockefeller, jr., \$25,000?

Senator REED. What Sunday is that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. George M. Sunday. He has been the advertising manager for Mr. Procter.

E. S. Moore, of Chicago, \$1,000; Mr. C. G. Edgar, of Detroit, \$1,000; Mr. Chauncey Pewey, of Chicago, \$1,000. And the balance of \$4,768 is in small amounts running from \$500 to \$100.

Senator POMERENE. \$4,768?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; making a total of \$358,768.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the Procter contribution that he testifies to, \$700,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That was not a contribution, sir; it was regarded by me as the national treasurer as a loan and I carried it as such.

The CHAIRMAN. You have cashed that check and spent it, haven't you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Shouldn't that be added to this amount, then?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Might I just show you the way I have it here? I have "contributions," then I have "specified bank loans," "other loans," and "interest on deposit," being my receipts.

Senator SPENCER. Did you enter that Procter amount as a loan as soon as you received it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; it was always understood to be such.

The CHAIRMAN. How much have you in loans? Give us that.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I will. You have the contributions, \$358,768; bank loans, \$200,000; other loans, \$621,000.

Senator REED. Can't you give us some specifications on that \$600,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I will, sir. I was just giving the amounts I have here; then I will subdivide it. That was \$621,000. Interest on bank deposits, \$275.20.

Senator POMERENE. Now that "other loans" was \$621,000 even?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; making a total of \$1,180,043.20.

The CHAIRMAN. What date is that, Mr. Sprague?

Mr. SPRAGUE. This is as of May 24.

Now the bank loans are two loans which were made—do you wish the names of the banks?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. SPRAGUE. One from the Corn Exchange National Bank of Chicago, \$100,000. That is included—you asked me to subdivide these loans.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is \$100,000. The other from the Merchants Loan & Trust Co. of Chicago, \$100,000.

Senator SPENCER. What indorsements do they have?

Senator REED. Let us get them all first.

Mr. SPRAGUE. The other loans are the \$521,000 from Col. Procter and \$100,000 from A. Monell, of New York.

Senator POMERENE. Is he the same man who made the contribution?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, let us see—these four loans, then, aggregate the \$821,000 that you referred to a while ago?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, who signed the note at the Corn Exchange National Bank?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Mr. W. C. Procter.

Senator POMERENE. Anyone else?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who signed the note at the Merchants Loan & Trust Co.?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Mr. W. C. Procter and myself.

Senator POMERENE. How do you happen to distinguish here between loans made by Procter and loans made by the Corn Exchange National Bank, if he presented his note for it? Was there \$521,000 turned over in cash by Col. Procter?

Mr. SPRAGUE. A check; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And has he any note or other evidence of this indebtedness?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; he has a note.

Senator POMERENE. Signed by whom?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Signed by me as treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. Signed by you as treasurer?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Not your personal indorsement?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You gave that note when you got the money?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How did Mr. Monell happen to give this \$100,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. How did he happen to give it?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; make this loan of \$100,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Because money was needed, and he was interested in the campaign.

Senator REED. Who signed that note?

Mr. SPRAGUE. It is a note from the Leonard Wood campaign committee.

Senator REED. He has a note signed by them?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That note is not signed by me; it is signed by the assistant treasurer, Seymour Morris, jr.

Senator POMERENE. Just tell us how that note is signed.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Seymour Morris, jr., assistant treasurer, Leonard Wood National Campaign Committee, by Seymour Morris, jr., assistant treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. So you make it sure that it is a Wood committee obligation?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Absolutely, sir.

Senator REED. Did you get this money from Mr. Procter all at once?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. When did you get the first sum that you call a loan?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I can't give you the exact date, sir. I think it was in the early part of April.

Senator REED. How much did you get then?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Fifty thousand dollars.

Senator REED. Did you give him a note at that time?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Signed in the same way as you have indicated the other notes were?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. When did you get the next amount?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I beg your pardon; that was in the early part of March.

Senator REED. All right. When did you get the next amount?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I should say about 10 days after that—\$100,000.

Senator REED. Did you give him a note for that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. At the time?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; in every event.

Senator REED. When did you get the next amount?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Those amounts came along, one note more for \$21,000, one for——

Senator REED (interposing). About when did you get the \$21,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. They were very close together, sir. I should say from the 1st of March until the last note I think was on the 4th of May.

Senator REED. Since you can not fix the specific dates, let us get the amount. The first amount was \$50,000; the next one, \$100,000; and the next \$21,000. What was the next?

Mr. SPRAGUE. \$100,000.

Senator REED. What was the next?

Mr. SPRAGUE. \$50,000, and \$100,000, and \$100,000.

Senator REED. That is all, is it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is all.

Senator REED. Now, in each case you gave a note at the same time similar in character to the ones you have described to Mr. Procter as an evidence of obligation for this money?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That had been advanced?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where was Mr. Procter when you got the first \$50,000, and where were you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I was in my office and he was at the Congress Hotel.

Senator REED. Well, you had to get together when you got the \$50,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. He telephoned to me and asked me if I would make out the note for the \$50,000 and he would send over his check for \$50,000.

Senator REED. That was done, was it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That the money was needed—yes, sir; it was done, and his check was deposited.

Senator REED. Had you told him the money was needed, or did he say the money was needed?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I sent him an account—the state of the treasury every day.

Senator REED. Well, was he in Chicago most of the time during this time?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Where was he and where were you when the transaction for the first \$100,000 took place?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have been in my office every time, sir. I very seldom got over to the headquarters.

Senator REED. You were in your own private office?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. All right. But where was Mr. Procter? Was he at the headquarters?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Well, I don't know whether he was at the headquarters. He did not call me up in every instance. His assistant, Mr. Burtt, called me up on one or two occasions.

Senator REED. Mr. Burtt was Mr. Procter's assistant in what, in his business?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; as campaign manager in the handling of the office of the campaign headquarters.

Senator REED. You don't remember whether Mr. Burt had made this deal with you for the first \$100,000, or whether it was Mr. Procter?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; Mr. Procter did.

Senator REED. Mr. Procter made the deal for the \$100,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I understood you to say you did not remember. But that is all right: I misunderstood you.

Now what took place between you and Mr. Procter when you arranged this little loan of \$100,000? What was the manner and form of the conversation and how was it carried out?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Well, there was no manner of form. He asked me to make out a note to him bearing interest at 6 per cent and signed as treasurer of the Leonard Wood National campaign committee, and to send it to him and he would send a check for the amount to me for deposit.

Senator REED. And he did that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you did that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That is, you carried out your part and he carried out his part?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, did you have the \$21,000 contract personally with Mr. Procter in the same way—that is, personally over the telephone?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; I can not remember whether Mr. Procter told me that. Mr. Burt, Gen. Burt, was authorized to advance money as needed on the notes of the treasurer of the Leonard Wood campaign committee, and I can't remember whether in each instance it was Mr. Procter or Gen. Burt.

Senator REED. And you can't tell as to the next \$100,000 loan, or \$50,000 loan, or the last \$200,000 loan whether the business was transacted with Mr. Burt or whether it was transacted with Mr. Procter?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; it was confirmed in every instance by a letter signed by Gen. Procter.

Senator REED. Have you those letters?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have them filed; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, you were subpoenaed to bring all the letters bearing upon these financial transactions; why didn't you bring them?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Because I am going to tell you the truth and tell you all there is about them.

Senator REED. I know, I am not challenging your telling the truth, Mr. Sprague; but I am asking about the documents which the committee would like to see.

So, now you have told the entire conversations that you had with Mr. Procter in regard to these loans?

Mr. SPRAGUE. In so far as I can remember them, except that he said that he considered them as loans and expected to be paid back and specified that they should bear interest. I can not remember anything else that entered into the conversation.

Senator REED. The committee was then struggling for money, was behind in their obligations, and that is the reason Mr. Procter advanced this money?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, who composed the committee that was in charge of this work?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Mr. Procter was chairman; Mr. McGraw was vice chairman.

Senator POMERENE. Give his full name.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't know his full name, Senator—it is James J. McGraw, of Oklahoma.

Might I say just one thing here, Mr. Chairman? I have had absolutely nothing to do with the political organization. When I accepted the position as treasurer, I specified that I should not solicit funds, and I could have no political connection because at that time I was acting as fair price commissioner for the State of Illinois, and I did not feel that I could, and I did not care to. I have been very seldom at headquarters. I could not give you the names of all the men on the committee. The men I have dealt with I can tell you, Mr. Procter and his assistant, W. B. Burtt, and Mr. Joss.

Senator REED. Do you know his initials?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Frederick.

Senator REED. He is a member of the committee, is he?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir. Mr. Walpole—I don't know his initials—that is all.

Senator REED. You were the treasurer?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir. And the assistant treasurer was Seymour Morris, jr.

The CHAIRMAN. He could tell us nothing more than you propose to state, could he?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think not, sir.

Senator REED. Outside of the members of the committee, you know of no pledges or agreements on the part of anybody to stand back of these loans, do you, of the members of the finance committee?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't know as I understand you.

Senator REED. Well, you signed these notes as treasurer of the committee?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now do you know of any agreement by anybody to stand back of these notes?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. To help raise the money to make up the deficiency?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. To help raise any money to pay these notes?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. You don't expect to pay any part of them personally?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. You signed one of them, however, in company with Mr. Procter for \$100,000. Do you expect to help pay that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You think you are liable there, along with Mr. Procter, for the \$100,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Outside of that, Mr. Procter has no security, neither in a gentleman's agreement or otherwise, so far as you know,

and this money will not be returned unless this committee collects the money in?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct, sir.

Senator REED. And you don't know of any agreement now, arrangement or understanding, express or implied, with men of large means or small means that they will make up this deficiency of how much is it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. To Mr. Procter?

Senator REED. Yes; the whole deficiency—well, I will say the deficiency—yes; the whole deficiency.

Mr. SPRAGUE. \$821,000.

Senator REED. So that we have this remarkable situation, that there is \$821,000 borrowed, of which Mr. Procter put up directly over \$500,000; for the rest of it he is upon notes given to banks or given to Mr. Monell—did he sign the Monell note?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Then it is \$725,000, isn't it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. \$721,000.

Senator REED. And there is nobody liable for that money except Mr. Procter, save in the instance where you signed a note along with Mr. Procter and expect to stand your part of the bargain?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir. I put up security for the note.

Senator REED. I have no doubt you are good for it yourself. The Monell note, who signed that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That was signed by Seymour Morris, jr., assistant treasurer, as I was away.

Senator REED. Is there any security for Mr. Monell?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is the committee's note, he said.

Senator REED. That is the committee's note by Mr. Monell. That is, Mr. Morris signed the note to Mr. Monell in the form that the other notes were signed—that is, he signed the committee, the campaign committee, by Mr. Morris?

Mr. SPRAGUE. It was a note of the Leonard Wood national campaign committee signed by Mr. Seymour Morris, jr., as assistant treasurer.

Senator REED. Is Mr. Monell a man of large means?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I presume he is. I do not know him very well. I have only known him a very short time.

Senator REED. It is so remarkable now, if this money is to be paid back, this very large sum of money, aggregating over \$800,000, that there is no source from which it is to be paid back.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I do not expect mine to be—I expect to pay that note that I indorsed to the bank.

Senator REED. And you expect Mr. Procter to pay his part of it, of course?

Mr. SPRAGUE. There is no doubt of that.

Senator REED. And you expect that with reference to all these other notes that Mr. Procter signed, don't you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. He only signed one other note.

Senator REED. Well, you expect him to pay that, don't you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you expect Mr. Procter will never get back his \$500,000 that he loaned too, don't you—just "honest injun" between us girls?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; I haven't any doubt of it.

Senator REED. And as a matter of fact, at the time you did not expect any of these loans to be paid back, did you? They were simply contributions in the form of loans?

Mr. SPRAGUE. When I signed that note I thought it would probably be paid back at that time.

Senator REED. When was it you signed that note?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That was very early. That was in February.

Senator REED. And your expectations now are not so good, and you expect to pay it yourself?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You don't expect to be reimbursed?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You came in after Mr. Keane had left as the Wood manager?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have never seen Mr. Keane and would not know him by sight.

The CHAIRMAN. The money he collected never came to you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Now, do you know anything about the contributors who made up this fund of \$225,000 that William Loeb sent in from New York?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have no knowledge—have no information.

Senator REED. He did not send that information? He did not give you any information, but just sent the check along?

Mr. SPRAGUE. It came in various amounts.

Senator REED. It came at different times?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did it come in his checks or in the checks of other people?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Three times drafts were made on him.

Senator REED. Then there was an agreement or understanding with him that drafts could be made upon him, wasn't there?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; he was collecting money.

Senator REED. And he must have advised your committee that he had some money, or did you have a right to draw upon him whether he had money or not?

Mr. SPRAGUE. After a wire he would advise whether we could draw on him or not.

Senator REED. So that when you needed money and did not have it yourselves, you would wire to Mr. Loeb and ask him if you could draw, and he would advise you whether you could or not?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did he ever in any instance forward you any check, or any draft made payable to any other person than himself or to your committee?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you ever see a \$50,000 contribution from Mr. Schiff?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did Mr. Lewis ever contribute?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. If he contributed, he contributed through Mr. Loeb?

Mr. SPRAGUE. So far as I know. I am merely speaking from my records.

Senator REED. Is the committee in debt now?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; we have a balance of about \$5,000 as of May 24.

Senator REED. Now, did you bring with you a paper showing the distributions of these moneys?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Will you kindly produce that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have it here, sir.

Senator REED. If you will let me look at it, maybe I can save a lot of time. [The witness handed a paper to Senator Reed.]

This statement that you have handed me does not show in any case the name of the party to whom you transmitted the money. Have you the names of those parties?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have not.

Senator REED. You have it, of course, on your stub book?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; I have no names on my stub books, as that was all handled through the headquarters.

Senator REED. Very well. Now who in the headquarters kept the accounts and reported to you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Gen. Burtt.

Senator REED. Does he keep a set of books?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where is he, in Chicago?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is where he is, I presume; yes, sir.

Senator REED. I am very much disappointed that you haven't with you the names of these parties who received the money because it has been repeatedly stated that when we got the treasurer he could tell us all about it.

The CHAIRMAN. What are Gen. Burtt's initials?

Mr. SPRAGUE. W. B. There is a statement there of every dollar that has been expended.

Senator REED. Yes; but it doesn't give us some other information which we want as to who got it.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I can't give that to you, sir. I haven't it on my books.

Senator REED. The only business that you transacted was that if there was money to obtain, or money that was obtained, it was turned over to you as treasurer and put in the bank, and then statements were made to you from time to time of moneys needed and you drew the checks to Mr. Burtt, did you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. On an order signed either by Col. Procter or W. B. Burtt.

Senator REED. But that order did not specify that the money was to be paid to the individual who was ultimately to receive it, but it was an order to send money to headquarters? Was that it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. In many instances. Sometimes it would be a check to the Congress Hotel for expenses; sometimes it would be to an advertising agency; but in a majority of cases, or in a great many cases—sometimes it would be to the eastern treasurer, sometimes—

Senator REED (interposing). Haven't you any book or memorandum that will show to whom you drew your checks?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have receipts; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, you haven't that with you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The money was all checked out?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I beg pardon.

Senator POMERENE. This money was all paid out on your check! No one else is authorized to sign checks?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; Seymour Morris, jr.

Senator REED. Does this include the checks that Seymour Morris, jr., drew.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, could Mr. Burt give us the information as to who got these moneys and what they were obtained for? For instance, I will illustrate. Here is an item——

Mr. SPRAGUE (interposing). I think he could.

Senator REED (continuing). Of \$37,000——

Mr. SPRAGUE (interposing). You will find the total for each State over on the left hand, subdivided into amounts that were sent to the State organizations; then newspaper advertising and publicity, including speakers, circularizing, postage, telephone, and telegraph, and the last column is the total to that State.

Senator POMERENE. You have got three columns here. One, I assume, contains a statement of the amounts paid to the State organizations.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir. I just explained that. The first column is the State organizations; the second is, as I recollect, newspaper advertising; the third is circularizing, speakers, traveling expenses, postage, telephone, and telegraph; and the fourth is the total of the other three.

Senator REED. Now, you have grouped postage, speakers, traveling expenses, circularizing, billboards, telephones, and telegraphs, etc. You have grouped them all together.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, for the information of the committee, do you want this draft?

The CHAIRMAN. We will put it in the record.

(The paper referred to follows:).

Leonard Wood national campaign committee.

Receipts:

| | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| Contributions..... | \$358,768.00 |
| Bank loans..... | 200,000.00 |
| Other loans..... | 621,000.00 |
| Interest on bank deposits..... | 275.20 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,180,043.20 |
| | <hr/> |

Expenditures:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| Salaries, Chicago..... | 42,977.63 |
| Congress Hotel expenses, Chicago..... | 9,108.66 |
| Postage..... | 6,715.27 |
| Printing and stationery..... | 14,776.51 |
| Buttons..... | 22,739.17 |
| Interest paid on bank loans..... | 3,227.95 |
| Rent of typewriters..... | 548.42 |
| Telephone and telegraph..... | 19,350.10 |
| Miscellaneous office expenses..... | 11,019.70 |
| Expense accounts..... | 9,873.24 |
| Traveling..... | 17,836.23 |
| Furniture..... | 2,732.18 |
| | <hr/> |

160,905.04

PUBLICITY.

| States. | State organi- zations. | Newspaper advertising. | Postage, speakers, travel expense, circularizing, billboards, telephone and tele- graph, etc. | Total. |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|--------------|
| Chicago headquarters..... | \$17,000.00 | \$70,000.00 | \$24,794.18 | \$111,798.18 |
| New York headquarters ¹ | 137,500.00 | ..... | ..... | 137,500.00 |
| Washington headquarters ² | 31,000.00 | ..... | ..... | 31,000.00 |
| South Dakota..... | 25,300.00 | 17,000.00 | 27,350.00 | 69,650.00 |
| Illinois..... | 46,000.00 | 54,200.00 | 20,600.00 | 120,800.00 |
| Indiana..... | 5,210.00 | 10,000.00 | 30,451.25 | 45,661.25 |
| Oregon..... | 15,000.00 | 6,300.00 | 17,730.00 | 39,030.00 |
| Minnesota..... | 10,000.00 | 4,000.00 | 14,720.00 | 28,720.00 |
| Washington and Alaska..... | 1,500.00 | 4,800.00 | 11,200.00 | 17,500.00 |
| Ohio..... | 60,000.00 | 32,000.00 | 36,300.00 | 128,300.00 |
| Colorado..... | 1,500.00 | 5,400.00 | 7,900.00 | 14,800.00 |
| Missouri..... | 1,500.00 | 3,700.00 | 5,250.00 | 10,450.00 |
| Montana..... | 2,500.00 | 3,700.00 | 16,600.00 | 22,800.00 |
| Idaho..... | 2,500.00 | 950.00 | 5,600.00 | 9,050.00 |
| North Dakota..... | 2,500.00 | 600.00 | 5,800.00 | 8,900.00 |
| Nebraska..... | 20,000.00 | 6,300.00 | 19,900.00 | 46,200.00 |
| Iowa..... | 1,500.00 | 1,500.00 | 4,400.00 | 7,400.00 |
| Oklahoma..... | 250.00 | ..... | 300.00 | 550.00 |
| Texas..... | 150.00 | 400.00 | 3,150.00 | 3,700.00 |
| Mississippi..... | 1,500.00 | 400.00 | 2,600.00 | 4,500.00 |
| Louisiana..... | 1,500.00 | 500.00 | 2,550.00 | 4,550.00 |
| Arkansas..... | 150.00 | 500.00 | 1,250.00 | 1,900.00 |
| Tennessee..... | 3,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 4,000.00 | 8,000.00 |
| West Virginia..... | 7,000.00 | 3,700.00 | 15,300.00 | 26,000.00 |
| Wisconsin..... | 750.00 | 2,300.00 | 4,250.00 | 7,300.00 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 15,000.00 | 1,100.00 | 11,300.00 | 27,400.00 |
| Maryland..... | 4,000.00 | 700.00 | 3,100.00 | 7,800.00 |
| Other States, viz: California, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Kansas, Wyoming, Utah, and Kentucky. | 18,766.64 | 16,000.00 | 28,343.08 | 63,109.72 |
| Michigan..... | 350.00 | 1,200.00 | 8,100.00 | 9,650.00 |
| Total..... | 432,928.64 | 204,650.00 | 377,437.51 | 1,174,919.19 |
| Excess receipts over expenditures..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 5,124.01 |

¹ Covering Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

² Covering States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and Alabama.

Senator POMERENE. Let me call your attention to the State of Ohio. This shows payments to State organizations \$60,000.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Newspaper advertising, \$32,000, and postage, speakers, travel expense, circularizing, billboards, telephone, and telegraph expenditures, \$36,300, making a total of \$128,300. Now, were there any other funds sent into Ohio than these?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Not from my office.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do you know of any funds being sent by anyone from Chicago to any of these States or from New York to any of these States other than what you have included in your statement of account here?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. And you have no knowledge as to whether there were any contributions made, for instance, in Ohio to the Wood fund by residents or citizens of Ohio, or from any other source?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. It appears from this statement that there was spent in South Dakota \$69,650. Do you know what the population of South Dakota is?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. And in Nebraska \$46,300. Did you have headquarters out there?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir. They had. As you will notice, the first column is money spent for State organizations. I understand it was your question whether we had an office out there, the national committee?

Senator REED. Whether there was a State organization, a branch of your organization?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't know whether they had an office or not.

Senator REED. The only way we can find out who the New York contributors were, then, is to call Mr. Loeb, so far as you know?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Have you ever taken an active part in politics before?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who got you into this movement?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Some personal friends.

Senator REED. Was Mr. Procter one of them?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; I had never seen Mr. Procter. Dave Goodrich—that doesn't mean anything to you, but he is a friend of Gen. Wood; that is, merely a personal friend.

Senator REED. You have told us all you know about this matter, except that you have this receipt book or stub book showing the receipts of money, and you also have the stub book—the check stubs of your checks, and you have your returned checks?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't have stubs of my checks; I have a voucher and I have a duplicate.

Senator REED. Now would you send those vouchers and duplicates here to the committee for its examination, and will you send also the stubs of your receipt book?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I see no objection.

Senator REED. Well, I wish you would do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Send them to the chairman.

Senator REED. Will you send them to Senator Kenyon, the chairman? They will be returned to you. You will do that, will you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Or if you prefer, you can have somebody bring them.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; certainly.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think that would probably be preferable.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the publicity man, Maj. Hooker?

Mr. SPRAGUE. George M. Sunday.

Senator SPENCER. There is a Maj. Hooker, isn't there?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Maj. Henry Hooker merely attends to Gen. Wood's personal correspondence.

Senator REED. Did these expenses that were paid out for meetings include the expenses of Gen. Wood's traveling about the country?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir—traveling expenses?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Gen. Wood was in and about the headquarters, was he?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Quite frequently.

Senator REED. Was he familiar with these transactions that you have spoken of?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think not, sir.

Senator REED. You don't think he knew anything about them?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think not, sir.

Senator REED. You think he did not know that you and Col. Procter would raise that \$100,000?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I know he did not.

Senator REED. You think he did not know that Mr. Procter had signed a note or had advanced over half a million dollars?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't think so.

Senator REED. Did you talk with Gen. Wood during the campaign any?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Didn't you tell him anything about the kind of campaign you were carrying on? You didn't keep it a secret from him, did you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have not carried on any campaign. I told you I knew nothing about the campaign end of it.

Senator REED. Of course if you know nothing about it, of course you didn't tell Gen. Wood much about it, but you say you are quite sure he did not know about it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. You asked me if he knew that I had signed a note, and I said, "No, sir." I didn't think he knew it—in fact, I knew he didn't know it.

Senator REED. He might have learned it from somebody else, mightn't he?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. Wood himself, Mr. Sprague, is a poor man, is he not?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not a man of any wealth?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did he ask you anything about the finances of this campaign?

Mr. SPRAGUE. He never has.

Senator POMERENE. And you told him nothing?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Nothing.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether he has any information as to the extent of the funds which have been raised in his behalf and who the donors are?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't think he knows. I could not say positively, but I don't believe he knows. He probably knows from the papers, as he reads the papers since Col. Procter has been here.

Senator REED. Did Marshall Field, jr., make any contribution?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; except his time.

Senator REED. Has he agreed to stand in on any of these loans?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir.

Senator REED. You still think they are loans, do you, really loans in a business sense?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I know they are.

Senator REED. Well, you wouldn't call it a business transaction?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think it is a poor loan, but it is a loan.

Senator REED. But I say in the business sense. It is one of these loans you make and don't expect to get back?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, that is what I thought.

Senator POMERENE. Senator Reed said here the other day that when one was bitten with a political bug he continued in political life; are you going to continue in political life?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; no more than I continued in the Army. I went in to do my duty, and that is what I have tried to do in going into politics.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I think you have done it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sprague, these checks or stubs that have been asked for, the committee will undoubtedly want Gen. Burt here to show these disbursements. Now couldn't you have him bring those along?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I will endeavor to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. And would you ask him to come and let that stand as a subpoena without our issuing a subpoena?

Senator POMERENE. Fix a date for it.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I will take the matter up immediately when I get back, Senator. I can not guarantee it.

The CHAIRMAN. Possibly we had better request him, and then you can arrange with him to bring those on with him. Will that be all right?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you another question before you leave. You were in here when some of the witnesses were being questioned about Mr. Stebbins, the treasurer of the eastern headquarters?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know where he is?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have no idea, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When did you hear from him last?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I couldn't say exactly. I should say about two months ago, sir. He is a very close friend of mine.

Senator POMERENE. You have no knowledge as to where he is?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have none.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you.

Will you take the stand, Mr. McChesney?

**STATEMENT OF MR. NATHAN WILLIAM McCHESNEY,
CHICAGO, ILL.**

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in the war, Mr. McChesney?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Yes; I served 2 years and 10 months in the service.

The CHAIRMAN. You came out a colonel?

Mr. McCHESNEY. I was a brigadier general in the National Guard and served with Gen. Pershing.

The CHAIRMAN. You became interested in the Wood campaign?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Yes; I had known Gen. Wood since Spanish War days, and I was in the First Arizona and served on his staff in the early part of the present war.

The CHAIRMAN. In that way you became interested.

Mr. McCHESNEY. Yes, sir; and when I came out of the war, I went back to my own office for a couple of months, and the general asked me whether or not I would be interested in going on his national committee.

Senator SPENCER. You are a practicing attorney?

Mr. McCHESNEY. I am a practicing lawyer in Chicago, and having lost 2 years and 10 months from my office, I thought another 3 or 4 months, perhaps, would not make any difference.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what has been your connection with the matter?

Mr. McCHESNEY. I have been a vice chairman of the national committee and State chairman of Illinois.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any more information about any amounts of money raised and expended in Illinois, exclusive of what Mr. Sprague has given us?

Mr. McCHESNEY. I can give you all the details—I have them here—with reference to the Illinois campaign, including Mr. Sprague's statement and the outside funds.

The CHAIRMAN. What funds did you collect in Illinois, outside of Mr. Sprague's statement?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Very little, Senator; for the reason that Gov. Lowden, on account of the fact that he had made a good governor and had great social and financial prestige in Chicago, made it very difficult to get men of position interested in the campaign in Illinois, and at the time it was discussed whether we would go into Illinois or not I was opposed to doing so. I thought we ought to stay out of Gov. Lowden's State, but inasmuch as it was decided to do so, I thought it better for me to handle the campaign, as I was a local man, rather than have somebody else do it. So I undertook it. I advised the committee that, based upon what I knew had been spent in previous campaigns, it would cost not less than \$300,000 to conduct a proper campaign in Illinois to a successful conclusion, and Col. Procter and the rest said that there were no such amounts possible to be spent, and fixed the maximum at \$100,000. So I planned the campaign upon a basis of \$100,000 in Illinois, extending over about seven weeks.

As a matter of fact, the campaign overran the \$100,000 estimate and we spent \$120,800 of the national committee's funds, and we were then in debt some \$21,000 or \$22,000 above that, making a gross amount of approximately \$141,000 or \$142,800. Of that amount, that money has all been accounted for, the \$120,800, by Mr. Sprague this afternoon. Of the additional \$21,000 or \$22,000—I suppose you are going to ask me and I might as well go right ahead—I contributed \$1,000 myself and advanced another \$12,000. Some members of our State committee gave varying amounts, from \$100 up to, I think, \$2,000 was the maximum. Marshall Field, 3d, gave \$1,000. He was my Cook County chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That was not included in the Sprague statement?

Mr. McCHESNEY. No, I am accounting now for the entire Illinois expenditure of approximately \$140,000, which is accounted for by Mr. Sprague except about \$21,000 or \$22,000, which we ran behind, and I am accounting for that \$21,000 or \$22,000. The bills had to be paid and I paid about \$12,000 of them over and above my subscrip-

tion, and Mr. Field came in with another \$1,000, and Mr. Ralph Norton gave us \$200 and Mr. Piez, Charles Piez of the Link Belt Co., contributed, I think, \$1,000—it may have been only \$500—and Mr. John O'Leary, former president of the Association of Commerce, gave a small amount. That accounted for that—that was practically the whole amount.

It was impossible to raise contributions in Illinois, due to the conditions I have stated, and the results from a personal letter from me to the members of our committee and to our friends was very disappointing, I might say, from a financial standpoint.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no campaign in the State, did you, outside of Chicago?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Yes, we made a campaign throughout the State, Senator, and I have the details of it here. It will take just about three or four minutes for me to give them to you.

As I say, the original budget was planned upon a basis of \$100,000, of which I planned to spend at least 50 per cent in newspaper advertising. As a matter of fact, the national committee's books show that I spent \$54,200.

Senator SPENCER. In what way?

Mr. McCHESNEY. For newspaper advertising. The Illinois funds were handled in this way: I stated that I did not desire to handle any money myself and I appointed Mr. H. H. Merrick, the president of the Great Lakes Trust Co., treasurer, and asked him to put a man from his bank in the office to handle the funds, and he sent the secretary of the Trust Co. to my office, who drew all the checks and paid all the bills and made all the disbursements, and these figures will coincide with his within two or three hundred dollars, I am sure.

I took the responsibility for the expenditures, you understand, and they were all done under my direction, but the actual distribution was made through Mr. Merrick's office.

The newspaper advertising—I asked the vice president of the Lord & Thomas Co., the former vice president, F. H. Ralston, to come in, who was a professional advertising man, and he handled all the advertising for me as a member of my staff without compensation. It was all placed through advertising agencies at commercial rates. We planned a five weeks campaign to present what we believed to be the merits of Gen. Wood for President. Personally I admire and like Gov. Lowden, who is a friend of mine, but I think Gen. Wood has certain qualifications that fit him for the Presidency above any other man before the people, and I tried to tell that story in five stories once each week, and this expense—well, as I will show you later instead of being due to this additional amount it ran about \$64,000 instead of \$54,000. We spent over \$60,000, which was but one ad per week for five weeks. It was a thousand line ad, prepared under my direction, appearing five times through the State in the Republican papers.

Senator POMERENE. How many papers?

Mr. McCHESNEY. I should say approximately 135 papers. We have 102 counties in Illinois and nearly 10,000,000 people, and our total expenditures are less than 10 cents per registered Republican voter in the State. We had 1,400,000 Republican votes in the last senatorial campaign. That series started out—the first advertisement gave the life of Gen. Wood; the second advertisement, "Why

you are privileged to support Gen. Wood as against a favorite son"; the third gave the particular qualifications of the general for the position; the fourth was a general statement as to the reasons why we are supporting Gen. Wood; and the fifth was an appeal to go to the polls. That was the general program. As I say, these were all audited and went through a regular advertising agency.

We should have spent much more money than that, but we did not have it.

Of the funds charged to the State organization I originally allotted \$2,500 to that. As a matter of fact, due to the fact that the Congress Hotel charged us more rent than we had anticipated, and the fact that the stenographers got more money than we had expected, and things of that kind, that headquarters expense ran about \$5,000, which is accounted for in this additional \$21,000 of which I have already spoken.

I allotted \$25,000 to Mr. Field—gave him a check for \$25,000 for the Cook County campaign, the details of which I do not know. They were all handled by Marshall Field, 3d.

There was \$5,000 allotted to work for women throughout the State. This money was spent in giving a tea to the women at the time of the Federation of Women's Clubs and in circularization and the usual source of women's campaign—semisocial.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the way women's campaigns are carried on? [Laughter.]

Mr. McCHESNEY. Far be it for me to say. I will defer that to my wife.

We allotted \$5,000 to a campaign among service men. That was wholly spent in getting a list of service men and in sending them a letter, and the rent of one room.

Senator POMERENE. In your State, you mean?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Yes; I am now talking about Illinois only, Senator. And I allotted about \$8,400 for organization work in the counties. By that I mean to be sent to various county chairmen. We have 101 counties. Then for postage and speakers, circularizing billboards, we spent \$20,600, as shown by the national treasurer's books, and included in this figure which I have already given. Of that amount I let a contract—I can not tell you whether I signed it with the Cusack Co. or the American Posting Co., but one or the other or both, it makes no difference—for \$10,800. That was for 74 billboards throughout the State for 30 days. We got one billboard in some of the big county seats, and in Chicago we had about 10 or 12 on the boulevards. That was the cost of that. Later, when Gov. Lowden, due to the ground swell for Gen. Wood—which, if he had had the money to pay workers the way that the political organizations in Illinois were doing, would have carried the State, because the sentiment was there—Gov. Lowden's friends—and I presume that was not included in Mr. Emerson's statement—published full page ads, saying, "This is being paid for by the friends of Gov. Lowden."

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea what that would amount to?

Mr. McCHESNEY. We tried to find out, and it cost, as I understand it, about \$3,000 a page in the Tribune and Daily News, and we didn't have the money to meet it, so I directed the last week, in order to try and offset that, that we should take an additional eight billboards

and I went to them and told them I wanted enough money to send out a letter to the registered voters, to lists that I had succeeded in getting, and the money was not available and they would not give it to me.

Senator SPENCER. How much would it have cost?

Mr. McCHESNEY. I single letter would have cost us \$70,000 to the registered Republican voters alone in my State. . There are \$1,400,000 of them.

Senator SPENCER. Six cents a letter?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Mr. McChesney.

Mr. Marsh, could you come at 8 o'clock this evening? Would it discommode you to do that?

Mr. MARSH. No; if you want me I can come at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess then until 8 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 6 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 8 o'clock p. m.)

EVENING SESSION.

The subcommittee reassembled at 8 o'clock p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILBER W. MARSH.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business is farming and manufacturing?

Mr. MARSH. Yes, sir; I am a farmer and manufacturer.

The CHAIRMAN. And treasurer of the Democratic national committee?

Mr. MARSH. Chairman of the Democratic national committee from Iowa, and treasurer of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. We wish you to tell us where this McAdoo fund we have been hearing about is deposited. Have you it, Mr. Marsh?

Mr. MARSH. Mr. McAdoo, if he had a fund, would not deposit it with Wilber F. Marsh, and may I suggest, Senator, that it is a violent assumption that because a man has no money he has no friends.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of us would be in pretty bad shape for friends, on that theory.

Mr. Marsh, we have had before us a reporter for the New York American, who has written some stories on the subject, which you may be familiar with. It came to our attention by being inserted in the Congressional Record by one of the Senators. In the New York American of Wednesday, May 19, 1920, appears an article headed as follows:

Big business for Wilson's son-in-law—Baruch and five other millionaires named by Gov. Edwards's manager as behind movement—Place holders enlisted.

So much for that story.

Another story appeared in the New York American of Thursday, May 27, where the Edwards manager who was here listening to Mr. Baruch's testimony, is quoted as being very much astounded by it, and certain questions are propounded that this committee is asked to urge first, with reference to a meeting at the Hotel St. Charles at Atlantic City, and some alleged words of Mr. Baruch to

a miscellaneous expense on the circularization of about \$5,300, and we had an initial expense for a special train taking the general through the State, of \$6,500, which was made up in this way: The railroad would not haul an engine and the minimum cars for less than 100 tickets, which we had to buy. We bought 100-tickets, costing us about—costing us an average of \$65 apiece, and—for instance, myself and wife paid for our tickets, and that was true of most of the people on the train, and that reduced it by \$2,100 or \$2,200, leaving us a net expense there.

Now, that accounts for the expenditures.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you this question: Judging by what your advertising cost you in Chicago, what do you say the advertising for Gov. Lowden, marked "paid by his friends," would have aggregated?

Mr. McCHESNEY. I could not say, because I do not now recollect—I haven't any criticism to make of that. Those gentlemen are well able to afford to pay for that, and Gov. Lowden has many admirers in my State. He is very popular and very much liked, and I have no doubt that those friends felt this ground swell. It was shown when we carried the county against him, and his friends felt that movement coming and were alarmed evidently, and they went in and bought space.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not criticizing; I am simply asking to see if you can not figure about what that would amount to.

Mr. McCHESNEY. I don't remember how many times it appeared now, but it appeared, I should say—it would cost \$3,000, possibly, a page for either the Daily News or the Tribune.

The CHAIRMAN. And how many times did you see it there?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Well, I don't want to say, because I want to be fair about it. For instance, the reason I hesitate is this: I think I saw it on three different days, but whether it appeared, for instance, in the morning and afternoon paper on the same day, like the Tribune in the morning and the News in the afternoon, or whether it appeared in the Tribune one morning and the News the next day, you see, for the purpose of distributing publicity, I couldn't say.

Senator SPENCER. The price would be the same?

Mr. McCHESNEY. Except that in one case you would have double expense for one day and in the other case you would only have it in the morning paper one day and the afternoon the next. It was an entirely legitimate expense. As a matter of fact, we had the sentiment. These advertisements all had coupons and we got the coupons back by the thousands; people saying they wanted to do something for Gen. Wood, and we didn't have the money to write those people a letter in order to tell them where to go or what to do; we didn't have the money for postage and we didn't have a dollar for workers. If we had, we would have produced a vote which would have astounded everybody; as it was, we got 70 votes for every hundred that went for the governor.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions, gentlemen?

Senator POMERENE. Did you attempt to get any more than the \$100,000 allotted to you by the national committee from the committee?

Mr. McCHESNEY. We got \$120,800, Senator, and I did attempt—I asked them for \$300,000 in the first instance, which they refused,

Mr. MARSH. I do not assume that any Cox manager ever said anything of that kind. Judge Moore is the Cox manager, and he does not talk in that kind of stuff.

The CHAIRMAN. I am reading what the statement says. I do not know whether any of it is true.

Mr. MARSH. As I understand it, Senator, you say that the Cox manager suggested this thing?

The CHAIRMAN. I am telling you what the story says, the Cox-Edwards managers. I do not know that anybody ever suggested it.

Mr. MARSH. Edward Moore is the Cox manager, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been here before the committee.

Senator POMERENE. I inserted in the record this noon a statement from him to the effect that he had not been a party to anything of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of that, was there any talk by Mr. Baruch or Mr. Chadburn with reference to the McAdoo campaign at that meeting?

Mr. MARSH. Not that I heard of.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any talk about financing——

Mr. MARSH. The McAdoo campaign?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARSH. That could not possible be.

The CHAIRMAN. It could not be?

Mr. MARSH. No. That was a meeting of the executive committee of the Democratic national organization, and Mitchell Palmer—did I put Mr. Palmer's name there?—Mr. Palmer was in the room all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. I have the names of these members of the committee who are said to have been present at the meeting, that we are asked to subpoena——

Mr. MARSH. It never was presented to me. I never heard of any such thing.

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want to subpoena all of these men, if this story is all moonshine, but it was not told to you?

Mr. MARSH. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear it suggested that this story was floating all around the hotel? That Baruch said to the committee that if they would go from Palmer over to McAdoo, that he would underwrite the campaign for \$10,000,000 or up?

Mr. MARSH. That is an absurdity, as I view it.

The CHAIRMAN. That amount is an absurdity?

Mr. MARSH. The amount is an absurdity, or that any proposition of that kind would be made to a political organization that had the interests of a party at heart, and had comprehensive interests. We could not possible be, as a body, for anybody.

May I suggest that you put in the name of Mr. Homer Cummings there? He also attended this meeting as chairman of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What was Mr. Baruch particularly doing there? He was not a member of the committee.

Mr. MARSH. We were there for two purposes, Senator. There was to be a reorganization of the woman's bureau of the Democratic organization. You will remember that both parties at that time, if you will look up the history, were organizing a woman's

bureau. It looked as though there was not time for organizing or developing our woman's branch of the Democratic organization. That was the real object of the meeting. There had been two appointed, of which I happened to be one, who were to report at that meeting.

And then there was another feature that pertained to finances, but along this line. It looked as though our physical equipment, and I mean by that, typewriters and electric machines, we might not be able to secure, and that we would go into the campaign with a scarcity of stuff unless we gave our order ahead, which would involve a lot of money, that is a lot of money from a democratic standpoint.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a \$10,000,000 fund?

Mr. MARSH. Millions of dollars, as applied to Democrats, is all in the air. There is nothing to that with us.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pomerene contended the other day that there was no Democrat who could afford to give even \$1,000, so we put Mr. Baruch on the stand to counteract it.

Senator POMERENE. You did not ask him if he could or not?

Mr. MARSH. We were to consider the purchase of this physical equipment preparatory to the 1920 campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Physical equipment?

Mr. MARSH. By that I mean typewriters, desks and electric typewriters, reproduction machines, and that kind, and I am almost ashamed to tell you the amount involved, after hearing this evidence here this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we would not want to embarrass you at all.

Mr. MARSH. It is embarrassing.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there no discussion, then, of your serious financial situation, when Mr. Baruch was around?

Mr. MARSH. Yes.

Senator REED. How much was involved?

Mr. MARSH. About \$78,000 or \$79,000, something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. That you needed for that equipment?

Mr. MARSH. Yes; additional money to get our physical equipment, preparatory to the campaign, in the event we would not be able to rent, as we have in past campaigns.

Senator SPENCER. Do you plan to raise in the campaign for 1920 some money beyond \$72,000 for the national campaign?

Mr. MARSH. We hope to.

Senator SPENCER. How many millions are you planning to raise?

Mr. MARSH. We do not talk in millions.

Senator SPENCER. Have you not a certain number of millions that you are advancing as the goal which you would like to reach?

Mr. MARSH. Are you really flattering the Democratic Party as having come into its own?

Senator SPENCER. No; I am just trying to get a little light.

Mr. MARSH. What we propose to do, and it is a tremendously interesting thing, is that we propose to have the people finance our campaign, if possible, and that requires the writing of a lot of letters, communicating with a lot of people, securing the names of a vast number of men who can contribute a small amount.

Senator POMERENE. Did you demonstrate that plan during the last national campaign?

Mr. MARSH. Senator, we did. We got money from 200,000 people people in the last campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean that you got it all in these little contributions?

Mr. MARSH. Senator, of course, there were some large contributors in our campaign, but the published record would tell you what that was.

Senator SPENCER. What was the aggregate, last time?

Mr. MARSH. Of our campaign fund?

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. MARSH. \$1,700,000, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. The cost of campaigns has gone up since then?

Mr. MARSH. They say a dollar is worth 50 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. The cost of nominations seems to have gone up.

Mr. MARSH. Nobody knows what the nomination is going to cost. Nobody has it in sight yet. As I figured to-day, there were \$148,000 for just one delegate out of Illinois. As I understand it, \$148,000 got one delegate.

Senator POMERENE. I happen to know something about the campaign in Ohio. Is that the method you pursued in Ohio?

Mr. MARSH. I would like to tell you a story of Ohio, if I may, because, like many other people, I thought Ohio was the dumping ground for corrupt money, and I approached the campaign with that thought in my mind, because of the bitter contests and the fact that it was considered always a doubtful State, but do you know that the State of Ohio, in 1916, contributed \$80,000—that is in round numbers—it might have been \$87,000 or \$77,000, but in the neighborhood of \$80,000—to our campaign fund, and in addition to that, elected a governor, a very great United States Senator——

Senator POMERENE. Thank you.

Mr. MARSH. The entire State ticket, and gave us the electoral vote of the State, and in so far as the Democratic National Committee is concerned, and the purity of politics, we all take off our hats to the State of Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. How many contributors were there to that \$80,000?

Mr. MARSH. There was, as I remember it, about one in every seven or eight Democratic voters in the State.

The CHAIRMAN. When you get through with your little admiration society about Ohio——

Senator POMERENE. We are going to turn the trick again, so do not worry about that.

Mr. MARSH. He likes it, eats it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will give him some more.

We had this notice from the same witness the other day that at the March meeting in Washington, Mr. Baruch again talked about financing the committee from March 1 to August 1, covering the period of the national convention of 1920, if the committee would drop Palmer and support McAdoo. Was there a meeting in Washington at that time.

Mr. MARSH. That was our banquet; that was our Jackson day banquet, as I remember it. The 8th of March? Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Not March—January.

Mr. MARSH. Is it March you are talking about?

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about March.

Mr. MARSH. I do not know whether there was a meeting in March, or not.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose at that banquet you could not remember.

Mr. MARSH. I can remember things that happened before the banquet.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember a March meeting in Washington?

Mr. MARSH. May I ask my associate here?

The CHAIRMAN. The director of finance, yes.

Mr. MARSH. I do not remember anything about that, Senator. If you would give me a lead——

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I can give you, at a meeting in March, when Baruch again talked to you.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Baruch never made any suggestion to the Democratic national committee or the executive committee, that had any thought in it that the executive committee or the national committee was for or against any candidate, because Mr. Baruch would not come and insult that body. He is a very courteous gentleman.

Senator REED. Did he ever talk to you about financing or raising finances for the party, aside from his connection with any candidate? I mean the national committee.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Baruch, you know, Senator, in 1916 served on our finance committee.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been a very heavy contributor to the Democratic national committee, has he not?

Mr. MARSH. Yes, he has been making heavy contributions, but you can not assume by that—that word, you know, has a very flexible meaning, after this afternoon's session, because we do not know anything about that kind of contributions, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the \$500,000?

Senator REED. What I want to call to your attention is this. Here is a conversation that seems to embrace two things: First, the proposition to get a large amount of money; and, second, it is to be gotten upon a condition, and you say that no such condition was ever mentioned. Was there never any talk about raising money to nominate Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. MARSH. Of course not.

Senator REED. Did you ever discuss with Mr. Baruch himself the raising of money to nominate anybody?

Mr. MARSH. No.

Senator REED. Did you ever discuss with Mr. Baruch the question of raising of money for the campaign, after the nomination?

Mr. MARSH. No, Senator—I suppose I have about that; I have talked with him about the finance committee, and things of that kind, but this conversation took place at this specific time, that in October or September we had approached this question of incurring indebtedness of approximately \$80,000, and we agreed to underwrite it at that time, that is guarantee it, you understand, and I think Mr. Baruch was one of them. I know I was.

Senator POMERENE. That is \$80,000?

Mr. MARSH. Yes; to go and get this equipment to do business with. That is the only thing we talked in regard to finances at that meeting.

Senator REED. Let me follow my other question. As I understand you, you have not even discussed with Mr. Baruch the question

of financing the presidential campaign after the nominations were made?

Mr. MARSH. In 1920?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. MARSH. Not a word.

Senator REED. So, then, this story, as far as you are concerned, the whole story is false?

Mr. MARSH. I know nothing of it. I never heard of this story; never heard of anything like it, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. The nearest you think there is any truth in it is that a meeting was held at Atlantic City?

Mr. MARSH. There was a meeting at Atlantic City.

The CHAIRMAN. Baruch was there; these gentlemen were there, and this reporter was there?

Mr. MARSH. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Marsh, at Atlantic City did you hear Mr. Baruch speak of McAdoo in connection with the Presidency, either in the meeting or out of the meeting?

Mr. MARSH. Senator, when you say that, as a matter of fact, I did.

Senator SPENCER. What did he say?

Mr. MARSH. This is what he told me: He said, "Wilbur, I am not for McAdoo." I can not tell you what I said to him, because there are some ladies present. He said "As a matter of fact, I am not for McAdoo. I am for the strongest man." And he never uncovered to me the thing that I knew, of course, that he was for McAdoo, because I had heard that from a thousand directions; but Mr. Baruch told me that, as a matter of fact—he called me by my first name—he said, "Wilbur, as a matter of fact, I am not for McAdoo."

The CHAIRMAN. Did he smile when he said it?

Mr. MARSH. I looked to see if his fingers were crossed.

Senator REED. Perhaps he meant this, from that expression, that he was not for Mr. McAdoo on any particular ground; that he was for the strongest man, and that he thought Mr. McAdoo was the strongest man.

Mr. MARSH. That is the thing he tried to convey to me. That was the very thought he was trying to convey to me.

Senator SPENCER. Except for that conversation, or in addition to that, did you hear Mr. Baruch at Atlantic City speak of Mr. McAdoo in connection with the Presidency, either in the executive committee or out?

Mr. MARSH. I did not.

Senator SPENCER. That is all you heard Mr. Baruch say in Atlantic City in connection with Mr. McAdoo as a candidate for the Presidency?

Mr. MARSH. Absolutely, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Was anything said about finances?

Mr. MARSH. Only what I told you—about buying this physical equipment.

Senator SPENCER. I mean by Mr. Baruch?

Mr. MARSH. He was asked, among others, I assume, if we would go on and incur this indebtedness of \$79,000.

Senator SPENCER. After the experience of \$1,700,000 for the last campaign——

Mr. MARSH. We had not had that experience at that time.

Senator SPENCER. In the last campaign?

Mr. MARSH. But that was a presidential campaign that ran from July until the 4th of March.

Senator SPENCER. How long do you think this presidential campaign will last?

Mr. MARSH. God only knows, and the odor from it, if you keep up.

Senator SPENCER. It will be very much more expensive than the last one, for both parties, will it not?

Mr. MARSH. That is true. I do not know whether it will be more expensive for us, because I do not know whether we can get the money or not?

Senator SPENCER. It will be if you can get the money?

Mr. MARSH. We think it would be a patriotic duty for the people to give us enough money so that we can try our case before the people.

Senator SPENCER. I quite agree with you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Marsh, we have your statement on this, and, of course, there is not any use pursuing it any further. Now, let us turn from that. You are a man that has given a great deal of thought to these questions.

Mr. MARSH. Thank you, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know anyone who thinks out things any better than you do.

Mr. MARSH. Go on, even if what?

The CHAIRMAN. Even if you are a Democrat, but give us your idea of what might be done to regulate campaign expenditures. Do you think that is a feasible proposition? The people ought to know about candidates, and that is an expensive proposition to get it before them.

Mr. MARSH. Indeed it is.

The CHAIRMAN. By perfectly legitimate means.

Mr. MARSH. Yes; it is, and it is a patriotic duty to furnish a campaign fund, I think, sufficiently——

The CHAIRMAN. The people are shocked at large expenditures, and yet they will admit that large expenditures are necessary to get a candidate before the people. What is the solution of it?

Mr. MARSH. Well, we approached the question in 1916 with this thought, that it was a necessity for the people to know the Democratic Party, and know that a campaign was a necessity, and that to try the issues, and present them to the people, and the merits of the candidates—I thought that if we depended on what I call follow-up money; that is, money that is given with the idea of keeping a channel between the countingroom and the seat of government, if we depended on that we would not have anything but a corrupt Government, so I evolved—it was not original with me—but I brought some business experience to the matter, and evolved the idea that if we could get the people to finance the campaign, that I would be rendering a real service not only to my party but to my country. You do not mind my saying that, because I am perfectly sincere in it. And so I came to New York, and I said to them when they asked me to be treasurer of the party, “I will come, provided I can have a man in whom I have confidence come with me,” and at a very great sacrifice, Mr. Jamison came. As to politics, we had gone over these

things in the State of Iowa, where we had taken subscriptions and had a campaign fund that was reasonable, and had been worked out in a small way, so we came to New York and started to secure this kind of a campaign fund, contributed by the people, and we got a list of names, first starting with the Democratic national committee, who gave us the State organizations, the Democratic State central committee of the different States, and then the county organizations from those States, and we collected a list of names and, Senator, we got money from 200,000 people. I might say that I had nothing whatever to do with the large subscriptions, because in our country we know nothing about large contributors, and I do not have a wide acquaintance in New York, in the money centers where these large contributors might be. I told them that I was absolutely capable of handling that kind of work, provided they did it at all.

We got money from 200,000 people, that is, one in about every forty-fifth man voting the Democratic ticket in the United States, and there are some encouraging features to it. In one town in Arkansas we got a contribution from every voter in the town. We knew we were going to carry that town. In other towns we got as high as 80 per cent of the voters, and, as I say, Senator, in that list we had a contribution from about one in seven or eight of the Democratic voters of that State.

Senator SPENCER. How much of a list did you have?

Mr. MARSH. We had 200,000 names. I would like to have you get this thought, because I think it is very valuable to the country. You can not afford to use the mail to go to too large a number of people, but you can do this: If you find a man who responds, a man who sends you money back by the first mail, the chances are that he is enthusiastic enough to pass the hat. Do you follow me? We used that man, as far as we could, then to go around and secure contributions, with the list of the names that he got. It is no secret that we have got a list of 300,000 Democrats who can afford to give, from whom we expect to find our financial organization to pass the hat.

The CHAIRMAN. If you averaged \$10 apiece, that would give you \$3,000,000.

Mr. MARSH. You know in 1913, Senator, it averaged about \$7 or \$8 apiece, something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Which would be about \$2,500,000?

Mr. MARSH. No; 200,000. I do not mean that will be the number of subscribers. That is the number of people we can afford to put on our list to communicate with. Some of these might get a subscription from 10 or 20 different people.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not try to get as large a campaign fund as you can?

Mr. MARSH. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in favor of limiting campaign contributions?

Mr. MARSH. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Limiting the use of money?

Mr. MARSH. I feel that you could get more money if you did. I think the very fact that these men come in with their big subscriptions is a wet blanket to a man who would give a fair amount of money.

Senator SPENCER. If you got \$20 from 300,000 people, would you be glad to get it?

Mr. MARSH. That would be \$6,000,000.

Senator SPENCER. Would you be glad to get it?

Mr. MARSH. We could not use that kind of a fund ourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you limit the amount to be spent, for instance, for each voter? You could limit it in the States?

Mr. MARSH. We are a practical people. Why talk about \$6,000,000 to a Democrat. We are a very practical people. We live on this earth. There is nothing to that with us. You are putting us in a class with yourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I expect it would be hard for you to raise it this year.

Mr. MARSH. It would be hard for us to ever raise it. You have interjected there. May I interject?

The CHAIRMAN. You have been interjecting.

Mr. MARSH. I have? Pardon me. The Democratic Party has never lost a presidential campaign where their campaign has not collapsed from a lack of finances.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that the only way you can win an election in this country is by heavy campaign expenditures?

Mr. MARSH. No; as I say, we have lost continuously because we did not have money enough to present the issue. There is no question about that.

Senator SPENCER. You mean this, that you probably would have won if you had had the money to present the issues?

Mr. MARSH. I have taken the trouble since I have been treasurer of the party to look at the past records, and do you know that Mr. Bryan never had a campaign fund over \$600,000?

Senator SPENCER. Do you think he would have won if he had had more money?

Mr. MARSH. There is no question but that he would have won the first time if they had not closed up headquarters practically.

The CHAIRMAN. He closed up for a lack of funds?

Mr. MARSH. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. If you circularized every voter now, have you ever figured what it would cost?

Mr. MARSH. I know this. That is why we stopped at 300,000 names here. You have talked about 6 cents here this afternoon. I do not think it can be done.

The CHAIRMAN. For 6 cents?

Mr. MARSH. Not to-day. I do not think you can get a letter out with an inclosure and postage for less than 10 cents, so you see that is \$30,000. I do not expect to impress you people—pardon me, but I do not expect to impress anybody by talking about \$30,000 to-night, but to us \$30,000, as one expenditure, to reach the people, is a tremendous amount, so we stopped because of the impossibility for us to compass the thing with any more than 300,000 names, you see.

Senator SPENCER. How many names have you in the aggregate?

Mr. MARSH. Three hundred thousand names.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any names you are not going to send letters to?

Mr. MARSH. No; that is our full list.

The CHAIRMAN. You figure 10 cents to send a letter out and get an answer back?

Mr. MARSH. Yes; that is to buy the stationery, write the letter get it in the mail with the inclosures, not only the letter but the arguments which you present. I do not think it can be done for less than 10 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you figured what this straw vote in the Literary Digest would amount to?

Senator SPENCER. That was simply a return postal card, with a one cent stamp.

Senator REED. They said they were sending out 11,000,000 letters, did they not?

Senator SPENCER. I think they sent postal cards, not letters.

Mr. MARSH. They have a bent postal card, like that, and you tear off the bottom.

The CHAIRMAN. That would not be as expensive?

Mr. MARSH. Nothing like as expensive. Now, the remedy, is that the query?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARSH. Personally, I would like to see the limit to contributions fixed by law. I would like to see the maximum contribution fixed by law.

The CHAIRMAN. What amount would you suggest?

Mr. MARSH. Of course, that would be a matter of opinion. My thought would be this, that if you fixed it at \$1,000 you would get just as much money, because of the number of people who would join the maximum club, and then the division would be among so many people that no man would be of any importance to the organization, and would not have the door swing because of the size of his contribution.

Senator REED. How would you prevent a man who was the financial agent of a campaign from having a little meeting with himself and agreeing to loan, say, \$800,000, and taking a note so that it would be worthless, and carrying it as a loan?

Mr. MARSH. Pardon me, Senator. Let me give you a secondary thought, or a part of this other thought. To limit the contribution to \$1,000, and not to prohibit interstate contributions, would be simply to emasculate the national organization. In addition to limiting contributions to \$1,000, I would prohibit by law one State from sending funds into another State. The one without the other would be useless.

May I comment on this afternoon. Take it in poor little South Dakota. What chance has South Dakota to say who is her choice for nominee for President, if they put \$50,000 or \$60,000 in that State to help force it as against a man who has not any money?

With those two things, with those two features in the statute—and, by the way, if you will take the trouble to look up the statement of the chairman of the State central committee of Indiana in 1916, it is a very illuminating statement——

The CHAIRMAN. 1916?

Mr. MARSH. 1916, a statement of the chairman of the State Central Committee.

Senator SPENCER. Of what State?

Mr. MARSH. Indiana. It is very illuminating, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of it?

Mr. MARSH. You will find that in Indiana the contributions were large enough to change the result, where the Senatorial contest turned on 6,000 or 7,000 majority. I think it would be practical to limit it, I do not say to \$1,000 arbitrarily, you know, but a sum as large as it could be so that the most people would join the maximum club so as to make the campaign fund sufficient to present the issues, and then an inhibition by legislation, by statute, for any man to contribute except through the maximum committee, any individual to contribute except through national committees, to any State fund.

Senator SPENCER. Would you let anybody contribute twice, once to the national committee, and once to his own State?

Mr. MARSH. Certainly. Then he could not come into my State and corrupt it.

The CHAIRMAN. We are much obliged for these suggestions. I want to ask you, before we leave the McAdoo matter, do you know any movement to promote the candidacy of Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. MARSH. Well, I thought I answered that when I said that it was a violent assumption to even intimate that a man could not have friends without having a lot of money. Certainly Mr. McAdoo has a vast number of warm admirers.

The CHAIRMAN. But is there a movement, as I understand it, and as all understand it, on the part of a certain number of men, to promote his candidacy, or is it entirely spontaneous?

Mr. MARSH. I do not believe that there is an organization back of McAdoo that has been formulated and put in motion by men joining it.

Senator SPENCER. Is there any organization that is indirectly in motion?

Mr. MARSH. I would not call it an organization.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to be in motion.

Senator REED. Would you call it an association?

Mr. MARSH. I would not call it an association.

Senator SPENCER. Is there any informal activity in regard to Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. MARSH. I think that Mr. McAdoo's admirers in every State are quite active.

Senator SPENCER. Have you seen any literature that has gone out in connection with his candidacy?

Mr. MARSH. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You have not seen any printed matter in connection with his candidacy?

Mr. MARSH. I do not recall any.

Senator REED. Well, you hesitated to say anything about the question of organization. Now, Mr. Marsh, Mr. McAdoo is a candidate, or if anybody is making him a candidate it will ultimately have to be known by the American people sometime between now and election day, and I am going to be quite frank about this, and I do not think there is anything improper about it either, about what I am going to suggest. I have been told it was going on, that there was a number of people who have a sort of common understanding, that do not have any headquarters, but from different places activities are carried along which coordinate pretty well, and that letters

are being written, and this movement is being carried on. Now, do you know anything about that?

Mr. MARSH. Senator, if you asked me do I know men of influence who are for Secretary McAdoo as our candidate for President, I would say that I do, a large number of them. I know them by name. They visit with me, and tell me they are for McAdoo. They think he is the strongest man, a large number of people I know.

Senator REED. Yes, I know that talk about different candidates is going on in every fence corner of the United States now, and will be until the election is over, but I mean something more than that. I am asking you that not because it is improper, but because it is proper.

Mr. MARSH. No; I understand.

Senator REED. But to illustrate a little further——

Mr. MARSH. May I answer your question before you ask it?

Senator REED. Yes; certainly.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. McAdoo has men for him for President, he has a following in the United States because of their tremendous ability in the Democratic—that is because of the confidence which a vast number of people in the Democratic Party have in the men who are supporting it. It is very fortunate that there are those men.

Senator REED. Now, you were going to ask me a question?

Mr. MARSH. No; I was answering your question before you asked it.

Senator REED. Still I am not answered.

Mr. MARSH. I am not answering it?

Senator REED. I say still I am not quite answered.

Mr. MARSH. You mean you are not quite satisfied?

Senator REED. No, I am not quite satisfied with that as an answer.

Mr. MARSH. Senator, you do not assume, do you, that I am personally for Mr. McAdoo for President?

Senator REED. I do not know.

Mr. MARSH. I want to say that I am not. I am not trying to defend Mr. McAdoo or anything of that kind.

Senator REED. I am not trying to accuse him, and I repeat that if it is true that there is an organization for a man, it is perfectly proper, and if they are operating without headquarters it is perfectly proper, but I am trying to clear up in every aspect certain intimations and charges that have been made. Now, it has been stated that there are a lot of influential men, and some women, and that they have no headquarters——

Mr. MARSH. Why leave off the adjective?

Senator REED. Some women?

Mr. MARSH. You say influential men. Why not influential women?

Senator REED. Because the adjective carried on grammatically to include the women.

Mr. MARSH. Pardon me. I will go back to school.

Senator REED. Influential men and women covers them both. But I am informed that these people while they have no organization, act in concert to a certain extent, to a considerable extent, and that in this way an organization is, in fact, made, so that they avoid the appearance of an organization. Now, I am not saying that is true, nor does my question intimate that it is true, but if it is not true I

want to clear it up, and I know that you would probably know of it if anybody would.

Mr. MARSH. My opinion is, and I think I know, that there is no active organization back of Mr. McAdoo's candidacy in the sense that you speak of an organization, certainly not in the sense that we talked of it here to-day.

Senator REED. No; I think not in that sense.

Senator SPENCER. Have you received any letters about Mr. McAdoo's presidential aspirations?

Mr. MARSH. I can not say that.

Senator SPENCER. You mean you think you have?

Mr. MARSH. I do not suppose I have received letters about anybody's candidacy.

Senator SPENCER. Do you remember seeing them?

Mr. MARSH. No. I have answered that before. I do not remember ever seeing any literature—I know I have not seen letters, in the sense that they have come from headquarters. I have letters from political and personal friends canvassing political candidates, and Mr. McAdoo's name, of course, was among them.

Senator SPENCER. How many have you received about Mr. McAdoo's candidacy?

Mr. MARSH. I recall correspondence with one or two friends.

Senator SPENCER. Nor over one or two?

Mr. MARSH. Not more than that.

Senator REED. It is perfectly natural that Mr. McAdoo should have friends in every State and every county, and that he should have admirers over the United States, and that they should talk about him. I am speaking of something more than that, and I take it you know of nothing of that kind?

Mr. MARSH. This invisible government, this invisible organization that has been talked about, with the possible suggestion that there was something sinister about it, I do not think exists, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the other members of the National Committee mentioned here can give us as much information about this as you have, or more?

Mr. MARSH. Now, Senator, I have given you all the information I have.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you have, but you think there is not any information to be gathered about it, I take it?

Mr. MARSH. This man that is particularly referred to as having given the information to the reporter, M. W. J. Jamieson, is in the room. He said specifically that Mr. Jamieson gave him the information.

The CHAIRMAN. As to the Jamieson plan of raising money, not as to this.

Mr. MARSH. That is what I talked about, the Jamieson method of getting money.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what is known as the Jamieson plan, is it not?

Mr. MARSH. It is, undoubtedly.

Senator POMERENE. Let me put a question to you in another way. Did Mr. Lang, in any conversation with you at Atlantic City or elsewhere, suggest to you that he had any information to the effect that Mr. Baruch had proposed to underwrite the McAdoo campaign to the extent of \$5,000,000 or \$10,000,000, or more, if need be?

Mr. MARSH. Of course not, certainly not; but after this article which Mr. Lang wrote from Atlantic City to the New York Journal, which was sensational in that he called Mr. Chadburn and Mr. Baruch the Gold Dust Twins, there was talk or comment as to what it all meant, and he hooked their activities up in the campaign that that meeting was probably the initial movement toward, with the raising of these \$2,000,000 for Secretary McAdoo's campaign in New York, and around that \$2,000,000 for a morality campaign. With the ability which he has, he wove this story about enormous campaign contributions. That was the first I heard of it, the first I ever knew of it.

The CHAIRMAN. He did mention that in his testimony.

Mr. MARSH. It was a very sensational story; a very readable story, too.

Senator SPENCER. Did you hear Mr. McAdoo's campaign mentioned at Atlantic City in the presence of Mr. Lang, as far as you remember?

Mr. MARSH. No.

Senator REED. How did Chadburn come to be down at that meeting?

Mr. MARSH. As I told you, Chadburn was on the finance committee in 1916. He is a very capable man and a charming gentleman, and \$78,000 or \$80,000 was a large sum for us people, and we naturally called in the men who we thought would help us secure this equipment which we deemed necessary. Personally I invited him. I remember now that we talked about it, and I remember that two or three weeks before I suggested to him that he had better come down.

Senator SPENCER. You felt that \$80,000 was an amount quite beyond possibility of the executive committee of the Democratic national committee?

Mr. MARSH. When we talked about \$80,000 in a Democratic organization, we talk about a vast sum of money.

Senator SPENCER. So you felt that you ought to have Mr. Baruch and Mr. Chadburn there?

Mr. MARSH. We felt they would be of very great assistance to us, in all probability.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. M. H. KARNES.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. State your name.

Mr. KARNES. M. H. Karnes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home, Mr. Karnes?

Mr. KARNES. Atlanta, Ga.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. KARNES. Automobile parts business.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with Henry Lincoln Johnson?

Mr. KARNES. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. He was subpoenaed to come here, but could not come, and informed me that you came in his place, or, rather, that you could give us the same information that he knew.

Mr. KARNES. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had anything to do with the Georgia campaign?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What has been your position?

Mr. KARNES. I might tell you from the beginning, in Georgia, as you know, Republicans are very scarce, and those that do vote are seldom counted, and we have taken it upon ourselves to recruit among the best of the younger element active members of the Republican Party in Georgia. It fell upon me, possibly because I came originally from Gallipolis, Ohio, where they have all Republican politicians, and I have taken active part in the campaign from the start, inasmuch as our organization there, headed by Chairman Roscoe Pickett, seemed to be rather loosely gotten together, and it seemed as though it had always been customary to let the presidential candidates finance affairs, and the man with the most money usually got the delegation from Georgia.

Lincoln Johnson, as you know, is a Negro, and the majority, probably 75 per cent of the registered Republican voters in Georgia are Negroes.

Senator POMERENE. Seventy-five per cent?

Mr. KARNES. Seventy-five per cent. Johnson, if nothing else, is a good Negro politician, and the strongest Negro in the colored race in the South, and in politics the strongest in the country. His power over the Republicans of his race in Georgia is unquestioned, and he has been quite the strongest character in Republican politics in Georgia, regardless of their color.

This campaign, which started out by agreement among the men representing the one side, the younger Republicans, Johnson representing the Negro Republicans, and Mr. Pickett, of whom I have spoken several times, representing the old-line, both colored and white, that we were going to conduct a campaign so as not to have any contests from Georgia. That was before the December meeting; that there was to be no contest before the December meeting of the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Is Pickett a colored man or white?

Mr. KARNES. He is a white man, and the present chairman of the Republican State central committee of Georgia.

After coming back from Washington in December, at the meeting of the national committee, it seems that Mr. Pickett had developed a Leonard Wood sentiment, and Lincoln Johnson had developed a Lowden sentiment. Naturally I have always been for Senator Harding, but we had agreed not to have any contests, and we were going to let the thing go along with a give-and-take proposition, so that in the State, where we could not function in November, we could at least have quiet in June, so we started out on that line.

Then comes into the equation a certain set of men headed by Frank Hitchcock, known to the Southerners as Gen. Hitchcock—they call him general down there.

Senator POMERENE. You mean the manager of the Wood campaign

Mr. KARNES. At present he is. At that time he was not managing anything. Mr. King was managing the Leonard Wood campaign, and Mr. King had, I understood, given some money to Mr. Pickett to look after the Wood interests in Georgia, but Johnson had not received any money up to this time, but upon the advent

of the Hitchcock faction into our State, headed by a banker by the name of Henry Blun, of Savannah, Ga., former national committeeman, Clark Greer, Augusta, Ga. They were the active Georgians in the Hitchcock camp, and they came into the equation supported by Sidney Bieber, Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. KARNES. I do not know. I think his business now is politics. He was fire martial here at one time, and national committeeman here, but was expelled, after the Roosevelt episode, from the national committee, if you will remember. Sidney Bieber and a man by the name of Joe Bean, and a man by the name of Hammer or Hammell—I do not know his name, but he did not come in until later—anyhow, these four, Greer, Blun, Bieber, and Bean represented Frank Hitchcock in Georgia politics. They sent for me, and I had a conference with Mr. Greer and Mr. Bieber. Mr. Blun, as banker, simply handled the financial end of the Hitchcock campaign. They told me the plan was to let us go along and all work together in aid of a delegation for Mr. Hitchcock.

I asked Mr. Greer if Mr. Hitchcock was running for the presidential nomination, and he said he was not, but he was a political broker, and “Mr. Hitchcock’s plan is this, Karnes”—this is what he said to me——

Senator POMERENE. Who said this to you?

Mr. KARNES. Clark Greer.

Mr. Hitchcock’s plan is this. The delegates from Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and the other Southern States will be in Mr. Hitchcock’s control, and he will finance all the campaigns. They will not have to look to anybody else for any money. It will all come through the general (meaning Hitchcock) and when he gets to the Chicago convention he will have in his hand around 97 votes, and he can get what he wants.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Greer claiming to be the agent of Hitchcock?

Mr. KARNES. He was the agent of Hitchcock at the time—Clark Greer.

To get past that, our State central committee met upon order of the chairman, upon notice sent out by the chairman, on February 28. If you will recall, at this time, Senator Moses was the Wood manager. Mr. Hitchcock at that time was still without a candidate.

Senator POMERENE. You say Hitchcock was still without a candidate?

Mr. KARNES. At this time when our State central committee met and perfected a program and called for the State and district conventions and county conventions throughout the State. At this committee meeting Mr. Greer and his friends became very active, displaying a great amount of financial resources, which I will say, like the Democrat just preceding me, astounded we fellows, as we had no idea there was that much money to go into the campaign in Georgia, especially from a man without a candidate for whom he was contending—that is to say, furnished by Frank Hitchcock to Mr. Greer, according to his statement to me.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see this money?

Mr. KARNES. At one particular time. I never saw Mr. Greer have in his possession at any particular time more than \$15,000 in cash at any one of the district meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say you saw him have that much money?

Mr. KARNES. That much money in cash.

Senator POMERENE. Did you count it?

Mr. KARNES. I did not count it, but we were coming back—this was a little later. I will have to go a little ahead of my story there. We were coming back from the second district convention that had been held in the State, a place called Cartersville, in the seventh congressional district, at which the district convention has split, one side holding for uninstructed delegates, that is the side with which I was allied, the other side, engineered by Greer and Walter Ackerman, who was chairman of that district, holding for a Wood delegation. They had split, and we were on the Pullman coming down from Cartersville to Atlanta, the evening after the convention, and Mr. Greer and Mr. Pickett were on, and I was all alone, and Mr. Pickett was dozing in one end of the car, and Mr. Greer came back and sat down by me and he said, "This is the last chance that you will have to get right, because after what has happened to-day, unless you line up with us, you will not have a chance to get in the Chicago convention, and you won't get any place without money anyhow, and we are the fellows that have got the money." I questioned him on that, and he said, "Well, I will show you what I had prepared for this convention," and he pulled out of his various pockets 15 packets of new bills, labeled \$1,000, as the bank puts them up, and I, of course, did not count them all, but it looked like \$15,000.

Senator POMERENE. What denominations were they?

Mr. KARNES. They were twenties and fifties, as far as I could see. This was after Hitchcock had taken the Wood campaign that I saw this money. Before he took the Wood campaign I never saw an agent of Hitchcock have more than \$2,000. I did see Mr. Greer once have \$2,000, before Hitchcock had a candidate to run.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see Hitchcock in control?

Mr. KARNES. He never has been.

Senator POMERENE. You say you never saw any other agent with more than \$2,000 of Hitchcock's money. How do you know he was his agent?

Mr. KARNES. Only by their own admissions to me, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who was it that had the \$2,000?

Mr. KARNES. I saw Mr. Cole.

Senator POMERENE. Give his full name.

Mr. KARNES. D. C. Cole.

Senator POMERENE. Where is he from?

Mr. KARNES. Marietta, Ga.

Senator POMERENE. With \$2,000?

Mr. KARNES. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Where did you see this?

Mr. KARNES. The Piedmont Hotel, Atlanta.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see the money?

Mr. KARNES. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. In his possession?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How do you know there were \$2,000 in it?

Mr. KARNES. From the mere fact that a man has two packages of money and he tells me he has got \$2,000.

Senator POMERENE. You saw the packages, did you?

Mr. KARNES. I saw the money out in his hand.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see what denominations these bills were?

Mr. KARNES. Not particularly; no, sir. Usually they are twenties.

Senator POMERENE. What did he say to you about this \$2,000?

Mr. KARNES. Well, the proposition was that they wanted our opposition downed.

Now, if you will let me go back to that State executive committee meeting, where I left off, this was February 28, at which time Frank Hitchcock had no campaign on.

Senator POMERENE. No candidate, you mean?

Mr. KARNES. That is right. He was making a campaign for Hitchcock delegates, as was given out by his agents in our State. Lincoln Johnson, whom I mentioned, was making a race for national committeeman. They had several meetings in my office just previous to the State central committee meeting, in which Lincoln Johnson, Clark Greer, the Hitchcock men, and myself were present, and on one or two occasions someone else. I was attempting to keep down the contests, to keep them all working and going in the convention, and where one might win in any particular district convention, I was trying to make the rest of them satisfied, and not contest that delegate at Chicago. We tried and tried, but we were unsuccessful, and the day following our executive committee meeting Mr. Greer called for me, and I went to his hotel, and he told me——

Senator POMERENE. What hotel was that?

Mr. KARNES. The Piedmont Hotel at Atlanta. He told me that his advice from New York was to the effect that Hitchcock was shortly, in the next day or two, to take hold of a campaign, and he felt quite sure it would be Leonard Wood, and that if he did do that, that would then throw him and Mr. Pickett, who was handling the Wood campaign under King and Moses in Georgia, together, and he said, "Before this happens there is a chance for you to get on the band wagon. You can be elected delegate from this district without much trouble, especially if Lincoln Johnson says so. You are closest to Lincoln Johnson, and if you will do that we will give you \$2,000 to cover your expenses, and they should not be large, because we will take care of practically all of them." In other words——

Senator POMERENE. What was the date of that conversation?

Mr. KARNES. The 1st day of March.

Senator POMERENE. How many days after the meeting of the State committee?

Mr. KARNES. The next day.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was it told you that?

Mr. KARNES. Clark Greer, the head of the Hitchcock workers in the State. He said, "Now, you are so close to Lincoln, and Lincoln is for Lowden, and he wants to be elected national committeeman. Now, if you will accept that proposition for the fifth district, we will make you a proposition for Lincoln. In other words, you tell him that we will throw no opposition in his way of being national committeeman from Georgia, provided he will allow us to have the delegate for Mr. Hitchcock, and if he will agree upon that we will finance the entire campaign, and put \$3,000 in any bank he designates, to be

his after the State convention is over, to kind of carry him on until after the Republican Party gets in power and can give him a job." Now, I am telling you just exactly what happened.

Senator POMERENE. Was any one else present at the time you had this talk?

Mr. KARNES. But Mr. Greer?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. KARNES. At that particular time, no.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see Mr. Johnson after that?

Mr. KARNES. I did, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How soon after that?

Mr. KARNES. Lincoln Johnson?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. KARNES. Possibly within a few hours.

Senator POMERENE. Did you talk with him about the subject matter of the Greer talk?

Mr. KARNES. I did not, sir. I did not speak of it, not then. I would not like to do that, if you understand the conditions in the South, especially where the racial differences are so strained.

Senator POMERENE. What was the occasion, then, of your seeing Mr. Johnson within a few hours?

Mr. KARNES. The occasion was, after I got through with my interview with Mr. Greer; I then felt sure of what we were up against to save the remnants of the Republican organization in our State and keep it in Georgia; in other words, not to have Georgia politics run from 120 Broadway. In other words, we wanted to have the say, what little Republicans we had there, ourselves.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you have any talk with Mr. Greer after that?

Mr. KARNES. A great many, and on a great many occasions.

Senator POMERENE. Bearing on the question of your political position and the use of this money?

Mr. KARNES. I did not talk to him but once more. I told him that I absolutely would not put up a proposition like that to Johnson; that I did not want to lose his friendship, and that I knew that if I went so far as to even carry a proposition like that to Johnson, even though he is a negro, that I would stand a good chance to lose his political friendship.

Senator POMERENE. I assume from that that you had confidence in Johnson's personal integrity?

Mr. KARNES. The utmost.

Senator POMERENE. And political integrity?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir; and have still. Then Mr. Greer talked to me about running as a delegate or as a candidate for delegate from the fifth district. I would not go because I would not make the race, for the simple reason that I did not want to be pledged to abide by the decision of Frank H. Hitchcock, and that was the stipulation under which they wanted the delegate to run.

Senator REED. You were not to run and be free to vote as you pleased, or run even pledged to a certain candidate, but you were to be a political——

Mr. KARNES. Pawn for Hitchcock.

Senator REED. Political pawn for Hitchcock, to be moved about by Hitchcock?

Mr. KARNES. Exactly.

Senator POMERENE. When did you, after this talk, again see Greer?

Mr. KARNES. The next time I saw Greer, I do not remember exactly when it was.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see him again with money?

Mr. KARNES. Just a minute. I will tell you that I saw him—the next time I saw him actively in the campaign was, I believe, the 27th day of March—no; the 20th day of March, in Athens, Ga., at the eighth district convention. Mr. Greer was present, Johnson was present, I was present, and a great many Republicans from without that district were present at their convention. They elected a man by the name of Harris who, I understand, was a Wood man, without opposition.

Senator POMERENE. You mean as presidential delegate, of course?

Mr. KARNES. As presidential delegate, and some of our fellows who had supported another man wanted to make a contest on some very fair grounds, fair contesting grounds, that meetings had been held a little out of order in some of the counties in the district, and after consulting and advising with one of our men in the convention and in the presence of a man who was the strongest, the Wood man, I asked them all to withdraw their opposition to him and let him be elected without contest.

Senator POMERENE. To whom?

Mr. KARNES. Harris, let him be elected without any splotch on his title whatsoever in that district, which they did. I thought that would set a good example for the Hitchcock-Wood combination, which was then Hitchcock and Wood, don't you see? Hitchcock had taken the Wood campaign.

One week after that, in Cartersville, Ga., they held a convention in the Seventh District for the election of a delegate, and we had the majority of the uncontested county delegates, that is the delegates from the counties to the district convention.

Senator POMERENE. When you say "we?"—

Mr. KARNES. I mean the combined forces of Lincoln Johnson, who was openly for Gov. Lowden, although not for instructions, and we fellows who were opposed to any instructed delegates for any one, and, above all, any delegates to be used by Mr. Hitchcock.

They made the fight there upon the ground that they could buy both white and black alike——

Senator REED. Who made that fight?

Mr. KARNES. Mr. Greer, the manager of the Hitchcock-Wood forces in Georgia at that time, and it was on that occasion when we were coming back to Atlanta from that convention that he showed me this money that I have told you about.

Senator POMERENE. That is the \$15,000?

Mr. KARNES. Yes.

Senator REED. What did you say when he showed it to you?

Mr. KARNES. He told me that was the last chance I would have to get on the band wagon.

Senator REED. What was the band wagon?

Mr. KARNES. The band wagon was this. Mr. Greer explained it to me in this way: "Frank Hitchcock has been taken on to manage the Wood campaign, because he is the slickest of the slick poli-

ticians"—this was his explanation exactly as he gave it to me—"and he is going to be the biggest factor in the convention, and if you are not with us your political future is blotted out immediately after the convention, because anyone that opposes Hitchcock will be dropped." "Now," he said further, "Frank Hitchcock can control a majority of the National committee, and if we can not elect our men, we have orders to simply take a pencil and scratch pad and get up a contest, because Mr. Hitchcock will have that control." They then showed me the money they had and offered to show me where they could finance my candidacy if I would run.

Senator REED. That is the time he proposed \$2,000 to you?

Mr. KARNES. That was before that. He just simply made the same offer over, with a few arguments in favor of it.

Senator POMERENE. Did you see him at any time later with money?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Where?

Mr. KARNES. I saw him in Dublin, Ga., where they had made a fight to instruct the delegate for Leonard Wood. I did not go. I knew Mr. Greer was very active and was holding forth in a certain building down the street, where he was having the delegates to the district convention come to see him. I did not know what he was doing there, but I was told by some that he was paying off, but I did see them in the convention make a motion to instruct the delegates after his election for Leonard Wood. Immediately after it was made a motion was made by another delegate to table the motion for instructions, and it was tabled by a vote of 31 out of 34 delegates in this district convention.

Then Mr. Greer, who was a spectator, as I was, jumped on his feet very frantically, shouting to the delegates who surrounded him, "You have taken my money and have not done what you have agreed to do," in open meeting, in open convention.

Senator POMERENE. Was this within the hearing of the others?

Mr. KARNES. Within the hearing of everybody in the convention.

Senator POMERENE. What else was said?

Mr. KARNES. There was quite a lot of noise about that time. I presume what he said was lost, because most of the fellows that had taken it simply shouted him down, and there was not much chance for him to get it back.

Senator REED. Do you mean to say that he paid them off before delivering the goods?

Mr. KARNES. He evidently did.

Senator POMERENE. Who else was there at that meeting at that time?

Mr. KARNES. A great many people. Lincoln Johnson was there.

Senator POMERENE. Name some of the people who were there.

Mr. KARNES. Henry Lincoln Johnson, Prof. H. A. Hunt, John T. Noble. There were a vast number there. I can not recall them all. Is that sufficient?

Senator POMERENE. Are they good, reputable people?

Mr. KARNES. Absolutely, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Can you state whether or not they heard this statement by Greer to the effect that they had taken his money and gone back on him?

Mr. KARNES. I know at least two of them did.

Senator POMERENE. Who were the two that heard this?

Mr. KARNES. Noble and Johnson. Now, in that convention, as I stated, the motion was made to instruct the delegates. The fellow that made that motion—his name was McCray. His father told me that McCray was paid \$200 to make the motion. ~~MAC~~.

Senator POMERENE. Give McCray's first name and his residence.

Mr. KARNES. I can not give you his first name.

Senator POMERENE. What was his residence?

Mr. KARNES. Dublin, Ga.

Senator POMERENE. What was his father's first name?

Mr. KARNES. I do not know his father's first name.

Senator POMERENE. Does he live also in Dublin?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How do you spell that McCray?

Mr. KARNES. M-c-C-r-a-y. I had better not say this, because I am not sure of it, but I will tell you at this particular time that I was told by a member of the county delegation that his delegation had been paid \$500 to vote for these instructions. There were four votes in the county delegation.

Senator POMERENE. That is at that same convention?

Mr. KARNES. I would rather leave that out.

Senator POMERENE. You mean that you are not certain about it?

Mr. KARNES. I am not certain, but I think he said that the county delegation had gotten \$500 from Mr. Greer to vote for instructions.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any talk with Greer about the money he had paid these fellows?

Mr. KARNES. No; but I did hear him say at that convention, not using these terms exactly, however, that it cost him \$1,700, and then did not instruct.

Senator POMERENE. Was you with him on another occasion, political occasion?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir; in Albany, Ga.

Senator REED. May we stick to this a moment, Senator, before we leave the convention?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Senator REED. I do not want to interrupt your line of thought.

Senator POMERENE. All right, go ahead.

Senator REED. Now, if I understand you right, Greer's scheme was to get a delegation instructed for Wood?

Mr. KARNES. At this time; yes, sir.

Senator REED. And he had a lot of delegates go to his office or some room, and there you understood they were paid off, before the convention, and before the vote was had?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. When they got over to the convention a gentleman named McCray—is that right?

Mr. KARNES. That is right.

Senator REED. Of Dublin, Ga., got up and made a motion that the delegates should go uninstructed?

Mr. KARNES. No: that they should be instructed for Wood.

Senator REED. He made the motion to instruct, and who made the motion to table that?

Mr. KARNES. I think it was Prof. Hunt.

Senator REED. Prof. Hunt made the motion to table that?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And that motion to table was carried by a vote of 31 out of 34 votes?

Mr. KARNES. Correct, sir.

Senator REED. Thereupon Mr. Greer arose and charged that he had paid them to vote for instructions, and they had failed to deliver?

Mr. KARNES. Failed to keep their promise.

Senator REED. And he did that in sort of violent language, did he?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did he apply some appropriate and choice epithets?

Mr. KARNES. He did so, and your failing Democratic press in that city gave a very good account of it. I am very sorry I did not bring that.

Senator POMERENE. What paper is that?

Mr. KARNES. I think it is the Dublin Herald. I have the clipping and would be glad to furnish it, but it does not mention the money part, but it tells exactly how the instructions were attempted, and how they were voted down.

Senator REED. Have you that clipping with you?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir; I am very sorry I have not.

Senator REED. Let us go back to the meeting a moment. Whom did you say had received \$200 for making the motion?

Mr. KARNES. McCray.

Senator REED. And his motion was what?

Mr. KARNES. To instruct the delegates for Wood.

Senator REED. He was one of the men that presumptively was employed in this business by Mr. Greer?

Mr. KARNES. Greer.

Senator REED. How many of these men were paid off before the convention?

Mr. KARNES. The convention convened at 12 o'clock. Mr. Greer was very active all morning.

Senator REED. Was there a short interval between the time they were paid off and the time the convention met?

Mr. KARNES. There was a general meeting in a room that you might designate as Mr. Greer's office, which was only a couple of blocks away from the convention hall, at 11 o'clock.

Senator REED. That is the meeting where the payings off took place?

Mr. KARNES. That is the meeting where I was informed the payings off took place. I was not there.

Senator REED. Who saw the delegates in the meantime?

Mr. KARNES. Who saw them?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KARNES. Well, sir, I will tell you about that. In the convention, while the credentials committee was in session hearing some contests from several counties—I was for an uninstructed delegate, and I will tell you what happened there. I went among the delegates on the floor and found five or six of our friends who I immediately got started in a demonstration for Johnson.

Senator REED. For whom?

Mr. KARNES. For Lincoln Johnson, who was there. The chairman would not allow him to speak. They wanted him to speak,

and they finally, with the din and a great deal of noise and shouting, prevailed, and the chairman allowed him to speak. He spoke for about 20 minutes upon the general subject of Republicanism and sending an untrammelled delegate to Chicago, and after he was through, no matter how much money they had paid those fellows, it was an impossibility to get their vote for an instructed delegate, after he had talked to them.

Senator REED. You think the golden eloquence of the Georgia colored man beat the gold of New York?

Mr. KARNES. You understand, Senator, that here the Georgia colored man is Georgia's colored delegate to the convention. Lincoln Johnson's power over his colored brethren is absolutely without understanding, unless you have seen it in operation.

Senator REED. Do you know something about Johnson taking \$9,000 himself about that time?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you reckon any of that had any persuasive influence?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir. I will tell you that. His \$9,000 did not get him over the State, because I have seen practically every bit of it he has spent. I have put some of my own money into it, and my friends have put money into it, and other Republicans, and in all, we have spent probably, outside of his \$9,000, some \$6,000 or \$7,000 on top of it.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Karnes, you really think, then, that it was the speech of Lincoln Johnson which swayed the convention?

Mr. KARNES. In that particular instance it was.

Senator REED. Regardless of any conscientious scruples they might have disturbing them at that time?

Mr. KARNES. Senator, I do not believe that a man who will take money to vote for any particular measure has any conscientious scruples.

Senator REED. Well, I meant scruples they would have for not staying bought.

Senator POMERENE. When next did you see Mr. Greer or anybody else with Wood money?

Mr. KARNES. The next activity on the part of Mr. Greer that I came in personal contact with was in Albany, Ga. This was the second district. In this district there is a man by the name of Watson, Joe Watson, who is conceded to be the leader of the Republican Party in the second district.

Senator POMERENE. White or black?

Mr. KARNES. He is black. His candidate for delegate, uninstructed, was a man by the name of Satterwhite.

Senator POMERENE. Is he colored?

Mr. KARNES. Colored; yes. Satterwhite was the chairman of the district committee. The Wood-Hitchcock forces had selected a man by the name of Phillips, a white man, of Thomasville, Ga., whom they wanted to have delegates from that district. I was told by Mr. Watson that Mr. Greer came to the executive committee meeting in that district, and that while Mr. Greer and Mr. Pickett were at the hotel in his city, they sent a man to him by the name of Munroe, J. A. Munroe, and told him that if he would withdraw, he and Satter-

white, and would support their man Phillips, he would give him and Satterwhite each \$1,000.

Senator REED. Who made that proposition?

Mr. KARNES. A man by the name of J. A. Munroe, as the agent for Clark Greer, and that Mr. Greer was then at the hotel awaiting Mr. Munroe's return from his interview with Watson, and if he agreed he would come right down and pay him, and Watson told him that the last time Watson and his family was sold was 75 years ago when they sold his mother, or something like that. Anyhow, he did not accept it.

Then, at the meeting of the executive committee before the night of the convention, this man Munroe was present, I was present, Greer and others were present when this man Watson, in a room containing possibly 45 or 50 people, delegates and members of the executive committee, recited the whole thing, and made Munroe substantiate him and admit that it was so.

Senator POMERENE. What did Munroe say?

Mr. KARNES. Munroe said, "Yes; I came to you last Tuesday with that proposition." Watson said, "Did you not tell me that Mr. Greer was waiting at the hotel to see men and had the money?" Munroe said, "Yes; but the money was to be for your expenses." And Watson said, "Did you not tell me it was to be \$1,000 apiece for myself and Satterwhite?" And he said, "Yes."

Senator POMERENE. Was Greer there?

Mr. KARNES. Greer was not there, but Munroe; the agent, admitted that he acted for Greer in that capacity.

Senator POMERENE. But you do know that Greer was there at the hotel, do you?

Mr. KARNES. Greer was at the hotel; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What was the result of that convention?

Mr. KARNES. In that convention the delegates are 28 in number.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean the delegates to the national convention?

Mr. KARNES. No; to the district convention from the various counties. They were called to the temporary convention, and everything plotted up at the time that the credentials committee was appointed and went out to hear the contests. I think there were contests from two counties, and they came back and made their report, and moved the adoption of it as a permanent rule of the convention. Then an objection was made on the part of a man by the name of Broadnax—

Senator POMERENE. Give his first name, if you can.

Mr. KARNES. S. S. Broadnax; he claiming that there was some irregularity, which the credentials committee had not been fair upon in one of the contests, and stated his case before the entire convention, and put it to a vote of the convention, and the action of the credentials committee was upheld, and immediately Broadnax and seven other delegates, under the direction of Clark Greer, who was present, withdrew to one side of the hall and held a convention and elected Mr. Phillips, and that is their contest in that district.

Senator POMERENE. Seven out of 28?

Mr. KARNES. Eight—Broadnax and seven others,

Senator POMERENE. Eight out of 28?

Mr. KARNES. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Who composed the other branch of the convention?

Mr. KARNES. Satterwhite. The 20 regularly elected delegates elected Satterwhite.

Senator POMERENE. Did you attend any other convention?

Mr. KARNES. I attended several others; yes, sir; and practically the same repetition was in all of them. Where they had not enough to fight for them, they withdrew and hatched up a contest.

For instance, in the fifth district, which is Atlanta, Ga., the convention was held in a lecture hall of a church, a large church, and the executive committee was in session hearing the contests, reviewing the contests for making up a temporary roll, and under the direction of Greer and his lieutenants there were some two hundred and fifty and odd people taken into the hall, and the fifth district of Georgia is entitled to only 16 delegates. It was necessary for the chairman of the fifth district to call the aid of the police to clear the entire hall so that the delegates could come in with their alternates and be properly seated before the public interfered. They did that, and that left the public in the rear, leaving a space for the regularly elected delegates and alternates, so the business could be carried on without interruption. The Greer forces took 1 delegate away from the 16, and after they found out that the police would not allow them to hold a convention in there while the other convention was going on, they went out on the curbstone and held a convention and elected C. W. McClure, and Mr. Greer told me he would be willing to wager a few dollars that Mr. McClure would be seated, giving Frank Hitchcock still control of the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Was Lincoln Johnson there?

Mr. KARNES. He was there.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any knowledge of the use of any money at that convention?

Mr. KARNES. Not any large amount; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You said awhile ago that Johnson had some \$9,000 of Lowden money?

Mr. KARNES. That is true.

Senator POMERENE. And that you used some of your own in the campaign down there?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How much money did you use?

Mr. KARNES. I do not know exactly. I would not go on record for any amount. I know that Watson told me he had expended about \$2,000, and I imagine that my expenditures would run about the same.

Senator POMERENE. That is Joseph Watson?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Spent about \$2,000?

Mr. KARNES. Spent about \$2,000 going over the State and assisting in the different conventions.

Senator POMERENE. And you spent about \$2,000?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other expenditures there?

Mr. KARNES. Only that Greer told me he had spent about \$33,000 sometime before the campaign was over, when the campaign was about half over. That is all I know of. It is very easy to spend

\$14,000 or \$15,000 in Georgia without finding any votes, Senator, because we have 156 counties, and in most every one of them it is necessary to go and get up the Republicans, because——

Senator REED. What do you mean by getting up the Republicans?

Mr. KARNES. Because of the fact that the Republicans in a great many of those counties are so unenthusiastic that they do not even want to hold a county convention, because they know that when they vote they won't be counted. I have gone into counties and helped to get up the call and have it published for the county chairman, and to see that he had everything regular so that there would be no irregularity about his election, and have arranged for the conduct of it, and stirred them up a little bit.

Senator SPENCER. What do you mean by saying that when they vote they will not be counted?

Mr. KARNES. They do not count them in Georgia, not more than one out of five.

Senator SPENCER. You mean that the election officials do not count the Republican ballots?

Mr. KARNES. Yes; that is what I mean; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you knowledge of the use to which Lincoln Johnson put his money?

Mr. KARNES. To the same use, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. To the same use?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir; to the same use. We kept a headquarters in operation, and we kept speakers at every convention, practically, that we could get. I mean we were to get a great many of them and we had several others. We had literature that we got out, not of a sort that would promote any one candidate's chances——

Senator POMERENE. Let us not misunderstand one another. You say it was put to the same use. Do you mean the same use that Greer put his money, to buy delegates?

Mr. KARNES. No; I meant in seeing that everything was pulled off in a regular manner.

Senator POMERENE. I wanted to be fair with you in the matter. Have you any knowledge of his using any money for the purpose of influencing delegates corruptly?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you use any money in that way?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did any of these other friends of yours who were affiliated with you in an effort to get an uninstructed delegate use any money corruptly, so far as you know?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir; not so far as I know. In fact, I never gave a penny of my money or anyone else's money that I handled to anyone. I spent it all myself.

Senator POMERENE. How long have you been in Georgia?

Mr. KARNES. About four years.

Senator POMERENE. Did you go directly from Gallipolis, Ohio, to Atlanta?

Mr. KARNES. No; I went from Chicago.

Senator SPENCER. Your delegation did not receive credentials, did they?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir. Our delegation received credentials, and we have 14 contested delegates out of 17.

Senator POMERENE. Is there a contest against you?

Senator SPENCER. You are the contestant there?

Mr. KARNES. I do not know, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Not personally; but your side was the contestant?

Mr. KARNES. No; our side has been placed on the roll—I mean, I got upon the roll as being regular, and the other contesting. That will be thrashed out Monday in Chicago. Our case comes up the first one Monday before the national committee in Chicago, to see who is regular and who is not regular.

Senator SPENCER. Your delegates were the so-called Lowden delegates?

Mr. KARNES. I presume they might have been called Lowden delegates——

Senator SPENCER. The other side are the so-called Wood delegates?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Your understanding is that you are the contestees and the Wood delegates are contesting your right?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Are you taking with you to Chicago any other witnesses to prove these statements about Mr. Greer?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir; we are taking witnesses of every instance which I have related, and possibly some that I have overlooked, and we have affidavits from people in every convention. For instance, in the one I related to you, where 20 of them voted for one man, and 8 of them bolted, we have affidavits of 20 regularly elected delegates, with their credentials from their various counties, and in the State convention, where the same thing happened, out of 356 delegates at the State convention we have affidavits of 310, that they held——

Senator POMERENE. Do your laws provide for the filing of any expense account by candidates or by those conducting a convention or primary?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Senator REED. Did you have a bolt in your State convention?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How many bolted?

Mr. KARNES. To the best of my knowledge, 23, instructed for Wood, and out of 356 regularly elected delegates we have affidavits from 310. There were some that did not even come; some that were not even present.

Senator REED. Well, is this story that you have told us a pretty good sample of Republican politics in Georgia.

Mr. KARNES. That is a fair sample; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you blame them for not letting you vote, or not counting your vote?

Mr. KARNES. Well, I do not know, Senator. I saw the same thing enacted a week or so ago by your friend, Tom Watson, down there, when he did the same thing with the Democrats in their State convention.

Senator REED. How is that?

Mr. KARNES. He did the same thing with the Democrats in their State convention.

Senator REED. He bolted?

Mr. KARNES. He did not bolt, but he forced the entire convention by machining them about.

Senator REED. But two-thirds of the delegates stayed in the hall?

Mr. KARNES. They all stayed in the hall, but they held a different convention in the same hall.

Senator REED. You mean Watson used money?

Mr. KARNES. I would not like to say that.

Senator REED. You do not think that at all, do you?

Mr. KARNES. No; because you have not got any. That is about the size of it. But I do know there was a lot of money used.

Senator SPENCER. There was a lot of money used?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Among the delegates to this Democratic State convention?

Mr. KARNES. Well——

Senator REED. Now let us answer that.

Mr. KARNES. Yes; there was there. I am quite sure of that, because there was evidence of it.

Senator REED. Did you see any paid?

Mr. KARNES. I did not.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, they had a primary in Georgia, did they not?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There was a large number of votes cast for Mr. Palmer, a large number of votes cast for Senator Smith, and a large number of votes cast for Mr. Watson?

Mr. KARNES. Correct. The votes for Mr. Watson——

Senator REED. Were about two-thirds of the delegates; that is right, is it not?

Mr. KARNES. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, they went down and had a convention; in that convention there was a division along the line of Palmer men on the one side, and the other two crowds on the other; that is right, is it not?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What do you mean by saying that there was anybody down there using the methods you have described, men paying \$1,000 for votes, and getting up fake contests and offering money? You do not mean that? You do not mean to say that, do you?

Mr. KARNES. I do not mean to say there was anybody down there. I said they used the same tactics because of the fact that it speaks for itself. They have a contest from there.

Senator REED. They have a contest, yes; that is all.

Mr. KARNES. And they bolted the convention in exactly the same way that they bolted in our State convention.

Senator REED. About one-third of the crowd went off?

Mr. KARNES. That is right.

Senator REED. That was not the Watson crowd either, was it?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When you said the same thing was done down there in the Democratic convention, you meant by that that they had a contest on?

Mr. KARNES. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And you did not have in mind the corrupt use of money in any way?

Mr. KARNES. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What did you mean by the use of money in the Democratic convention?

Senator POMERENE. There is no such thing.

Mr. KARNES. Senator Reed asked me if I knew of the use of any money, and I told him I saw evidence of money.

Senator SPENCER. What do you mean by evidence of money?

Mr. KARNES. You know that most Georgia politicians are poor, both Republicans and Democrats. With a great many of them it is necessary, before they will attend a convention, that they be furnished with their expense accounts, and if the railroad fare is \$7.40, their expense for a half day is about \$50. That is the ratio in which they operate. That applies to Democrats and Republicans alike, and there was an outpouring of Democrats.

Senator POMERENE. Being from Ohio, that surprised you, did it not?

Mr. KARNES. It did, sir. There was an outpouring of Democrats at the State convention second to none. In other words, there were politicians of every description there who were not even delegates and not alternates, but who were influenced in a great many ways. There were other evidences of money that I believe best not told here.

Senator SPENCER. Why not?

Mr. KARNES. Well, it may be that they all had enough money.

Senator REED. Your evidence of money consists in the fact that a large crowd of people attended the convention?

Mr. KARNES. Not wholly. I know that a large number of people were there that could not have gotten there unless they walked or somebody had paid their way.

Senator REED. That is all.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

(Whereupon the committee adjourned until Tuesday, June 1, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 2

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon, presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Reed, Pomerene, Spencer, and Edge.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ROBERT F. WOLFE.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

Senator POMERENE. Give your full name, Mr. Wolfe, and residence.

Mr. WOLFE. Robert F. Wolfe, Columbus, Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. State your business.

Mr. WOLFE. I am the owner of the Ohio State Journal and the Columbus Evening Dispatch, and a manufacturer.

Senator POMERENE. You have been thus engaged in these different enterprises for a good many years?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And have been somewhat active politically?

Mr. WOLFE. Only as the ownership of newspapers in a political capital compels me to be.

Senator POMERENE. What part, if any, did you take in the recent primary campaign with reference to the presidential candidates?

Mr. WOLFE. Rather an active part.

Senator POMERENE. And in whose behalf?

Mr. WOLFE. You would be surprised when I say in no one's, particularly.

Senator POMERENE. Describe more fully your activities.

Mr. WOLFE. My activities are covered, I think, by the statement that I really desired to take no active part. I wished to be for Senator Harding if I could do so honorably. I would say that our State is in a political condition where legislation and a great many of its activities are directed by an inside coterie of men and interests that I have always regarded it as the duty of a newspaper man to oppose. When Senator Harding became a candidate, I desired to be for him, but I told him frankly when he put his campaign in the hands of these interests, that I would be compelled to oppose him.

Senator POMERENE. What interests have you reference to?

Mr. WOLFE. The general political interests that control the party and its activities in Ohio, made up of a number of men.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean by that the purely political affairs of the party, or do you have something else in mind?

Mr. WOLFE. I had in mind men who direct and almost deal in legislation, who are known in Ohio, and I said that if they had full control over the Senator's campaign, I could not be for him.

Senator POMERENE. Whom did you support in your activities?

Mr. WOLFE. I supported no one in particular. I never openly advocated Wood. I believe the strongest editorial written, to my knowledge, was favoring Hiram Johnson.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean in the Columbus Dispatch?

Mr. WOLFE. The Journal, which is a Republican paper. My opposition was against this element in the Republican Party, not particularly in favor of any candidate.

Senator POMERENE. Who constituted this element that you were opposed to?

Mr. WOLFE. You know, Senator, I do not want to go into personalities.

Senator POMERENE. Just in a general way?

Mr. WOLFE. I would say Senator Harding's manager was the most active.

Senator POMERENE. Did you raise any funds in the conduct of this campaign?

Mr. WOLFE. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you subscribe any?

Mr. WOLFE. I did.

Senator POMERENE. What amount?

Mr. WOLFE. \$1,500, not to the Wood campaign. I was never in the Wood headquarters, and not in touch with them or their activities. I subscribed \$1,500 to the Franklin County, which is the 12th district, local campaign committee, for the benefit of the general campaign.

Senator POMERENE. That was in opposition to this faction that you speak of?

Mr. WOLFE. That was in opposition to this faction that I speak of.

Senator POMERENE. Did you make any further contributions?

Mr. WOLFE. I did not, that is the political campaigns. I spend money individually.

Senator POMERENE. Along this same line?

Mr. WOLFE. Along this same line.

Senator POMERENE. To what extent?

Mr. WOLFE. The exact amount is \$12,800, possibly some odd cents.

Senator POMERENE. Did you receive any funds from any of these interests whose cause you were championing?

Mr. WOLFE. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other funds being received or expended in Columbus, or in that vicinity, by individuals or committeemen, in Columbus?

Mr. WOLFE. There was a great deal of money expended in Columbus by both the Harding and the Wood managers, and there was some activity for Hoover. I do not know whether there was any money spent there or not. There was general activity in Ohio, and the Harding people were apparently as well financed as the Wood people, and they spent their money liberally.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any conference with any of the people, and by that I mean the Republicans who were engaged on either side of the contest in Cuyahoga County with respect to funds? I will put it in that way.

Mr. WOLFE. How is that?

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any conference with any of these people who were interested in this contest in Cuyahoga County, with respect to funds?

Mr. WOLFE. In respect to funds at that time?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. WOLFE. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of various contributions having been made in Cleveland—I will limit it to the present time—to the Wood campaign fund, or to his delegates?

Mr. WOLFE. I know of no contributions made to the Wood campaign fund in Cleveland.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any moneys received or expended by Mr. Rudolph Haneke, of Cincinnati, in this contest?

Mr. WOLFE. I do not know Mr. Haneke. He was out of the State.

Senator POMERENE. What else can you tell us with regard to the funds which were contributed or expended on behalf of Gen. Wood or his candidacy, or by the delegates in his behalf? That is a very comprehensive question, but I have asked it purposely.

Mr. WOLFE. I do not know. I am not in touch with any of the money that they spent, except that I was appealed to by people who did printing and did advertising for them, saying that they owed them money and had paid them to a certain amount. I was not in touch with their campaign in the slightest way—I will not say the slightest way, because they would come, both parties would come to the office and discuss things, but I am not acquainted with the expenditures of the Wood campaign.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know William S. Stoneman of Columbus?

Mr. WOLFE. I do not think I do. The name is familiar. He is a printer, I think. I do not know him personally.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about his activities?

Mr. WOLFE. I understand he printed a great deal of the Harding stuff to be distributed through the country to the Republican press, in the way of supplements that were accepted.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether he was acting in a similar capacity for the Wood campaign or their managers?

Mr. WOLFE. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You mean by that that you have no knowledge?

Mr. WOLFE. I have no knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. You are not stating either he did or did not?

Mr. WOLFE. I could not say.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. John H. Price, I believe, was the State manager of the Wood forces?

Mr. WOLFE. He was.

Senator POMERENE. Were you in touch with him during this campaign?

Mr. WOLFE. He came to see me at my office during the time.

Senator POMERENE. Did he confer with you about funds?

Mr. WOLFE. I think he did.

Senator POMERENE. Did you contribute anything to him as the manager of the State campaign?

Mr. WOLFE. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Or in any other capacity relating to this Wood campaign?

Mr. WOLFE. In any other capacity? What do you mean by that?

Senator POMERENE. I had in mind this, that he might have been representing some particular county, or some particular locality. In other words, the thought I had in mind is that there might have been a contribution for the state fund, or there might have been a contribution to him for some local fund. That is the thought I wish to present.

Mr. WOLFE. There might have been on the part of the other people. I contributed nothing to Mr. Price at all.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of his receiving any funds from private contributors, either for the state fund or for any local campaign, in behalf of Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOLFE. I know of Price receiving money. I know of no specific sums that Price received. The general complaint of Price was that the money he had been promised he did not get.

Senator POMERENE. That is by local people?

Mr. WOLFE. Limited to the local people discussed.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know what, if any, money he received from the Wood National Headquarters?

Mr. WOLFE. Only in the most general way.

Senator POMERENE. In a way which would justify your making any statement as to the amount?

Mr. WOLFE. No, I was not in that close touch with the situation, in fact, not being in the position that apparently I have been put in, of being a Wood supporter and manager. I was simply fighting the other side, and I was not fighting with a great deal of confidence.

Senator REED. What do you mean by fighting the other side?

Senator POMERENE. I take it that I correctly construe your position to be this, that your activities in the campaign were that against Senator Harding's manager, than for any particular candidate.

Mr. WOLFE. As against the political crowd who were managing the Harding Campaign, that I regarded as a menace to the State, having fought them often, and I took this position, that people do not understand what it means to fight a machine, and I will not say I am idealistic, but unless some people of influence and power should fight them, those people, with their control of the boards of election, the legislature and the county offices, that could put out hundreds of dollars where the private individual could not put out a dollar, and you could fight them at your peril.

Senator POMERENE. I asked you more specifically with reference to the campaign which was conducted in behalf of Gen. Wood. What, if anything, can you tell us with regard to the funds which were contributed or expended on behalf of the Harding campaign, or any other campaign?

Mr. WOLFE. I was not in their confidence. They spent a great deal of money. It was a matter of common knowledge. I have heard it stated by competent people the day before election that they put out \$6,000 in our county.

Senator EDGE. I heard it stated? Are we going to start in again on that?

Mr. WOLFE. I take that back.

Senator POMERENE. Let me make this suggestion. It has been the opinion of the committee that we should avoid anything which might be construed as hearsay.

Mr. WOLFE. Pardon me. I do not want to make that statement.

Senator EDGE. Suppose you withdraw it?

Mr. WOLFE. I will withdraw it.

Senator POMERENE. We have pursued that right along. If you have any actual knowledge——

Mr. WOLFE. I do not mean to cast any reflection.

The CHAIRMAN. You see, Mr. Wolfe, we have tried to keep it out. We have not been successful, but we are going to be successful from now on.

Mr. WOLFE. I am not at all disgruntled. They made this fight in my district against me, charging me with everything, but I am good humored about it, and I withdraw that statement. I did not want to make it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let me put the question again, so the record will be clear. Have you any personal knowledge of funds which were contributed or expended in behalf of the Harding campaign, or anyone else?

Mr. WOLFE. I have not.

Senator REED. What evidence did you see of the expenditure of money?

Mr. WOLFE. Well, I have got just one document. I thought you might ask that question. I have not got the latest. They circulated in all of the Republican papers of Ohio, that would carry it, and if they paid for it, it cost them thousands of dollars, and if they did not pay for it, it was a case of influence, printed on the finest paper, two sheets of attacks on me as editor, because I would not support them. There is a sample of the stuff they put in all the Republican papers of Ohio that would carry it as a supplement. It would cost a great deal of money, or a great deal of influence (producing sheet of newspaper).

Senator REED. Was it carried in a large number of papers?

Mr. WOLFE. I think about 40. This is not the one they put out. This is an earlier paper they passed around. It is an illustration of the class of campaign they carried on.

Senator REED. You have put in evidence a very much worn sheet that you have been carrying in your pocket, I take it, which is about the size of a full page of an ordinary city newspaper.

Mr. WOLFE. Yes.

Senator REED. Covered with printed matter. Was this document reproduced in great quantities and circulated?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir, only it was changed from that to suit the occasion.

Senator REED. To suit the payment to the paper?

Mr. WOLFE. No; to suit the later occasion. This was passed around when Harding came there to speak.

Senator REED. Was this simply passed around by hand?

Mr. WOLFE. This one was. This is not competent evidence——

Senator REED. Yes; it is competent evidence, because it was matter that was put out, of which you know. Now, were there

similar statements or similar publications—I do not mean in the wording, but in the fact that it was a general attack printed in the papers?

Mr. WOLFE. They put out a double sheet like that, taking exception of the conduct of my papers in the campaign, claiming that it was personal. I did not reply to it because it was not personal, and I let it go at that.

Senator REED. You did not quite get my question, Mr. Wolfe. Were there documents similar to this, that were printed in the papers over the State?

Mr. WOLFE. No; they printed them in Columbus and sent them out to the papers.

Senator EDGE. What you call inserts?

Mr. WOLFE. Inserts—supplements.

Senator REED. You say they were sent out as supplements or inserts to all the papers that would take them?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How many papers did take them?

Mr. WOLFE. I have understood about 40 papers in Ohio.

Senator REED. Large or small papers?

Mr. WOLFE. Mostly smaller papers—county-seat papers.

Senator REED. Can you give any estimate of the probable cost of that?

Mr. WOLFE. I could not.

Senator EDGE. As a newspaper man thoroughly understanding what inserts usually mean, especially with country press in a political campaign, is it your personal belief that these inserts were paid for by the general committee to the papers that sent them out to their circulation?

Mr. WOLFE. I think it was influenced on the part of the political machinery, and circulated there possibly without cost to the people that put it out. That would be my judgment.

Senator REED. Were there advertisements, in addition to this class of work that you just described, inserted in the papers of your State?

Mr. WOLFE. On behalf of whom?

Senator REED. On behalf of anybody?

Mr. WOLFE. The Wood people carried on quite an extensive campaign of advertising.

Senator REED. Can you give us a better idea of the extent of that, than the mere general statement?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir; I have understood that it cost in neighborhood of \$35,000.

Senator REED. Well, I do not want something you have got in the way of rumor, but I am asking—

Mr. WOLFE. That is almost authentic, because the man that did the work has complained to me that they owed him considerable money, and I think he stated to me it was \$35,000, the total.

Senator REED. That still is hearsay.

Mr. WOLFE. Then I can give you no knowledge.

Senator REED. Yes; perhaps you can, if you get my thought. Mr. Wolfe. You could have seen these papers; you might know the expense of the advertising.

Mr. WOLFE. I did not.

Senator REED. Did you know of any billboard advertising being done by any people?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes; I noticed it at one or two places. I only know it by seeing it.

Senator REED. There is a class of evidence, I will say by way of explanation, which borders on hearsay, but strictly speaking, it is not. A man engaged in a movement learns by reports which he gets in as the movement proceeds, about a vast number of things which he can not see himself personally, but he gets it through his agents, and through those who represent him. Now, confining yourself to that kind of information which came to you in the course of your work in the campaign, and which you regard as authentic, can you tell us anything about the expenses of these campaigns made on behalf of any of the candidates in the State?

Mr. WOLFE. Well, not of general knowledge. I did not get into touch that close with them. I would not have that knowledge. It would be general report, and that is what you say you do not want.

Senator REED. I do not want mere rumor.

Mr. WOLFE. Well, with me it would not be rumor; it would be quite along the line you suggest.

Senator REED. That is what I want.

Mr. WOLFE. My judgment is, if you would like to have it frankly, that each campaign in Ohio costs about \$100,000 on both sides; that each side spent about \$100,000 in Ohio. That is my best judgment.

Senator REED. Which sides now, Wood and Harding?

Mr. WOLFE. Wood and Harding.

Senator REED. You said a few moments ago that your fight was against—I do not know whether you used the term, but I take it it is synonymous with machine, rather than for any particular person.

Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir; and it was against no particular individual.

Senator REED. But the way you undertook to defeat the machine was by securing the delegation for Wood?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So that you actively supported him?

Mr. WOLFE. I never supported him in my papers.

Senator REED. Well, you actually supported him?

Mr. WOLFE. I actually supported him; yes, if you put it that way.

Senator REED. How many papers have you?

Mr. WOLFE. I have two.

Senator REED. What are the names of them, please?

Mr. WOLFE. The Ohio State Journal, a morning, and the Columbus Evening Dispatch, an evening paper.

Senator REED. They both have large circulations?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes; they have through central Ohio a good circulation.

Senator REED. What is the circulation of these two papers?

Mr. WOLFE. I could not be exactly accurate. We recently raised the price, and it has gone off some, but I would say that the circulation of the Dispatch was 72,000 or 73,000, possibly 75,000, and the Journal possibly 47,000.

Senator REED. Of course, the matter you put in your papers you did not receive any pay for?

Mr. WOLFE. I did not.

Senator REED. Were there any advertisements printed in the papers?

Mr. WOLFE. There were some, but we threw out some for lack of space. We did not care a cent for the advertising and did not want it.

Senator REED. Did you get some pay for advertising?

Mr. WOLFE. Some; yes.

Senator REED. Will you tell us how much?

Mr. WOLFE. It would not run very much; I do not imagine it would run \$1,000.

Senator REED. Did you put any money into this fight yourself?

Mr. WOLFE. All the money that went in I put in myself.

Senator EDGE. He stated \$1,500.

Mr. WOLFE. No; \$12,800 in addition. One thousand five hundred dollars was direct to the county committee, and I spent \$12,800 of my own money.

Senator REED. How did you spend \$12,800?

Mr. WOLFE. Nearly all information through the mail to the voters direct.

Senator REED. That is, you sent out letters direct?

Mr. WOLFE. Letters and postal cards.

Senator REED. To the voters?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes.

Senator REED. And, in general, they were in support of Gen. Wood, and they were attacks upon the Harding organization?

Mr. WOLFE. They were attacks on the Harding organization entirely rather than in support of Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Of course, the reflex of that would be for the benefit of Wood?

Mr. WOLFE. It would.

Senator REED. That is all the money you put in?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes; that is all the money I put in.

Senator REED. Did any individuals or organizations of any kind contribute to this movement which you were conducting?

Mr. WOLFE. No, sir.

Senator REED. You furnished that money yourself?

Mr. WOLFE. I would not have allowed them. They would not have done it anyway.

Senator REED. Do you know of any moneys that were used by individuals in this campaign? I am now referring to moneys that were not contributed to the regular committee.

Mr. WOLFE. Well, I do not know. I would have to think about that. Whether some of the fellows around me put up a little money or not I do not know.

Senator REED. Do you not know of some that were put up in a pretty good amount?

Mr. WOLFE. In what way?

Senator REED. To be used in this campaign in any way? I will make it as broad as the campaign.

Mr. WOLFE. By individuals?

Senator REED. By individuals, or, of course, companies or groups of individuals.

Mr. WOLFE. I include companies, to be used in the campaign?

Senator REED. To be used in this campaign that was going on. Now, I do not want to limit it by any technical terms, or words, Mr. Wolfe. I want to make it just as broad as this battle.

Mr. WOLFE. Now, when it gets down to that, I have had people tell me they contributed money to the Harding campaign, but it was in a way that I paid so little attention to it that I did not even burden my mind with it. They told me of one, but it was so far hearsay, and it came in a way that I would rather not deal with it.

Senator REED. Were there large sums or small sums?

Mr. WOLFE. This man's was not so very large.

Senator REED. How large?

Mr. WOLFE. I think it was \$5,000.

Senator REED. Is there only one instance that you have in mind?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes; and that was not to the Wood campaign.

Senator REED. Was it contributed to the committee, or expended outside?

Mr. WOLFE. No; this was contributed to an individual who was raising money, as I understood it, for the Harding campaign.

Senator REED. Was it then to be turned in, or used on the outside? This is what I am trying to get at, Mr. Wolfe. I will state it to you. It is easy enough to organize a political campaign, and have very little funds going through the committee, and then have a lot of individuals to take up the expenses on the outside. That is what I am trying to get at. Do you know of anything of that kind?

Mr. WOLFE. I know nothing of that kind except that William Cooper Procter is supposed to have paid in excess of that amount, is he not?

Senator REED. How is that?

Mr. WOLFE. I say that Mr. William Cooper Procter testified that he was contributing money in that way, did he not?

Senator REED. No; I do not think Mr. Procter did. I will take this case as an illustration——

Mr. WOLFE. I am not trying to be——

Senator REED. I know you are not, but I am trying to be quite frank with you, and I know you are with me. Mr. Wolfe. Take your own action, which I do not criticise in the least, notwithstanding it was probably a potential thing in the fight. Now, if somebody else was carrying on a similar propaganda——

Mr. WOLFE. I do not know of any one——

Senator REED. Or if some one else was supplying moneys to carry on any other part of the work, and that did not go through the regular committee, so that we have already had an account of it, then I want to know the cases.

Mr. WOLFE. Now, I know of no one that contributed money to either the Harding or the Wood campaign other than as I have testified, and I have covered the ground fully. I have told all I contributed as an individual to my causes, I think.

Senator REED. Well, I think you have answered the question.

Senator EDGE. You made the statement that, to the best of your knowledge, as I remember the language, and I assume it was not based on hearsay, because we had already ruled out any answers of that character, that you believed each candidate for his organization spent approximately \$100,000 in the Ohio campaign; that is true, is it not?

Mr. WOLFE. That would be my best judgment.

Senator EDGE. I think you also said earlier in your testimony that the advertising for the Wood campaign you believed cost approximately \$35,000.

Mr. WOLFE. I think I have seen that testified to. That was my general understanding.

Senator EDGE. Now, I am trying to find out if you can give us information how the \$100,000 spent for Senator Harding, approximately, was made up, or on what basis do you give us the figure of \$100,000 spent for Senator Harding?

Mr. WOLFE. Well, I believe that has been testified to that they spent that, was it not?

Senator EDGE. No, the testimony, which I just happened to pick up—I have lost it now——

Mr. WOLFE. I was not basing my judgment on the testimony.

Senator EDGE. The testimony of the Harding manager was that \$107,000 were spent, of which, as I recall it, about \$35,000 was spent in Ohio for the Ohio campaign.

Mr. WOLFE. They could not carry on the Ohio campaign for \$35,000. Of course, they had this, which you gentlemen do not consider; they had the money they spent, plus the election machinery and the legislative influence, which the other people had to combat. I think that if they had spent one third that the people who came in to to fight them did, they would have had an even chance. It is the amount of money and the amount of power they had to exert there. The other people had to build up from the bottom, while they had their machine built.

Senator EDGE. When you estimate that the Harding campaign cost \$100,000, you do not mean to say necessarily that that was spent by the Harding central committee?

Mr. WOLFE. I would think that by the decided lack of influence compared with the Wood people, who I believe spent \$100,000, that the Harding people spent \$100,000 in Ohio, in my judgment. I may be mistaken. I do not care to cast any reflections.

Senator EDGE. Did the Harding people anywhere approximate \$135,000 in newspaper advertising in Ohio?

Mr. WOLFE. Exactly. They had a great number of people running around over the state. They were high priced men, and they had high price headquarters. They were appointed by people that carried on an extensive campaign, and with the high cost of everything, I do not see how they could do it for less than that.

Senator EDGE. As a matter of fact, you are basing that figure a great deal on speculation?

Mr. WOLFE. Speculation, combined with an understanding of the particular people and the fact that they were carrying on an extensive campaign, as the Wood people were. I am not saying this in defense of the Wood people. I will take that back; \$100,000 because I do not want to cast any reflections on anyone that I can not show the document for.

Senator EDGE. The \$12,800 that you spent was spent out of the money accounted for in the Wood campaign?

Mr. WOLFE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There is a statement here in this sheet which you handed me that I am going to read:

Early in the campaign, before the candidates for delegates were announced, these Columbus papers—

That is, your papers—

pretended to be friendly to the candidacy of Senator Harding. In payment for this pretended friendship, Bob Wolfe—

I suppose that is you?

Mr. WOLFE. That is me.

Senator REED (continuing):

Demanded of Senator Harding that he (Wolfe) be allowed to name delegates to the Republican national convention. He is the only man in Ohio that made that demand on Senator Harding, and Senator Harding refused to approve the candidates that had been handpicked by Wolfe.

Mr. WOLFE. I will tell you about that. Senator Harding and I have been friends, and he asked me if I would support him. I had been fighting the machine for a long time, and I told him that if he did not have certain interests running his campaign, I would be for him, and I said specifically—now, I do not like to mention names, but Mr. Doherty mentioned mine—I said specifically that if Harry Doherty handled this campaign and picked out the delegates, as they announced he could, it would be a menace to the State, and that I would not support him. I warned the Senator—I did not warn him, but I spoke to him and said that I did not believe the people in Ohio—it was his solicitation, not mine—would O. K. a delegation picked out by Mr. Doherty—this was in front of Mr. Doherty; I did not say it behind his back—and I suggested that he pick out any man in Ohio or among the congressional delegation that had O. K'd his candidacy, and let them pick them out, and take it away from this coterie being in the hands of Doherty, and then the State of Ohio would have protection.

Senator REED. You did not assume the right——

Mr. WOLFE. I did not; I should say not.

Senator REED. I notice this sheet which you handed us bears this legend at the bottom: "Issued by Harding for president newspaper club, Deshler Hotel, Columbus, Ohio. President John E. Hopley. Vice-president, E. H. Mack."

Mr. WOLFE. Yes.

Senator REED. This is the first time we have heard that.

Mr. WOLFE. That was an inside organization that carried on their publicity and put out charges and made the fight, the head of this being a man named Hopley. They claimed they had sent money to——

Senator REED. Do you know whether that money which they sent was furnished by the regular organization?

Mr. WOLFE. I believe the president admitted that they raised that separately, because they were carrying on their rough campaign, and they wanted to divide it from the Harding campaign.

Senator REED. Your understanding is that this wide campaign carried on by this organization was financed by them separately?

Mr. WOLFE. Well, they put out that claim.

Senator REED. They did put out that claim?

Mr. WOLFE. I am quite sure they did.

Senator REED. Therefore these moneys would not be accounted for?

Mr. WOLFE. I can only say that is possible. They put out the claim that they raised the money to do this. I remember seeing that claim made.

Senator REED. There may be some reason for investigating that.

Senator EDGE. If we had the statement in detail of the disbursements in Senator Harding's campaign, it might show on there just such disbursements. There are a good many pages of it.

Senator REED. You do not remember where that statement appeared that you have referred to?

Mr. WOLFE. No; I do not. I did not pay such close attention to this campaign. I took my position and let it go at that.

Senator REED. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, at your office in the Ohio State Journal and in the Columbus Evening Dispatch you received newspapers in exchange from perhaps every publication in the State?

Mr. WOLFE. I never received those.

Senator POMERENE. You never received those?

Mr. WOLFE. No.

Senator POMERENE. I was going to ask you. You testified in regard to considerable advertising which was done on behalf of the Harding campaign. There has also been a good deal of testimony before the committee as to the advertising in behalf of the Wood campaign. Do you have information sufficient to justify you in giving us a comparative statement as to the amount expended in these two campaigns?

Senator SPENCER. You do not mean a guess?

Senator POMERENE. I do not mean a guess; no. Let me say this, Senator, that Mr. Wolfe is an excellent business man, and he has been engaged in newspaper publication for many years, to my certain knowledge. Now, I feel, and I know, that so far as he has given it his attention he could give us a fairly accurate statement about it.

Mr. WOLFE. Now, Senator, just what would you call advertising? They had their own special papers. They carried on a bulletin service, and if the charges were bad, they put their names on it. Now, that kind of advertising campaign costs a great deal of money when carried on by such high-priced men that live out of it. They were there, and they put it out, put it out very extensively, and a great many of them lived out of it as a business, and it must have cost them a great deal of money.

Senator POMERENE. Was that, in substance, true of the advertising in behalf of the Wood campaign?

Mr. WOLFE. The Wood campaign, from what I saw of it—they came in late, and they advertised no more than was necessary, I imagine. I do not believe advertising merits of a man does very much good. I do not think it was either corrupt, or amounted to very much.

Senator POMERENE. There was a statement submitted to us of the expenditures in the Wood campaign by the national headquarters at Chicago, and, as I now recall, there was \$60,000 contributed to the State campaign committee, and thirty-odd thousand—will you refresh my memory as to the amount expended for advertising?

Mr. WOLFE. All that went through the hands of one man who could give you definite information. There is an advertising agency there that, I understand, handled the Wood advertising money.

Senator SPENCER. What was his name?

Mr. WOLFE. Arthur Krumrine Co. They handled all the publicity.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all I care to inquire.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. FREDERICK A. JOSS.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator Spencer.)

Senator SPENCER. Where is your home?

Mr. JOSS. Indianapolis.

Senator SPENCER. You were connected with what presidential campaign in Indiana?

Mr. JOSS. I was selected by Leonard Wood to represent him in Indiana.

Senator SPENCER. Did the expenditures of money go through your hands in Indiana?

Mr. JOSS. No money went through my hands, but I supervised it, and I think I can tell you all about it.

Senator SPENCER. You mean you approved what money was raised?

Mr. JOSS. Not specifically as to items, but I think I can give you all that information.

Senator SPENCER. Where did the money come from?

Mr. JOSS. It came from the National Wood Committee.

Senator SPENCER. Sent to whom?

Mr. JOSS. I will explain. When I was appointed by Leonard Wood to represent him in Indiana, we first appointed a committee of two ladies and five gentlemen to represent him, Mrs. William C. Boggs, Mrs. Pierce Mendenhall, Henry W. Bennett, Irving W. LeMaux, Charles Martindale, Maurice Tenant, and myself, and our first conference was as to the question of expenditures.

Senator SPENCER. Who appointed that committee?

Mr. JOSS. Well, I suppose I appointed it because I was appointed by Leonard Wood.

Senator SPENCER. Himself?

Mr. JOSS. Himself, in writing, pursuant to the Indiana statute, and our first conference was about expenditures, and we were advised that in October of 1912 there had been a Senate investigation of pre-election expenditures in the Roosevelt and Taft campaign, in which it had been really asserted that vast sums of money had been expended, running into millions of dollars. We were also advised that nothing was done pursuant to that investigation, and that there were no Federal laws governing or limiting the expenditures of money in presidential nominations for proper purposes, but that-----

Senator REED. Who gave you all that advice?

Mr. JOSS. These gentlemen.

Senator REED. Which gentlemen?

Mr. JOSS. That I will name presently. I am going to give you their opinion. But there was a question whether or not the Indiana law would not apply, and so we asked them for a written opinion,

which they gave us on January 27, 1920. This is addressed to Frederick A. Joss and associates, and is signed by Charles Martindale.

Senator SPENCER. Is that the lawyer of Indianapolis?

Mr. Joss. W. H. Thompson and Charles Martindale.

Senator SPENCER. Of the Martindale collection agency?

Mr. Joss. No, sir; Charles Martindale is the master in chancery of Judge Anderson's court. Judge Anderson is the United States district judge. Will H. Thompson is of the firm of Miller, Daley & Thompson, of the old firm of Harrison, Miller, Illum & Daley, and is the special counsel who prosecuted in the Newberry trial.

I would like to preserve this original, and may I make a copy of this letter and put a copy of this letter in the record.

Senator POMERENE. I was out just a moment and missed a part of your statement. What is this opinion about?

Mr. Joss. This opinion is as to the application of the Indiana act to the expenditures for presidential nominations.

Senator EDGE. The Indiana corrupt-practices act?

Mr. Joss. The Indiana corrupt-practices act.

Senator POMERENE. There is no objection to his furnishing a copy, so that he can have the original.

Senator SPENCER. That may go in the record.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *January 27, 1920.*

MR. FREDERICK A. JOSS AND ASSOCIATES,

Indianapolis, Ind.

GENTLEMEN: You have asked us to advise you what expenditures may be lawfully made in Indiana by or in the interest of a candidate for President of the United States at the preferential primary to be held on May 4, 1920, the limit of such expenditures and the method in which the same may be made.

In order to arrive at a correct understanding of the specific questions involved it is necessary in the first instance to give you a brief outline of the corrupt-practices act of Indiana. This act recognizes that officers are to be elected through the intervention of party machinery, and further, that nominations are to be made at primary elections at which there will be a contest between several men belonging to the same political party for selection as the nominees of such party.

The act defines the term "political committees" as including "every committee or combination of two or more persons to aid or promote the success or defeat of any political party or principle in any election * * * or to aid or take part in the nomination or election of any candidate for public office."

The term "treasurer" includes all persons appointed by a "political committee" to receive or disburse moneys.

The term "political agent" includes all persons appointed by a candidate to assist him in his candidacy or to receive and disburse moneys for him.

The act clearly recognizes and distinguishes between the political committees of a party, national, State, district, county, and city on the one hand, and "political committees" appointed to aid or promote the success or defeat of a political principle, as for instance, a high protective tariff, or a candidate at a primary or general election.

The act requires that every "political committee" shall keep and constantly maintain a treasurer to receive and disburse all moneys; before any money can be received or disbursed by him he must be appointed in writing and such written appointment must be filed (with an exception not here important) in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of the county within which such treasurer resides.

Within 20 days after any election or primary election a political agent or treasurer must file a full detailed and accurate account of his receipts and disbursements in a form required by section 7111g, Burns R. S. 1914, with the clerk of the circuit court of the county in which he resides.

All disbursements made in the State of Indiana for political purposes must be either by such a treasurer, a political agent, or, as to certain items hereinafter particularly referred to, by the candidate personally, and it is a violation of the corrupt practices act for the expenditures to be made in any other way or by any other persons. Certainly that is true if made within six months preceding an election or a primary.

This precludes an individual other than the candidate from himself expending money for political purposes within such period of time. If he desires that such money be expended he must either donate it to a political committee or organize such a committee and take the steps hereinbefore referred to before money may be lawfully expended for political purposes.

After a careful examination of the act we have come to the conclusion that it applies to money spent in Indiana by a candidate in order to induce voters of this State to express their preference for him as a candidate for President or Vice President of the United States.

We do not believe, however, that the act has any extraterritorial effect, and if acting in good faith, a candidate for President expends money outside the State of Indiana or enters into a contract outside the State for the payment of money for a political purpose to a given person, such payments or contracts are not within the Indiana corrupt practices act even though incidentally a part of the service to be rendered is to be performed within this State.

"We do not mean to be understood as saying that if a contract, involving the expenditure of money within Indiana for political purposes, is made outside the State, that this would not come under the corrupt practices act. To illustrate: If a candidate for President hires a speaker to make addresses in his interest in several States of the Union, including Indiana, the contract is made at Chicago, and all payments under it are likewise made at Chicago; the fact that such speaker makes addresses in Indiana would not in our opinion require the candidate to account for such payments under the Indiana corrupt practices act. On the other hand, if the candidate desired to employ a manager for his campaign in Indiana, calls a given man to Chicago, and there makes a contract with him, and all payments were made in Chicago to this man but all his services were to be and were actually rendered in Indiana, such a situation would arise as that it might be held, under a somewhat liberal interpretation of the law, that these payments should be accounted for as a part of the expenditures made in Indiana on behalf of that candidate.

"Section 6 of the corrupt practices act as amended (sec. 7111f, Burns, R. S., 1914) designates the character and class of expenditures which may be lawfully made either by a treasurer or political agent in connection with any election or primary election without in any manner attempting to place any limit on the amount of such expenditures.

The preceding section, 7111e, provides that no person other than a treasurer or political agent shall pay any of the expenses of any election, caucus, or primary, except that a candidate may pay his own expenses for certain items.

The payments, expenditures, promises, and liabilities which any candidate for nomination or election, or both, may make or incur, directly or indirectly, shall not exceed \$25 for each thousand of the voters qualified to vote for the office in question at the next preceding election therefor up to 50,000, \$10 for each thousand in excess of 50,000 and up to 100,000, and \$5 for each thousand in excess of 100,000.

The section then provides that the candidate may, in addition to the amount above referred to, personally make expenditures (upon which there is no limit) for the following items: First, postage; second, letters; third, circular letters; fourth, telegrams; fifth, telephoning; sixth, stationery; seventh, printing; eighth, advertising; ninth, publication; tenth, expressage; eleventh, traveling and board.

With respect to the eleventh item, viz, traveling and board, in view of other provisions of the corrupt-practices act that payments for these items may not lawfully be made for another person than the candidate, it is our opinion that expenses for such traveling and board are limited to those incurred by the candidate himself for his personal traveling and his personal board.

In order that the first 10 items may be expended in unlimited amounts and without being counted within the limitation imposed for other expenses, they must be paid by the candidate personally and not by a treasurer or political agent, but this does not mean that the candidate must personally order each of the items above referred to or he must personally telegraph or telephone, etc. In our opinion it is perfectly permissible as long as the candidate pays these items himself that the expense may be incurred on his order by someone acting for him pursuant either to a direction given in a specific case or generally.

The Indiana Corrupt Practices Act has not in the particulars, in which you have asked for our opinion, been construed either by the Appellate or Supreme Court of Indiana, and therefore the questions which we are discussing are of first impression. There are many inconsistencies in the act itself. Its proper interpretation is in many respects a question of doubt and we can easily see how more than one reasonable interpretation can be given to a number of its provisions.

Mr. Joss. In Chicago. I may add for your information, gentlemen, that the other candidates in Indiana hold that this statute does not apply, and that they have not and do not intend to file statements pursuant to that Indiana statute, and they have not done so.

Senator EDGE. They have other legal opinions in the matter?

Mr. Joss. They have other legal opinions, but I file ours in the record to show what we were acting under and trying to act under with the greatest possible care.

Senator SPENCER. What was the initial payment from Chicago to Indiana?

Mr. Joss. I could not tell you that. The way it would operate was this: For this \$5,200 the treasurer got checks from Chicago. I really do not know whether it was more than one check or several. For the other items, sometimes where there were bills that were advanced by somebody interested, he was recouped. In other instances they were simply sent up as bills and O. K'd and paid, I think directly, most of them.

Senator EDGE. Can you give us any estimate, Mr. Joss, of your own knowledge, or estimate that would be based on some definite information, as to what any of your opponants spent in the campaign?

Mr. Joss. I do not know at all.

Senator EDGE. You would not attempt to make an estimate?

Mr. Joss. I would not attempt to make an estimate. I might add for your information, which I assume is for the purpose of finding out what these things cost legitimately, that this first meeting, after we had gotten this opinion, we estimated that the campaign in Indiana ought to cost \$35,000. There are 3,381 precincts in Indiana, and we estimate roughly \$10 to a precinct would not be considered excessive, and we tried to bring it within that limitation of \$35,000, of which \$5,000 was for what we called headquarters expenses, because that was an expense that was perfectly legitimate, and was not provided for by statute.

And then we figured roughly these other items, letters, circularizing, telephoning, telegraphs, publicity, and so on, at \$30,000. As the campaign progressed, we found it necessary to increase that, as you see we have done, to about \$20,000.

Senator SPENCER. Who were your principal opponents?

Mr. Joss. Who were the principal ones? I will give you them all. I do not want to discriminate. Alphabetically, there were Harding, Johnson, and Lowden.

Senator EDGE. Won't you finish what you started out with? You said that later you found it necessary to increase. I thought you were leading up to the question as to the expenditure of other candidates.

Mr. Joss. We found as we went along that we had really a group against us, and that the Republican organization were probably 70 or 80 per cent against Wood.

Senator REED. Who were they for?

Mr. Joss. Sometimes we thought anybody to beat Wood, but they were for all the——

Senator REED. They were supporting Lowden principally, were they not?

Mr. Joss. No; both of the Senators and most of the Congressmen were announced in the public prints to be for Harding, and so far

as I know the Senators and all the Congressmen who expressed themselves were for Harding.

Senator SPENCER. What was the result of that primary? How did it turn out?

Mr. Joss. Wood got 85,000, Johnson 79,000, Lowden 38,000, and Harding 20,000.

Senator EDGE. You have not just reached yet the end of your statement as I followed you. Do you feel you can give any estimate, based on anything more than rumor, as to the expenditures of the other candidates? We do not want rumor, but have you any facts?

Mr. Joss. No; I could not attempt to do that. Of course, you hear a great many stories.

Senator EDGE. How did the advertising compare of the four candidates in the public press; that is, paid advertising?

Mr. Joss. I should say Wood had the most.

Senator EDGE. The most advertising?

Mr. Joss. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Who next?

Mr. Joss. I do not think I would have any opinion.

Senator EDGE. This \$52,000 that you spent under the various classifications you do not have to make an accounting for under the State corrupt practices act. Can you give us approximately how it was divided, in other words, how much was spent for advertising, postage, and educational work, amplify it as far as possible?

Mr. Joss. I would say under the heading of publicity and advertising, more than 50 per cent of it. I do not know, but that report will be filed, and I was going to send you a copy of that report as a part of my testimony for your information. I thought it would be valuable.

Senator EDGE. That will give us accurate information?

Mr. Joss. That report sets it out in the fullest detail.

Senator REED. Mr. Joss, whom did you first talk with about getting money to use in Indiana?

Mr. Joss. About getting money?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. Joss. You mean how were we going to finance it?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. Joss. I talked with Col. Procter.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. Joss. In Chicago.

Senator REED. Did you go in to see him yourself, or were you called in?

Mr. Joss. I was called in. This was after I was appointed.

Senator REED. By Wood?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Gen. Wood personally appointed you?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So I guess there is no doubt about his being a candidate, is there?

Mr. Joss. Not a bit. He had to say so.

Senator REED. Where did you see Gen. Wood?

Mr. Joss. Where did I see Gen. Wood?

Senator REED. Yes; when he asked you to take charge in Indiana?

Mr. Joss. In Chicago.

Senator REED. About what date was that?

Mr. JOSS. That was, I think, on the 5th day of January.

Senator REED. Where did you see him in Chicago?

Mr. JOSS. In the Congress Hotel.

Senator REED. Was he in the headquarters there?

Mr. JOSS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Had you had any political experience of a political nature before you entered upon this campaign?

Mr. JOSS. Well, I have always been interested in politics, if that is what you mean.

Senator REED. Had you been chairman or an organizer, or what in connection with politics? Have you held any public office? I do not have the benefit of your acquaintance.

Mr. JOSS. I had been in the Indiana State Senate some years, and I had been at one time corporation counsel of the city of Indianapolis, and associated with general conditions for 25 years.

Senator REED. You have been very active in politics, so your selection was quite a natural one?

Mr. JOSS. Well, I think so.

Senator REED. What is your business, lawyer?

Mr. JOSS. Lawyer.

Senator REED. Do you practice in Indianapolis?

Mr. JOSS. I have lived some years abroad recently, and since then I have been in active practice. I am general counsel for several concerns.

Senator REED. Did you know Gen. Wood before this time?

Mr. JOSS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was your acquaintance intimate and close?

Mr. JOSS. No; just casually.

Senator REED. Well, you went to Chicago to see Gen. Wood at his request, of course?

Mr. JOSS. Yes, sir. That was long before this, in August or September.

Senator REED. August or September of what year?

Mr. JOSS. That he asked me to come to Chicago, and I talked over political conditions with him.

Senator REED. In his headquarters?

Mr. JOSS. Yes.

Senator REED. In the Congress Hotel?

Mr. JOSS. Yes.

Senator REED. He asked you to take charge of the campaign?

Mr. JOSS. Later.

Senator REED. At the first visit did you see Col. Procter or Mr. Procter?

Mr. JOSS. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you tell Gen. Wood that you would take charge, on the occasion of your first visit to him?

Mr. JOSS. He did not ask me, and I did not tell him.

Senator REED. You just had a conversation or general talk?

Mr. JOSS. Quite so, several of them during that fall. I was in Chicago, and the first time I called upon him at his request. The second time perhaps I called upon him without it—I do not know—but I saw him, I should say, three or four times in Chicago.

Senator REED. When did you agree to take charge of the campaign?

Mr. Joss. I think the date was the 5th of January, the 5th or 6th of January.

Senator REED. Of the present year?

Mr. Joss. Of the present year.

Senator REED. That request was made at the headquarters in the Congress Hotel?

Mr. Joss. Yes.

Senator REED. Was anything said to you on the occasion of your visit about funds to carry on the fight?

Mr. Joss. Not a thing.

Senator REED. Did you see Col. Procter at that time?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Col. Procter was the general manager?

Mr. Joss. Yes.

Senator REED. Did you say anything to him about funds?

Mr. Joss. At that time?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. Joss. No, sir.

Senator REED. When were funds first discussed?

Mr. Joss. After I went back to Indiana. Would it be interesting to tell the story?

Senator REED. I do not want to go into detail.

Mr. Joss. At that time it was thought that Gov. Goodrich would be a favorite-son candidate in Indiana, and there was a question as to policy, as to whether or not his name should be entered in the primary, and that ran along, as you see, until the date of that letter.

Senator REED. Which letter?

Mr. Joss. This legal opinion.

Senator REED. That is dated when?

Senator POMERENE. January 27, 1920.

Mr. Joss. Yes. That ran along during those two or three weeks, as to the question as to what sort of a campaign was going to be conducted. Then Gov. Goodrich withdrew, and then this committee was appointed, and at our first meeting we discussed the question of expenditures, outside of the matters that I have previously stated.

Senator REED. When you thought Gov. Goodrich was going to be or might be a candidate, did you contemplate a campaign in any way, or an effort to get delegates?

Mr. Joss. Oh, I think we did; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Of course, you did, or you would not have been writing these letter to get an opinion about money.

Mr. Joss. We got it afterwards.

Senator REED. But you said you did not make up your mind until you got this letter, as I understood you.

Mr. Joss. No, you have misunderstood me.

Senator REED. Certainly you may go on and correct me.

Mr. Joss. Until Goodrich announced that he would not be a candidate there was no committee appointed, and until that committee was appointed there was no talk about money.

Senator REED. Exactly, but the committee was appointed, you have stated, on the date of this letter.

Mr. Joss. Then I misspoke myself. The committee was appointed before that.

Senator REED. Before the letter?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir; and the first one, at least I think the first meeting—

Senator REED. When did Goodrich withdraw?

Mr. Joss. I can not give you that date.

Senator REED. Well, it is not very material, and I will not spend any more time on it. When you got your committee together sometime prior to the 27th of January, you discussed at that meeting the question of finances, and you concluded to ask the opinion of lawyers as to the amount of money that could be spent?

Mr. Joss. Exactly.

Senator REED. Up to this time you had not discussed finances with Chicago, and when I say Chicago I mean the employees of the headquarters, or anybody located there.

Mr. Joss. That is true.

Senator REED. Before you went to Chicago to see anybody you had taken the opinion of lawyers as to how much money you could spend, legitimately, I mean, for certain purposes, and whether there was any limit for certain other purposes.

Mr. Joss. Yes; that is correct.

Senator REED. So you went down there with the legal knowledge of the fact that there was not much limit on the use of money, if you used it for particular purposes?

Mr. Joss. For the purposes set out in the statute.

Senator REED. And when you went down there you saw Gen. Wood on that visit, did you?

Mr. Joss. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you see Procter?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What took place between you and Procter?

Mr. Joss. I simply said we had planned a campaign of publicity that would cost in the neighborhood of \$35,000.

Senator REED. Did it not occur to you to raise any of that money in Indiana?

Mr. Joss. We talked about that, but made up our minds that if they wanted to get money out of Indiana, they could get it better than we could get it.

Senator REED. And that you preferred to go down there and just get the money?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When you say they could get it, whom do you mean by "they"?

Mr. Joss. I mean that the national committee, the national finance committee, could collect it better than it could be collected there in Indiana.

Senator REED. You told Mr. Procter that, and Mr. Procter told you that they would furnish you the money?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Of course, you never said a word about it in Mr. Wood's presence?

Mr. Joss. No; except that we notified him, I think, this was by mail, that these items would have to be accounted for in his name.

Senator REED. Well, I am a little curious to know this, why you were so anxious to know just where you could spend and just how much money you could dare spend. Did you understand that if you could get more money that you could spend it?

Mr. Joss. There was no understanding about that.

Senator REED. Why was it that, starting right in the campaign, the very first thing you did was to have the law looked up to see the top limit to the money that you could expand? You must have understood that there was a pretty good supply somewhere that you could avail yourselves of if there was no legal bar.

Mr. Joss. Because, as I say, we were advised that the preconvention campaign expenditures of Roosevelt and Taft had been investigated in October of 1912.

Senator REED. And you naturally concluded that yours might be investigated, and you naturally concluded that if you spent more money than the law allowed that there might be some unpleasantness eventuate?

Mr. Joss. Exactly.

Senator REED. So you proposed to find the top limit, to take the highest bar in the fence that you could do without breaking your neck? If you will pardon the metaphor, which is a very poor one, you proposed to go the limit, and you wanted to know where it was; is that right?

Mr. Joss. Well, will you let me put it in my own language?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. Joss. My own idea was that we were up against a Republican organization, and that our only hope of success was to——

Senator REED. Money?

Mr. Joss. Pardon me.

Senator POMERENE. He wanted to put it in his own way.

Senator REED. I beg your pardon. Go ahead.

Mr. Joss. That our only hope of success was the utmost organization of publicity. We believed that Gen. Wood, as was demonstrated, was the popular choice of the Republicans of Indiana.

Senator REED. What did you need with so much money, then, if he was the popular choice?

Mr. Joss. To enthuse them and make them take an interest, and we knew very well that in a quiet primary the organization men go out to the polls, and that you only get a direct primary when you have the enthusiasm of the people who do not always come out and vote.

Senator REED. You had to create that enthusiasm?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So that this popularity was not of that overenthusiastic kind which causes men to go to the polls on their own volition, but you sort of have to haul them down there?

Mr. Joss. Of course, we thought we did rather well.

Senator REED. I think you did, too.

Mr. Joss. There is nothing wrong about that?

Senator REED. In addition to getting the opinion of lawyers as to the amount of money that you could spend for certain purposes—that is, moneys that were limited—and you found out that you could

only spend for those purposes, where there was a limitation, how much money?

Mr. Joss. Something over \$5,300.

Senator REED. And being desirous of increasing that, you actually asked your lawyers if you could get around that by organizing a whole lot of committees, and let all of those committees spend this fifty-odd hundred dollars? You nod your head to that?

Mr. Joss. I certainly do.

Senator REED. Well, you thought that you would be able to get the money if you could get around the law, or else you would not have been going to all that trouble, would you?

Mr. Joss. I do not think I thought anything about that.

Senator REED. A man of your shrewdness—I have not talked to you long, but I do not mean to be flattering, and I think you know what you are doing. You were not spending much time getting attorneys' opinions regarding the right to organize new associations and societies to beat the law—I will not say beat the law; I mean outside of the law—you were not talking about that in an idle way? You meant to do it if you could do it, did you not?

Mr. Joss. I presume——

Senator REED. You did not go and get a legal opinion on something that you did not intend to do, did you?

Mr. Joss. I presume if they had given us their opinion that we could have organized a committee in each county of the State, and there were 92 counties, I presume we would have tried to do it.

Senator REED. Exactly; you tried to do that because you expected to be able to get the money, otherwise you would not have done the useless thing of organizing for this particular purpose, would you?

Mr. Joss. That is purely speculative.

Senator REED. It is not speculative; it is a question of intent and purpose.

Mr. Joss. Well, there was no intent.

Senator REED. Well, either the intent was to do it, or you would not have asked the opinion, and you just said you presumed you would have done it if the opinion had been favorable.

Mr. Joss. Very well.

Senator REED. Well, I will pass on. We will not stop and argue. After this you had a talk with Mr. Procter, who was the financial agent of this movement, or the angel of this movement, who put up some \$800,000, I believe? You had a talk with him?

Mr. Joss. Are you interrogating me?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. Joss. I had a talk with him.

Senator REED. Now, let us get into the record what these purposes were, where there was a limitation upon the moneys that could be used under your law. Now, I am going to read a little of this to you, because you are an attorney and have studied the letter, and I have only had an opportunity to glance at it. The opinion proceeds:

Section 6 of the corrupt practices act as amended designates the character and class of expenditures which may be lawfully made either by a treasurer or political agent in connection with any election or primary election without in any manner attempting to place any limit on the amount of such expenditures.

The preceding section, 7111e, provides that no person other than a treasurer or political agent shall pay any of the expenses of any election, caucus, or primary, except that a candidate may pay his own expenses for certain items.

The payments, expenditures, promises, and liabilities which any candidate for nomination or election, or both, may make or incur, directly or indirectly, shall not exceed \$25 for each 1,000 of the voters qualified to vote for the office in question at the next preceding election therefor up to 50,000, \$10 for each 1,000 in excess of 50,000, and up to 100,000, and \$5 for each 1,000 in excess of 100,000.

Those were the limited expenses.

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then the unlimited expenses, where you could put out as much money as you saw fit——

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Embrace all these items: First, postage; second, letters; third, circular letters; fourth, telegrams; fifth, telephoning; sixth, stationery; seventh, printing; eighth, advertising; ninth, publication; tenth, expressage; eleventh, traveling and board. So that the expenditures upon which a limitation was made were those expenditures which were not incurred for postage, letters, circulars, telegrams, telephoning, stationery, printing, advertising, publication, expressage, traveling, and board; that is right, is it not?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. All the other expenses not embraced in those items were limited to \$25 for each 1,000 of the voters qualified to vote for the office, up to 50,000 voters?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Fifty thousand voters at \$25 would be——

Mr. Joss. That has been figured out as something over \$5,300.

Senator REED. \$5,300 for Indiana?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That is all the items now?

Mr. Joss. No; the limitation.

Senator REED. The limitation?

Mr. Joss. The limitation.

Senator REED. Would you give each county \$5,300 for expenses outside of these?

Mr. Joss. Provided in the statute?

Senator REED. Unlimited expenditures?

Mr. Joss. Correct.

Senator REED. So that if you had received a favorable opinion, you would have organized 99—I believed you said there were 99 counties?

Mr. Joss. I said there were 92.

Senator REED. Ninety-two counties, you would have organized 92 committees and turned them all loose with the right to use \$5,300 each, if they could get it, in the limited expenses, and that would make the handsome figure of——

Mr. Joss. Well, I would say that was highly speculative.

Senator REED. About \$48,000 or \$49,000. Now, I am just trying to get the plan you had in your mind.

Mr. Joss. May I say that was not in my mind.

Senator REED. I thought you presumed you would have done that, if you had gotten a favorable opinion. You are not going to change that presumption on me after I have done all this questioning, are you?

Mr. Joss. That would probably not be fair to you, so we will let it stand at that.

Senator REED. Now, I notice another interesting thing in this opinion, which I presume you considered, and I am going to read it to you:

After a careful examination of the act we have come to the conclusion that it applies to money spent in Indiana by a candidate in order to induce voters of this State to express their preference for him as a candidate for President or Vice President of the United States.

We do not believe, however, that the act has any extraterritorial effect, and acting in good faith, a candidate for President expends money outside the State of Indiana or enters into a contract outside the State for the payment of money for a political purpose to a given person, such payments or contracts are not within the Indiana corrupt practices act even though incidentally a part of the service to be rendered is to be performed within the State. We do not mean to be understood as saying that if a contract, involving the expenditure of money within Indiana for political purposes, is made outside the State, that this would not come under the corrupt practices act. To illustrate: If a candidate for President hires a speaker to make addresses in his interest in several States of the Union, including Indiana, the contract is made at Chicago, and all payments under it are likewise made at Chicago, the fact that such speaker makes addresses in Indiana would not in our opinion require the candidate to account for such payments under the Indiana corrupt practices act.

So that you evidently had in contemplation further assistance from the outside, which would not have to be accounted for, provided the candidate, being employed in Chicago, and the contract being made in Chicago, and the payments being made in Chicago, would not confine his entire attention to Indiana.

Mr. JOSS. That was not a matter in contemplation.

Senator REED. Was it done?

Mr. JOSS. I think so. I recall one speaker that spoke in probably—I think there were 18 primary campaigns, in 18 States, and I recall one speaker that I know personally spoke in 10 or more of those States.

Senator REED. He also spoke in Indiana?

Mr. JOSS. I know he spoke once in Indiana. Whether he spoke more than that I do not know.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. JOSS. Lafayette.

Senator REED. Who was he?

Mr. JOSS. Monteville Flowers.

Senator REED. He was a paid speaker, was he not?

Mr. JOSS. He was.

Senator REED. Do you know how much he got for each exhortation to the public to do its duty?

Mr. JOSS. I do not.

Senator REED. Who paid the expenses of the meeting?

Mr. JOSS. You mean his salary? I think he was on a salary. I do not know what it was.

Senator REED. Who paid the local expenses of the meeting, for the halls, bands, and the advertising?

Mr. JOSS. I do not think there were any bands, but they were paid by the Indiana committee—that is, I think they were.

Senator REED. How many speeches did Monteville Flowers make?

Mr. JOSS. Where?

Senator REED. In Indiana? Only one?

Mr. JOSS. No; I think he spoke more than once.

Senator REED. Sure. How many times?

Mr. JOSS. I do not know.

Senator Reed. About how many times?

Mr. Joss. I do not know.

Senator REED. Give us a rough guess at it.

Mr. Joss. Well, I really do not know. I only know—I think he went back to Indiana after he made the one speech. That is all I can say.

Senator REED. You think he went back to Indiana?

Mr. Joss. Yes.

Senator REED. That is he came back the second time?

Mr. Joss. Yes. Whether he spoke once, or three or four times, I do not know.

Senator REED. What other meetings did you have in Indiana? You had more than one public meeting by these paid speakers, did you not?

Mr. Joss. I beg pardon?

Senator REED. I say you had other public meetings than those that were held for the purpose of paid speaking?

Mr. Joss. Oh, yes; I could not tell you.

Senator REED. Did you have a large number?

Mr. Joss. Yes; Gen. Wood campaigned the State for six days or seven days.

Senator REED. Who paid his expenses while he was in the State? Were they paid inside or outside?

Mr. JONES. He paid them, but they are in this statement; they are included in that.

Senator REED. Have you filed a statement with the committee?

Mr. Joss. That statement is to be filed of the unlimited expenditures by the 3d of June. I think that is in the course of preparation.

Senator REED. But you did not bring it with you?

Mr. Joss. No, sir.

Senator REED. Of course I am neither a mind reader nor good at absent treatment. We summoned you to bring all books, papers, and documents to this committee. Did you bring them. I assume you did. That was the form of the telegram.

Mr. Joss (reading telegram):

Committee investigating campaign expenditures desire your presence here Saturday morning, 10 o'clock. Please wire.

Senator SPENCER. Is that the only notice you got?

Mr. Joss. I wired:

Your telegram just delivered to me on my return. Impossible to reach Washington Saturday morning. Please wire immediately if you desire my presence Monday or Tuesday both here and 1902 Talbott Avenue, Indianapolis.

Senator REED. Is that all the notice you had?

Mr. Joss. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then I owe you an apology.

Mr. Joss. Thank you, sir.

Senator REED. Because we had a form of telegram that was sent out, and I supposed it had been sent to you.

Senator EDGE. I do not know whether you heard the evidence gave in answer to some questions I asked him, but he gave this total amount of \$5,200, and told us at that time that he was going to ask permission to have the official copy filed with the committee.

Senator REED. I heard that, but I can not cross-examine a witness in regard to an official copy that is going to reach here three days after he leaves the stand.

Senator EDGE. He gave the total.

Senator REED. He gave the total, but that does not give us anything. I am not criticizing the witness, but I am replying to Senator Edge. I am greatly interested in that question of the items of cost. Did you receive any contributions except those that you received from Chicago?

Mr. Joss. No, sir.

Senator REED. Is there any other committee besides yours conducting a campaign for Gen. Wood in Indiana?

Mr. Joss. I think not; not that I know of.

Senator REED. What was your plan of organization through the State?

Mr. Joss. The law there provides that the name shall be put on the primary ballot. This Indiana primary is a very thorough going affair. You vote for everybody from constable to President on this ballott, and the names must be placed upon the ballot by petition. We conceived the idea that the way to make our campaign was to take advantage of this petition idea and get a tremendous number of names on a petition. We got 22,907 names on the Wood petition.

Senator REED. How much money did you expend doing that?

Mr. Joss. I do not know, sir. Each dot on that map represents a single petition, and that gave us the basis of those who were interested in Wood's campaign, for the purpose of circularizing them, and keeping in touch with them. You will see that each county has four or five dots on it, meaning four or five petitions, and there were practically 23,000 names on those petitions, with the addresses. I think. That petition was filed. That was not the basis of our campaign in Indiana.

Senator REED. Did you have an organization in each of these counties to get out the votes?

Mr. Joss. No, sir.

Senator REED. How did you run them to the polls?

Mr. Joss. Volunteer workers.

Senator REED. Did you not have some sort of an organization or scheme to get these volunteer workers to work?

Mr. Joss. Certainly.

Senator REED. That is what I want to get at. I am asking you about the plan. You have, then, some sort of organization in each county, did you not?

Mr. Joss. We had a district organization in each district.

Senator REED. Congressional district?

Mr. Joss. Congressional district, and then a manager for each county so that they could—I suppose they tried to have a manager in each precinct. Those were all volunteer workers. Not one was paid a cent.

Senator REED. That is fine.

Mr. Joss. That is fine; it is the finest thing I have ever seen in politics.

Senator REED. That is not unusual in Indiana, though, is it?

Mr. Joss. I should say so; unusual in either Missouri, Indiana, or Ohio.

Senator REED. I beg your pardon, but outside of the large cities, and only in a very few of those, I do not think money was ever paid in my State for workers.

Mr. Joss. Well, I am glad to hear that. It is fine.

Senator REED. A man is regarded as a grafter the minute he takes a dollar of money for that sort of thing. I assume that Indiana was equally clear.

Mr. Joss. This was true in this instance.

Senator REED. You do not know how much money you spent in this particular work that you spoke of?

Mr. Joss. In the petitions?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. Joss. Well, it was mostly—I would not think it was a large sum. It was mostly telephoning, correspondence, and circularizing.

Senator REED. That is, the work did not have to be accounted for?

Mr. Joss. Oh, yes, it was accounted for.

Senator REED. Telephoning was one of the items that——

Mr. Joss. Had to be accounted for.

Senator REED. Does this statement that you are filing contain the statements of all expenditures, or only the expenditures which are limited under the law?

Mr. Joss. All.

Senator REED. You can not give us any information as to how the money was spent?

Mr. Joss. Except as classified under those items.

Senator EDGE. As I understand, under the Indiana law you are compelled to make an accounting of both classes of items, those with and those without limitation.

Mr. Joss. That is it.

Senator REED. Was any money spent for advertising in the newspapers?

Mr. Joss. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. The bills were all paid from your office?

Mr. Joss. The bills were O. K.'d and paid in Chicago.

Senator REED. Oh, I see.

Mr. Joss. That is a part of these items.

Senator REED. Exactly, but this did not come out of your funds. They were paid in Chicago?

Mr. Joss. Oh, yes; I thought I had made that clear, that bills like that were not paid in Indianapolis. They were simply verified by the man who ordered them, and made the contracts for them, and forwarded to Chicago, and paid by the treasurer there, and charged up to this particular item.

Senator REED. How much money was actually sent to your committee; turned over to you?

Mr. Joss. \$5,300.

Senator REED. That is all?

Mr. Joss. Yes.

Senator REED. The other items were paid in the Chicago office direct?

Mr. Joss. Yes; but accounted for under these items here, under these classifications.

Senator POMERENE. Is a transcript of the testimony of Saturday here, or Friday? I wish you would refer to that part of it which gave

the contributions by the Chicago headquarters to the several States. Mr. Sprague's testimony.

Mr. Joss. I can tell you what that will show, I think.

Senator POMERENE. Very well.

Mr. Joss. It will show this \$5,300 to Lemaux, treasurer.

Senator POMERENE. There was a memorandum submitted by Mr. Sprague giving the amount which was sent to the chairmen of the respective State committees, also the amount. This is the statement. It gives, as having been contributed to the State organization of Indiana, \$5,310; newspaper advertising, \$10,000; postage, speakers' traveling expenses, circularizing, billboards, telephone, telegraph, etc., \$30,451.25, making a total of \$45,661.25.

Mr. Joss. That was \$40,000, instead of \$30,000, was it not?

Senator POMERENE. The total, you mean?

Mr. Joss. The total, \$45,000.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; \$45,661.25.

Mr. Joss. Then there was \$10,000 and \$30,000 for another.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. Joss. Well, you see, the last time I got the statement it was \$35,000 paid out, and now I have testified to more than that, and the additional amount.

Senator EDGE. You have testified to \$17,000 not having been paid.

Mr. Joss. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That is in addition to the \$45,000?

Mr. Joss. You see I gave you the figures that were paid or owing, and he only testified as to that which was paid.

Senator REED. There is no real discrepancy. Can you tell us anything more about how the money was expended than you have?

Mr. Joss. It was all expended legitimately in accordance with the Indiana law.

Senator POMERENE. Just one or two questions. You have testified that you are a practicing lawyer.

Mr. Joss. I am not practicing. I have been until I lived abroad.

Senator POMERENE. You are familiar with the Indiana corrupt practices act?

Mr. Joss. No, except as I have studied it pursuant to this opinion.

Senator POMERENE. Now you have studied it with this opinion before you?

Mr. Joss. I never studied the act. I took this opinion from this gentleman. I may say that Mr. Thompson is the Republican member of the State board of election commissioners. He is supposed to be an authority on election laws.

Senator POMERENE. So far, then, as your knowledge goes, you approved the opinion which was given by these lawyers, and which you have presented to the committee?

Mr. Joss. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, your real purpose was to find out how far you could go without infringing the statute of Indiana?

Mr. Joss. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What was your purpose?

Mr. Joss. Our real purpose was to find out what the law said it was legitimate to do in carrying on a campaign, and I take it that that is what everyone does when they are trying to ascertain what is the right and proper thing to do in any such circumstances. We

were not trying to spring the law. We were trying to keep within it. I call your attention to the fact that we reported our expenditures, and that no other candidate has reported their expenditures in Indiana.

Senator POMERENE. They should have been reported within 20 days?

Mr. Joss. The limited within 20 days and the unlimited within 30 days.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say that some of the other candidates were advised that the Indiana laws did not apply to them?

Mr. Joss. I am so advised.

Senator SPENCER. Perhaps that is the reason.

Senator POMERENE. What was the date of the primary?

Mr. Joss. The 4th of May.

Senator POMERENE. The 30-day limit has not expired.

Mr. Joss. No.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Joss, \$57,000——

Mr. Joss. Between \$57,000 and \$58,000.

Senator SPENCER. In the aggregate, as I understand you to say, was all the money that was spent in connection with the Wood campaign in Indiana?

Mr. Joss. That is all according to my knowledge and belief.

Senator SPENCER. Are there any sources of expenditure or contribution that you have reason to believe exist of which you do not have any definite knowledge?

Mr. Joss. I have no suspicion of any.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say that the amount spent for publicity in your judgment was very much larger for Gen. Wood than for any other candidate.

Mr. Joss. That would be my opinion.

Senator SPENCER. How was the expenditure for meetings and general political activity in connection with your candidate, as compared with Gen. Wood, outside of the publicity?

Mr. Joss. You mean comparatively?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; comparatively.

Mr. Joss. Well, Senator Harding campaigned the State for pretty nearly three weeks.

Senator SPENCER. How long did Gen. Wood?

Mr. Joss. Seven days. Gov. Lowden was there twice or three times, but not for a long time. I think Senator Johnson was there twice, that I know of, and I think three times.

Senator SPENCER. For how long a time?

Mr. Joss. Well, as I recall it, he was there one time four or five days.

Senator SPENCER. And the other time?

Mr. Joss. Not so long.

Senator SPENCER. And so the aggregate, as you remember, of Mr. Lowden and Senator Johnson would be about the same as Gen. Wood?

Mr. Joss. I think so far as their personal efforts were concerned in Indiana, they probably were in this order: Senator Harding most, Senator Johnson next, and Wood, and then Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the comparative number of meetings outside of those that were attended by the candidates themselves?

Mr. Joss. Well, I would think that Wood probable led.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

Senator REED. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Chairman, there is a very important discussion going on in the Senate, or will be during the afternoon, and we are under a unanimous consent to vote at 4 o'clock. I feel as if I ought to be on the floor, and I move that we recess until after that vote.

Senator SPENCER. Could we not first hear the Missouri men who are here?

Senator POMERENE. I have no objection, if you desire.

Senator SPENCER. Is Mr. Davis here?

TESTIMONY OF MR. ARTHUR G. DAVIS.

(The witness was sworn by Senator Spencer.)

Senator SPENCER. Where is your home?

Mr. DAVIS. Harrisburg, Ill. Same legal residence.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Davis, as I remember, you were requested to bring some checks that had been sent to Missouri in connection with the Lowden campaign.

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you have those checks with you?

Mr. DAVIS. I have.

Senator SPENCER. Have you all the checks that were sent to Missouri?

Mr. DAVIS. I have; yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Tell us what they were.

Mr. DAVIS. They consisted of nine checks. Do you care to have the names and the amounts?

Senator SPENCER. I presume you want to keep those checks?

Mr. DAVIS. I should like to.

Senator SPENCER. Have you copies of them.

Mr. DAVIS. I have not; but can furnish you with copies. I may say, gentlemen, that I prefer that they do not get out of my possession. They are for your information, all the information you want, and copies can be furnished.

Senator SPENCER. Suppose I read these checks into the record [examining checks]? There are nine checks. They are all of similar character?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I will read the first one in full. [Reading.]

No. 112.

RIDGLEY FARMERS' STATE BANK,
Springfield, Ill., December 16, 1919.

Pay to E. L. Morse or order \$5,000.

LOUIS L. EMERSON.

The check was indorsed "E. L. Morse," and went through the Gate City National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., and then through the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago.

The second check is in exactly the same form. It is dated January 2, 1920, to the order of E. L. Morse, for \$10,000. That check is indorsed by E. L. Morse and went through the Dearborn National Bank of Chicago, Ill., and through the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Ill.

The third check is dated February 11, 1920, is made to E. L. Morse, for \$5,000, indorsed "E. L. Morse," and sent through the Clay County State Bank, on February 14, 1920.

The fourth check is dated March 30, 1920, to the order of E. L. Morse, for \$5,000, and is indorsed "E. L. Morse," and went through a Kansas City Bank on April 2, 1920.

The next check is April 27, 1920, to the order of E. L. Morse, for \$4,203.50. It is indorsed "E. L. Morse," and went through the Clay County State Bank on April 29.

The next check is dated April 27, same date, to the order of E. L. Morse, and is for \$3,500. This check is indorsed "E. L. Morse," and went through the Clay County State Bank on April 29.

The next check is dated January 14, 1920, to the order of Fred Eesen, indorsed "Fred Eesen," and underneath "Frederick Eesen," and went through the St. Louis County Bank on January 16, 1920.

The next check is dated January 14, 1920, to the order of Robert Moore, for \$2,500. The check is indorsed "Robert Moore," and went through the Mississippi Valley Trust Co., of St. Louis, January 15, 1920.

The next check is dated January 14, to the order of Nat Goldstein, for \$2,500, is indorsed "Nat Goldstein," and went through the Liberty Bank of St. Louis on January 15, 1920.

Senator SPENCER. That is all the money that went into Missouri for Lowden?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know anything about the use that was made of this money?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You are simply bringing these checks down?

Mr. DAVIS. That is all.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of your own knowledge that that is all of the checks that went to Missouri?

Mr. DAVIS. I have no knowledge of any others, and it is my information, advice, and belief that there are no others.

Senator REED. What is your connection with the campaign that puts you in possession of the checks?

Mr. DAVIS. I was only sent here by Mr. Lowden and his managers to bring them here.

Senator REED. You are only the messenger to carry these checks?

Mr. DAVIS. At this time; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you have any connection with his campaign?

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

Senator REED. There might have been other money sent in there and you would not have known anything about it?

Mr. DAVIS. I do not know anything directly about money that was sent into Missouri or anywhere else. I understand Mr. Emmerson has testified about that.

Senator REED. Do you know of any other moneys besides these that came into Missouri from Missouri or others for the Missouri people to use there?

Mr. DAVIS. I know of nothing else.

Senator SPENCER. Did you total those up?

Mr. DAVIS. No.

(At this point Senator Kenyon resumed the chair.)

Senator REED. I think it is \$38,703.65.

Mr. DAVIS. I think that is correct.

Senator EDGE. May I put in a statement for the record? In the testimony of Mr. Emmerson the question was asked by the chairman, "Proceed with your list." Following a number of reports from other States, Mr. Emmerson said, "Missouri, \$38,703."

Mr. DAVIS. Is that all, gentlemen?

Senator REED. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF MR. ROBERT E. MOORE.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

Senator SPENCER. Your home was in St. Louis?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You are the Robert Moore to whom the \$2,500 check of January 14 was given?

Mr. MOORE. I am.

Senator SPENCER. Who gave you that money?

Mr. MOORE. The check was given to me by Mr. Babler.

Senator SPENCER. What was it to be used for?

Mr. MOORE. The money was given to me, at that time Mr. Babler said, "Here is a check for \$2,500 from Mr. Emmerson." I asked him what it was for. Mr. Babler said, "Well, you can use the money for the campaign, you can use it for the election of delegates, for whatever purpose you see fit." I had previously told Mr. Babler in Mr. Emmerson's presence that there was no occasion to use a dollar of money for the selection of delegates to any convention that I knew of.

Senator EDGE. What congressional district are you in?

Mr. MOORE. In the twelfth.

Senator SPENCER. If there was no occasion to use any of that money in your district so far as you knew for Mr. Lowden, what was the object in taking the money?

Mr. MOORE. I was told at the time I met Mr. Emmerson—Mr. Babler suggested that Mr. Emmerson would take care of whatever expenses there might be in Missouri.

Senator SPENCER. Was that before you got the money?

Mr. MOORE. That was before I got the money.

Senator SPENCER. You saw Mr. Emmerson himself?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Was Mr. Babler present also?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Tell us what occurred then.

Mr. MOORE. I told both Mr. Emmerson and Mr. Babler that there was no occasion to use any money and I did not need any money. We discussed in a general way, talked about different things, particularly about Gov. Lowden. Mr. Emmerson——

Senator SPENCER. About when was that?

Mr. MOORE. I would say the early part of January, to the best of my recollection. It may have been the latter part of December.

Senator SPENCER. Then, to get that clear, as I understand you, at that conversation in the early part of January you told Mr. Emmerson that in your judgment there was no need of money in connection with Mr. Lowden's candidacy in Missouri. Did you have reference to your own district?

Mr. MOORE. I had reference to what I knew about it and about St. Louis.

Senator SPENCER. Your knowledge would be largely confined to St. Louis City?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Then, when was your next conversation in regard to the matter?

Mr. MOORE. That was the only conversation in regard to it. The next I knew of any money, anything about any money, was when Mr. Babler phoned me to come to his office. I went to his office, and he said, "Here is a check for \$2,500." I said, "Why, what is this for?" He said, "That is money that Mr. Emmerson sent to you." I told him at that time that I had told Mr. Emmerson that there would be no use for any money.

Senator REED. You told Mr. Babler that?

Mr. MOORE. I told Mr. Babler that. I also told Mr. Babler, as I told Mr. Emmerson, that the only place that I knew that any money could be used would be later, possibly at the election.

Senator SPENCER. You did not think there was any need for any money, so far as you could tell, in connection with the nomination?

Mr. MOORE. That was my opinion, and still is.

Senator SPENCER. What did you do with the money? You took the \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. I have every dollar of it.

Senator SPENCER. What did you intend to do with it?

Mr. MOORE. I intended at that time that if Mr. Lowden were nominated, that it would be perfectly fair to go ahead and use that money in the election. In the event that Mr. Lowden was not nominated, I intended to return it.

Senator SPENCER. Is that your present intention?

Mr. MOORE. No; my present intention is to return it forthwith.

Senator SPENCER. Irrespective of the election?

Mr. MOORE. Irrespective of the election.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you make up your mind to do that?

Mr. MOORE. Since all the unpleasant publicity I have received on account of it.

Senator SPENCER. After you got that money, which was on January 14, 1920, am I right?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. When you got that money, on January 14, 1920, I understand you to say you took it, though you did not then think there was any need for the use of any money in connection with Mr. Lowden's candidacy for nomination in St. Louis.

Mr. MOORE. I did. Pardon me, I took it; I told Mr. Babler at the time that there was no use for money. This came as much as a surprise to me as to anyone. The money came at that time. Mr. Babler called me into his office, and he said, "Here is this twenty-five hundred dollars." I said, "I do not want any twenty-five hundred dollars, Jake." He said, "Go ahead. It is all right. Use it in the fall; use it when you want it." That is Mr. Babler's statement.

Senator SPENCER. Then when you took that money, I understand you to say, you took it without any present expectations of using it in the primary, but with the idea at that time that if Mr. Lowden was nominated, to use it in connection with the election, and if he were not nominated, to return it to him.

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. Did you tell Babler that?

Mr. MOORE. I did.

Senator REED. At that time?

Mr. MOORE. At that time.

Senator REED. Did that astonish Jake greatly?

Mr. MOORE. Do I think it will?

Senator REED. Didn't it?

Mr. MOORE. No; I do not think so.

Senator REED. He did not faint or anything like that when you told him that?

Mr. MOORE. No.

Senator SPENCER. I understand, Mr. Moore, because of the publicity that was given to the matter you have changed your original intention of putting it to any possible use in connection with the election and your present plan is to return it at once?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Suppose, then, Mr. Moore, that after you had received the money there had developed in the city of St. Louis an anti-Lowden sentiment or you had felt that there was necessity for any active work or publicity in connection with Mr. Lowden, you would have felt free to use that money?

Mr. MOORE. I would have felt free to use it. It was given to me as custodian, I had charge of the money, and there was no accounting to be made. I was to spend the money as I saw fit. If I saw fit to use it further Governor Lowden's interests I was free to do so.

Senator SPENCER. And you did not spend any of it?

Mr. MOORE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. MOORE. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you elected a delegate?

Mr. MOORE. February 16, 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you get this money?

Mr. MOORE. According to the check it was January 15.

The CHAIRMAN. You had the money when you were elected as delegate?

Mr. MOORE. Yes; I had the money when I was elected a delegate.

Senator EDGE. You are a delegate then from the twelfth congressional district?

Mr. MOORE. I am.

Senator EDGE. Was there any opposition to yourself and colleague who was elected with you as delegate?

Mr. MOORE. None at all.

Senator EDGE. As I understand you have a convention and they are elected in the convention?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. And at the convention there were simply the two nominated?

Mr. MOORE. That is all.

Senator EDGE. There was no opposition?

Mr. MOORE. No.

Senator EDGE. And there was none leading up to the date of the convention that would warrant you in advertising or expending money?

Mr. MOORE. None at all. Before that, I do not remember just how long before, there was one other gentleman who spoke of going as a delegate to the convention from the twelfth district, but he was not a candidate.

Senator EDGE. How do you elect your delegates to the convention?

Mr. MOORE. By mass meetings in the various wards in the district.

Senator EDGE. You do not have a primary?

Mr. MOORE. No; just a mass meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you make up your mind to try to be elected?

Mr. MOORE. Oh, I had had an idea for some time that I would like to go to the national convention as a delegate. I have never gone.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you announce yourself as a candidate for delegate?

Mr. MOORE. I think it must have been some time in December, before the holidays.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with Mr. Babler about being a delegate?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Babler—I had discussed with him about being a delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. He wanted you to be a delegate?

Mr. MOORE. Yes; Mr. Babler suggested it would be possible if I would go as a delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he talk to you about your being a delegate before he gave you this money?

Mr. MOORE. That I am not clear on. He may have.

The CHAIRMAN. But you had expected if this inquiry had not been held to go to Chicago and vote for Gov. Lowden, with \$2,500 of this money in your pocket, and say nothing about it?

Mr. MOORE. I was uninstructed for Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were going to vote for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. Well, I am not sure that I was.

Senator REED. Was \$2,500 given you by Lowden when you did not even announce yourself for him?

Mr. MOORE. I certainly have never announced for him. Have not to this time.

Senator REED. Nobody knew whether you were for him or not, and yet \$2,500 of his money was given to you and you took it, and nobody knew where you stood?

Mr. MOORE. Well, I do not know.

Senator REED. You do know, do you not?

Mr. MOORE. I do not, Senator. I have never declared myself for Gov. Lowden. There have been a number of people who have spoken to me. Babler had spoken to me.

Senator REED. And Babler knew you were going to be for Lowden, and that is where he got the money?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know.

Senator REED. Did he give it to get you to vote for Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. I can not say that.

Senator EDGE. You would not have spent the money unless you voted for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. The money would probably have been returned to Gov. Lowden if I had not voted for him.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Senator EDGE. If you had not spent any of the money, you would have returned it if you had not voted for Lowden?

Senator REED. If you had gone to Chicago and had not voted for him, you would have sent it back?

Mr. MOORE. Unless he were nominated.

Senator REED. If he were not nominated you would not have kept it?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator REED. Why did you keep it finally if you knew you were not going to vote for him?

Mr. MOORE. To use it if he was nominated.

Senator REED. Mr. Moore, what is your business?

Mr. MOORE. Deputy circuit clerk of the city of St. Louis.

Senator REED. You have been in politics to some extent?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. And you have been with the Babler organization generally?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know the Babler organization.

Senator REED. The organization that Mr. Babler is with.

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Babler is the national committeeman of St. Louis. I am a member of the city committee.

Senator REED. What I mean is this. Of course, we all know in politics there are groups of men generally who cooperate. Have you generally been with the same group of men that Babler was with, friendly, on good terms?

Mr. MOORE. Well, I do not know that, Senator. I do not know that I have an enemy on earth politically, and I do not know that Mr. Babler has. Mr. Babler has taken, to my knowledge, very little part in local politics in the city of St. Louis.

Senator REED. Well, all right; I will not press it. This is what I wanted to get at, though. If you had not been an intimate and friend of Mr. Babler, and if it was not known how you stood on the presidential candidate, just how it came that you and Mr. Babler met Mr. Emmerson.

Mr. MOORE. I met Mr. Emmerson at Mr. Babler's suggestion.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. MOORE. In Mr. Babler's office.

Senator REED. You were sent for to come to Mr. Babler's office, and there you found Mr. Emmerson?

Mr. MOORE. That is it.

Senator REED. Up to that time you had not told anybody whom you were for for the presidential nomination?

Mr. MOORE. I had not.

Senator REED. And when you went into the room, now tell us all that was said.

Mr. MOORE. Well, as best I remember, Mr. Babler introduced me to Mr. Emmerson. That is the first thing. He told me that Mr. Emmerson was secretary of the State of Illinois, etc., and that he wanted me to meet him; that he was here in the interest of Gov. Lowden for president. Mr. Emmerson, as I remember it, did very little of the talking at that time. Mr. Babler told me that Mr. Emmerson was here in the interests of Gov. Lowden, and that he would gladly take care of any expenses that we might be put to in regard to Gov. Lowden's campaign, if we felt friendly. I remember that I

told him that I had no objection to Gov. Lowden. I think that was the statement I made in regard to Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. I suppose Mr. Emmerson was informed that you were city committeeman?

Mr. MOORE. Probably, yes.

Senator REED. Was that all that was said there at that meeting?

Mr. MOORE. No. Mr. Babler said that Mr. Emmerson would take care of any expenses that I might be put to, and I told him in regard to the selection of delegates, etc. I told him at that time that as far as I knew there would not be one dollar of expense in the twelfth district.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, your organization was well in hand, and you knew there would be in all human probability no difficulty?

Mr. MOORE. As far as my ward was concerned?

Senator REED. As far as your ward was concerned, and that was where you had to operate, in your own ward.

Mr. MOORE. Operate?

Senator REED. That is, where you would do your work, whatever work you did in getting delegates, would be there and looking after the situation in the ward of which you were a committeeman?

Mr. MOORE. Well, I do not know that there was to be any looking after the delegates.

Senator REED. I mean in getting—you know what I mean. Now, Mr. Moore, we all understand that the city committeeman calls the ward primaries or caucuses?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. And generally speaking, if he is a live committeemen, he has something to do with the selection of delegates that go to the city or county convention, or the district convention, to select the delegates to the national convention. That is true, is it not?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. Now I wanted to know whether you were asked to do any work outside of your own ward?

Mr. MOORE. I was not asked to do anything, to do any work, and told them that I would do any work. The work that I was expected to do would have been in the twelfth district.

Senator REED. And you told them the twelfth district did not need any money?

Mr. MOORE. That was my opinion.

Senator REED. Was the question of your being a delegate referred to in that conversation?

Mr. MOORE. Not that I remember; no, sir.

Senator REED. Did not Mr. Babler say that you could be a delegate if you wanted to?

Mr. MOORE. I do not remember such a statement, Senator.

Senator REED. Was there something of that kind said?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know that there was. I can not recollect that there was such a statement.

Senator REED. You would not say that it was not said?

Mr. MOORE. No; I could not say.

Senator REED. Well, did you tell Mr. Emmerson that day before he left, or did you say in his presence, that you would be for Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. I do not believe I came right out and told him that I would be for Lowden. I told him, if I told him anything, to the best of my recollection, that I was not unfriendly to Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. But you did not go far enough to say that you would be for Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator REED. So that the matter was still open as far as you were concerned; you did not pledge yourself?

Mr. MOORE. No; I was unpledged, for I had not been elected—

Senator REED. I understand; but if you were elected—and then it is not only a question of being elected yourself, but it is a question of your influence and work before election. I am embracing that all in my question, and you intended to embrace that in your answer, did you not?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. Have you told us all that you can think of that took place when you and Mr. Emmerson and Mr. Babler were present at this meeting?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, with the exception that Mr. Goldstein was present at the time.

Senator REED. When did he get there, after you came or before?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Goldstein, I think, got there after I came.

Senator REED. Well, did you hear any talk—did Mr. Goldstein take any part in any of the conversation?

Mr. MOORE. Only in a general way.

Senator REED. Now what was the general way that he took part?

Mr. MOORE. In so far that Mr. Babler explained to us that Mr. Emmerson was secretary of state, etc., and that he was managing Gov. Lowden's campaign, and that Mr. Emmerson would take care of any expenses that we might be put to, etc.

Senator REED. What did Mr. Goldstein say about the necessity of expenses?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Goldstein said that he would not need any money in his district.

Senator REED. He would not need any money in his district?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, what did Mr. Babler say to that?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Babler, as I remember, did not say a great deal about money at that time.

Senator REED. Did Mr. Emmerson say anything about money at that time?

Mr. MOORE. No. Mr. Babler said that Mr. Emmerson was perfectly willing to take care of any expenses that we might be put to, and Mr. Emmerson did not deny it at that time.

Senator REED. And Mr. Goldstein took practically the same position that you did, that he did not need any money in his district? What was his district?

Mr. MOORE. The eleventh.

Senator REED. What is Mr. Goldstein's position in that district? Is he committeeman?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. He is an influential man, I take it, in politics there?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Is he a delegate?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. He was afterwards chosen as a delegate. Well, now, have you told us all that you can think of that took place at this conversation?

Mr. MOORE. I think I have, Senator, to the best of my recollection.

Senator REED. Did you ever see Mr. Emerson after that date?

Mr. MOORE. I did, sir.

Senator REED. When did you see him? By the way, this conversation, the date of it, was when?

Mr. MOORE. Well, I would say, I do not know positively whether it was the latter part of December, but I think about the first part of January.

Senator REED. Late December or early January?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. When did you next have a conversation with Mr. Babler or Mr. Emerson after this first conversation?

Mr. MOORE. The next time I met—Mr. Babler called me up and wanted to know if I would not go to Springfield to meet Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. MOORE. I should say probably a week after the first meeting, maybe longer. I am not clear as to that.

Senator REED. About a week?

Mr. MOORE. It may have been longer. I am not absolutely certain.

Senator REED. Did you go?

Mr. MOORE. I did. Not with Mr. Babler. He asked me if I would go to Springfield, Ill., and meet—

Senator REED. Did you go?

Mr. MOORE. I did.

Senator REED. Did anybody go with you?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Goldstein.

Senator REED. Did you understand that Mr. Goldstein had been asked to do the same as you, to see Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you see Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. I did.

Senator REED. Did you see Mr. Emerson?

Mr. MOORE. I did.

Senator REED. Were Emerson and Lowden together?

Mr. MOORE. First I met Mr. Emerson.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. MOORE. In his office.

Senator REED. Where was that?

Mr. MOORE. In the capitol at Springfield, Ill. We had quite a talk with Mr. Emerson, after which time he took us in to see the governor.

Senator REED. When you talked with Mr. Emerson was anything said about money?

Mr. MOORE. Not a word.

Senator REED. Was anything said about how you were going to vote?

Mr. MOORE. Nothing, except that he said he would like to see us favorable to Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. Naturally. Had you pledged yourself yet?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator REED. That is you had not, and you did not know that Goldstein had?

Mr. MOORE. I am only speaking for myself.

Senator REED. When was the date of the St. Louis primary?

Mr. MOORE. We have no primaries.

Senator REED. The St. Louis caucuses or ward meetings?

Mr. MOORE. I think about February 10. I think that was the exact date, February 10.

Senator REED. Was this meeting that you had with Gov. Lowden and Mr. Emerson before your primaries?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of the meeting. Does that appear?

Senator REED. The first meeting was the latter part of December or the first part of January, and the second meeting about a week later. That is as near as you can come to the date; you can not fix the date exactly?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before or after you got this money?

Mr. MOORE. Before.

Senator REED. After you had talked in this general way with Emerson and you had not mentioned money, and you had not told him whether you were for Gov. Lowden or not, you went in to see Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did Goldstein go along?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did Gov. Lowden ask you to be for him, or was anything said about your being for him at that time?

Mr. MOORE. Gov. Lowden talked to us: oh, just visited with us: that was all. Gov. Lowden did not say that he was for me, and I think I told him at that time that I felt very friendly toward him.

Senator REED. But you did not pledge yourself?

Mr. MOORE. Not openly.

Senator REED. Did Mr. Goldstein pledge himself?

Mr. MOORE. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. So you went away from there free to act as you chose, having gone no further than you say, that you felt friendly inclined to the governor?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you see Mr. Emmerson again before you left Springfield on this visit?

Mr. MOORE. After being with the governor? No, I did not.

Senator REED. You had no further talk with Mr. Emmerson about finances then on this visit at all?

Mr. MOORE. No; I had no further talk. I had no talk with him in regard to finances.

Senator REED. And you and Mr. Goldstein went back to St. Louis, did you?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What was the next time that you met either Babler, Emmerson, or Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. I have not met Mr. Emmerson since that time.

Senator REED. Have you met Lowden since that time?

Mr. MOORE. I met him at the Union Station when he was to make a talk.

Senator REED. Just a casual meeting?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. When was the next talk you had with Babler after you had been to Springfield?

Mr. MOORE. Well, it was some time after that. I do not remember just how long.

Senator REED. About how long?

Mr. MOORE. I have had talks in between with Mr. Babler; I see Mr. Babler from time to time, and we would talk, but not in regard to this matter. The next talk that I had with him was probably—oh, I should say it must have been a week or so.

Senator REED. Before your primaries?

Mr. MOORE. After that; after being to Springfield, not after the primaries.

Senator REED. But the talk you are going to tell us about occurred before your mass meetings?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. Where did you see Mr. Babler on this occasion when you talked with him about the election?

Mr. MOORE. In his office.

Senator REED. Did he send for you or did you go there?

Mr. MOORE. He sent for me.

Senator REED. Who else was present?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Goldstein.

Senator REED. You and Goldstein were up there at the same time both times?

Mr. MOORE. I was in Mr. Goldstein's office when Mr. Babler sent for us.

Senator REED. Did you talk over political matters? How did you happen to be in Goldstein's office?

Mr. MOORE. I worked for him as deputy clerk.

Senator REED. I beg your pardon. I did not know his position. Did the invitation include both you and Mr. Goldstein?

Mr. MOORE. Yes; to come and see Mr. Babler.

Senator REED. You both went together?

Mr. MOORE. We did.

Senator REED. What took place on this occasion?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Babler said, "Here are these checks," and they handed each of us a check.

Senator REED. Up to that time you had not gone any further in the pledging of yourself than you have told us?

Mr. MOORE. No.

Senator REED. And Mr. Goldstein had not gone any further, so far as you know?

Mr. MOORE. So far as I know; no.

Senator REED. Did you see Mr. Babler again before the primaries about the election?

Mr. MOORE. No; I think not.

Senator REED. Do you know of Mr. Goldstein seeing him?

Mr. MOORE. I do not.

Senator REED. Was this meeting—it was held something like how long, would you say, before the primaries on February 10?

Mr. MOORE. Well, I do not know just how long, Senator.

Senator REED. Could you approximate it?

Mr. MOORE. I could not. Two weeks, three weeks, it may have been either one of those times. It may have been a week or 10 days.

Senator REED. That is the last meeting or the last communication that you had with or from Babler to the time of the primaries?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. At the primaries you called a general meeting of the ward?

Mr. MOORE. I did.

Senator REED. Where was the meeting held?

Mr. MOORE. 3400 Park Avenue.

Senator REED. That was all in accordance with the usual custom?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. You simply got a hall somewhere and you gave some sort of a notice?

Mr. MOORE. A notice to the press.

Senator REED. The boys gather in?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. The chairman of the committee calls the meeting?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Names somebody as secretary?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. A list of the delegates is read off?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator REED. And ratified by vote?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator REED. And the convention adjourns in about five minutes? Is not that the way it is done?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir; we were in session; we held two meetings that same evening, both for the same purpose, except that one meeting was called for the purpose of sending delegates to the congressional convention and the other was called for the purpose of sending delegates to the State convention.

Senator REED. Who presided at the meeting?

Mr. MOORE. I did.

Senator REED. Both of them?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You called them to order and you proceeded—

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. You did not have any troubles there at all; everything went harmonious?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. How long did it take you to pick a delegate to the congressional convention to nominate a Congressman?

Mr. MOORE. We do not nominate Congressmen. That nomination for Congressmen is by primary in August.

Senator REED. What was the congressional convention for?

Mr. MOORE. For the purpose of electing delegates to the national convention.

Senator REED. Oh, I see. What was the other convention that you had there that night?

Mr. MOORE. To elect delegates to the State convention.

Senator REED. I see. How much time did it take to elect delegates to the State convention?

Mr. MOORE. Well, I would say that we were in session approximately an hour for both, an hour each.

Senator REED. Was there any discussion or any debate?

Mr. MOORE. There was a little talk; yes.

Senator REED. But as a matter of fact, it was one of those meetings where the organization is there and everything is harmonious, and the boys are there and the business goes on nicely and smoothly?

Mr. MOORE. It usually does in my ward. [Laughter.]

Senator REED. I think it ought to; so agreeable a gentleman as you are would naturally keep things peaceful.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you.

Senator REED. Well, how much was the expense of calling those two meetings, this newspaper ad?

Mr. MOORE. It was not paid for. It was paid for by the congressional committee, of which Mr. Roth was chairman. I had nothing to do with the expenses.

Senator REED. This proceeding that you went through was the ordinary and usual proceeding in your ward?

Mr. MOORE. The way delegates are usually selected; yes.

Senator REED. You had not had any trouble there for some time, and the whole thing was harmonious and all right?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. Mr. Babler knew that, of course?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. Because he is rather the head man, is he not?

Mr. MOORE. No; he is not the head man, so far as St. Louis is concerned, by any means.

Senator REED. He is the national committeeman?

Mr. MOORE. He is the national committeeman, yes.

Senator REED. And he is a very active, intelligent man, and knows what is going on?

Mr. MOORE. Yes; but little about St. Louis politics.

Senator REED. But he knew you and he knew Mr. Goldstein?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. And he knew the other committeemen?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know that he has met them all.

Senator REED. You do not mean to leave the impression with me for a minute that Mr. Babler did not know what was going on in Missouri politics?

Mr. MOORE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anybody really know what is going on in Missouri politics? [Laughter.]

Senator REED. Do not let us get into joking, because I am serious about it.

Mr. MOORE. So am I.

Senator REED. It has quite a tragic aspect for me. [Laughter.]

You then had a congressional convention in the twelfth congressional district to select delegates to the national convention?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. How many wards compose the twelfth district?

Mr. MOORE. Seven wards are represented, but not all of each of the wards.

Senator REED. Some of them are cut in two?

Mr. MOORE. In parts, it is all of the fifth, sixth, and seventh wards, part, the major part of the fifteenth, all of the sixteenth, all of the seventeenth, and part, the greater part of the twenty-third.

Senator REED. Of course you are acquainted with the committeemen in the other wards?

Mr. MOORE. I know them.

Senator REED. And you had spoken to them about going as a delegate?

Mr. MOORE. I had, to the convention; yes, sir.

Senator REED. And how many delegates were sent to the congressional convention, do you remember?

Mr. MOORE. I think three, to be accurate. I am not positive.

Senator REED. You mean right there in the city of St. Louis?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir; in the seventh ward.

Senator REED. You were elected as one delegate, and who was the other delegate?

Mr. MOORE. Samuel E. Mosely.

Senator REED. Who was Mosely for president?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk to him?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. But he never indicated?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir; he did not. Mr. Mosely informed me that he had attended—this would be his third or fourth national convention, and I was relying a great deal on his judgment in the matter.

Senator REED. As to what?

Mr. MOORE. Well, as to know what to do at a national convention.

Senator REED. But not as to knowing how to vote? You knew at this time how you were going to vote, did you not?

Mr. MOORE. I did not know that I had ever expressed the way I would vote.

Senator REED. No; but you knew, did you not? Had you not made up your mind?

Mr. MOORE. Well, there had been—Mr. Babler had asked me of course if I would be for Gov. Lowden, and I told him that I would not say at this time that I was for Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. When did you tell him that, before or after you got the \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. That I do not know.

Senator REED. If you told him that after you got the \$2,500, did he not rather express some surprise and rather intimate that you ought to give it back?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know that he expressed surprise at that time before or after.

Senator REED. Where did you do your banking?

Mr. MOORE. With the Mississippi Valley Trust Co.

Senator REED. How long have you banked there?

Mr. MOORE. Quite a while, a number of years.

Senator REED. Have you got more than one account there?

Mr. MOORE. I have.

Senator REED. You have a private account that you check upon?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you have another account?

Mr. MOORE. Not a checking account.

Senator REED. What kind of an account?

Mr. MOORE. A savings account.

Senator REED. In which account did you deposit the \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. In the checking account.

Senator REED. Do you know how much of a balance you ordinarily carried there?

Mr. MOORE. Oh, around \$1,000 or \$1,500 probably.

Senator REED. Did you put this money in with your general checking account, and continue to draw checks against that account?

Mr. MOORE. I did.

Senator REED. It is still there?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

Senator REED. You still have it to your credit in the bank, \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And your salary went into the bank along with this \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You did not put this out in any trust fund?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator REED. You did not spend a cent of it?

Mr. MOORE. Not a penny.

Senator REED. In politics?

Mr. MOORE. Not a penny.

Senator REED. Do you know whether your account is as large now in the bank as it was immediately after you deposited that \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. Immediately after I deposited it?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. MOORE. No, I do not think it is.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your balance now?

Mr. MOORE. I suppose around \$3,000.

Senator SPENCER. Has the \$2,500 always been intact there?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Ever since you put it there?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. In the sense that you put in \$2,500, it was credited to your account along with your other funds and you still think there is \$2,500 in the bank?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know of anybody else who got any money down there who had not yet made up his mind how he was going to vote?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They have not any of them really made up their minds as to how they are going to vote?

Mr. MOORE. The delegation was uninstructed.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had gone to Chicago with this \$2,500 and found that you could not vote for Gov. Lowden, you intended to return the money to Mr. Emmerson?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And if you had voted for Gov. Lowden, you would have kept the money?

Mr. MOORE. Provided Gov. Lowden were nominated.

The CHAIRMAN. But if he were not nominated, you would have returned the money?

Mr. MOORE. I did not feel that that money should be spent at the fall campaign provided Mr. Lowden was not nominated.

Senator REED. Did you ever receive any money before from Mr. Babler in an election?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

Senator REED. This is the first transaction of this kind you had?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Were you not a little surprised with the ease with which the money came?

Mr. MOORE. I was surprised when the check was handed to me yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You got over that surprise in a little while?

Senator REED. Mr. Moore, you never told any human being that you were going to take this money and put it in the bank and keep it there, and if you got down to the convention and could not vote for Mr. Lowden that you were going to return the money? You never told any human being that, did you?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir; I told that to Mr. Babler and Mr. Emmerson in Mr. Babler's office.

Senator REED. That is to say, you told them before the money was given to you?

Mr. MOORE. No, the money was given, and I told Mr. Babler when the money was offered, I told Mr. Babler that I did not need this money, when he spoke of money, that there would be no need of money in this district, and Mr. Emmerson said, as I remember it. "Well, that is all right. We will take care of any expense that you may have." I told him, if I remember correctly, that I would use this money providing Mr. Lowden were nominated. But I do not know that I emphasized that point.

Senator REED. This is the first time you have thought of it, and you have been over that track until you are track sour upon it?

Mr. MOORE. Not at all. When I impressed it on Mr. Babler was when I went there and told him I had no use for the money—did not want the money. That was when it was impressed on me.

Senator REED. That is when you told Mr. Babler that if you did not vote for Mr. Lowden you would send it back?

Mr. MOORE. When I told him if he was not nominated.

Senator REED. Your statement made a while ago was that if you had made up your mind that you would not vote for Mr. Lowden you would send back the check; and I asked you if you had told anybody about that, and you said that you had—you had told Mr. Emerson and Babler—and after some testimony you now get down to the question again of what was said to Mr. Babler.

Senator SPENCER. I do not think the witness testified to that.

Senator REED. Yes; he did. My recollection does not play me tricks like that. Now, I want to know if you did tell Mr. Babler or any other human being that if you did not vote for Mr. Lowden you were going to give back the money?

Mr. MOORE. My statement, as I remember——

Senator REED. Just answer the question.

Mr. MOORE. I do not remember making that statement. I remember saying that I told Mr. Emmerson that I was not unfriendly to Gov. Lowden. That is the statement.

Senator REED. That is not the question we are discussing at all.

Mr. MOORE. Then, I do not understand you.

Senator REED. A little while ago I asked you if it was true that—you were asked if it was true that you intended to give this money back if you did not vote for Mr. Lowden, and you said yes; and then I asked you if you ever told any human being of that fact, and then you said that you had told Mr. Babler and Mr. Emerson. Then you qualified what you had told Mr. Emmerson by describing to us what you had said to Emerson. Now, I want to know if you ever told Mr. Babler or any other human being that it was your purpose, if you did not vote for Lowden, to give back the \$2,500? Now, you can answer that yes or no.

Mr. MOORE. I do not believe the question was ever asked if I did not vote for Mr. Lowden——

Senator REED. Then, I will ask the question now, if you told Babler or any other human being that if you did not vote for Lowden you were going to send back the \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. No; I do not think I said that.

Senator REED. So if you had any purpose, you concealed it?

Mr. MOORE. The statement I made in regard to the money was that I was surprised when I received the money, and I told Mr. Babler at that time that I did not want the money, and in the event that Gov. Lowden was not nominated, I certainly would return the money to Mr. Emmerson.

Senator REED. Still, you do not think that implied any agreement on your part to support Lowden, do you?

Mr. MOORE. Well, it may have been implied. I will not say that. I am not a lawyer.

Senator REED. Well, you are, however, a man of intelligence. Did you mean to take this \$2,500 and say you would expend it for Mr. Lowden if he was nominated, and yet not mean to give these gentlemen to understand that you were for Lowden?

Mr. MOORE. I would have no hesitancy in spending that money for Mr. Lowden provided he were nominated, if I did not vote for him, would never have had.

Senator REED. If you were only talking about the election, how did it happen that you said to these gentlemen that you did not need the \$2,500, that there could be no expenses in the primary or caucus, whatever you call it?

Mr. MOORE. The occasion for telling them was that Mr. Babler told me that Mr. Emmerson would take care of whatever expenses I might incur in the selection of delegates, etc., to the convention. I suppose the purpose of spending this money, the way Mr. Babler spoke of it, would be to create sentiment for Gov. Lowden if necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have created sentiment for Gov. Lowden unless you were going to support him, would you?

Mr. MOORE. It would be unusual.

The CHAIRMAN. Rather unusual, and if anyone had started to work against Gov. Lowden, you would have used the money to create sentiment for him?

Mr. MOORE. I would have felt free to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would not unless you yourself said you were going to support him?

Mr. MOORE. Hardly.

The CHAIRMAN. When you returned this money, why did you not say that you would take the money after the primary, after the convention, when the governor was nominated, and use it?

Mr. MOORE. I suggested that at the time this money was offered to me.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not listen to you?

Mr. MOORE. It was Mr. Babler had the check, and he said, "Use it, and use it in the fall when you want it."

The CHAIRMAN. Anything you wanted, buy an automobile, if you wanted?

Mr. MOORE. No; I had one, a Ford, rather.

The CHAIRMAN. When you returned it, did you expect to return it with interest?

Mr. MOORE. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any time since you deposited that \$2,500 in the bank that your checking account has run below that figure?

Mr. MOORE. Possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. You have used this money and checked on it as if it was your own money—considered it your own money?

Mr. MOORE. Never considered it my own money until such time as I might have used it. I may have checked below that amount. I do not pay much attention to my bank account.

The CHAIRMAN. If you considered it a fund to be kept for use in the fall, why did you not keep it separate? Why keep it in this account and continue to check on it?

Mr. MOORE. I could have opened another account.

The CHAIRMAN. You handle trust funds there as circuit court clerk?

Mr. MOORE. I have not for some time been a trustee.

The CHAIRMAN. When you have been, you did not put it in your account, did you?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You put it in a separate account?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you not do that with this money?

Mr. MOORE. I was never appointed by the court to handle it. I was simply given this money. I thought it was perfectly proper to put it in my own account.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever expect to return that money if it had not been for this investigation?

Mr. MOORE. If Gov. Lowden were not nominated; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And if Gov. Lowden had been nominated, you would have kept the money?

Mr. MOORE. I would have expended it.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have to have any money to carry Missouri, would you?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. How were you going to expend it?

Mr. MOORE. There would be the registration, quite a job to get people registered.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have a big fund, the campaign fund of the State central committee?

Mr. MOORE. I suppose they do. I never received a dollar of that fund.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not attend to spending money for registration, do you?

Mr. MOORE. Absolutely supervise the registration as far as my ward is concerned; handle every little detail of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not get money from the State central committee?

Mr. MOORE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. From the city committee?

Mr. MOORE. If there are any funds for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. And they get money from the State committee?

Mr. MOORE. I think it is reversed. I think the city committee usually has to give money to the State committee. However, I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever had money in your possession to attend to registration?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When?

Mr. MOORE. At every registration.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you have at the last registration for that work?

Mr. MOORE. Oh, I have been given small amounts from the city committee.

The CHAIRMAN. \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you ever have in any registration since you have occupied the position?

Mr. MOORE. I think, as far as my ward alone is concerned, I do not believe I have had over \$300 or \$400.

The CHAIRMAN. That is plenty, is it not?

Mr. MOORE. For one ward.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with the rest of the money?

Mr. MOORE. It could be used in registration matters, it could be spread out over seven wards in the congressional district.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be \$2,100?

Mr. MOORE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what you had in your mind that you would do with it?

Mr. MOORE. If the money were used: yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose Gov. Lowden was not nominated, you would send the money back? How was this registration going to be taken care of?

Mr. MOORE. It would be taken care of in other ways.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you have any trouble in getting the money to do it?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know that I would.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it would be just fair to use Gov. Lowden's money that way?

Mr. MOORE. I do not know of anything unfair about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The national campaign is not financed by the man who is nominated, is it?

Mr. MOORE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. The party at large raises the money?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the system by which the money is raised to carry on the campaign. Did you ever hear of a presidential candidate taking the money of a nominee of either the Republican or Democratic Party to attend to the registration in some ward in St. Louis or such matter?

Mr. MOORE. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Senator REED. That is all. Thank you very much, Mr. Moore.

TESTIMONY OF MR. NAT GOLDSTEIN.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I am circuit court clerk of the eighth judicial district.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been circuit clerk?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Three and a half years.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your business before that?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Deputy circuit court clerk. Before that, deputy sheriff.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the delegates to the Republican national convention?

Mr. GOLSDTEIN. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you elected?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I can not—I was just trying to think—I can not be sure.

The CHAIRMAN. At the district convention?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. At the district convention; yes.

Senator SPENCER. About what month?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I would say more than likely the latter part of February or the early part of March, but I will not be positive on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with Mr. Babler?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you known him?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I would say about four years or perhaps more.

The CHAIRMAN. You have worked with him in politics?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been opposed to him in politics?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No, sir. You gentlemen misunderstand national, State, and city politics.

The CHAIRMAN. I expect we do. We are novices at it.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I have always been for years on the city committee.

The CHAIRMAN. City committee?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I represent the 19th ward on the Republican city committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have anything to do with the national chairman for the State?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Well, in this way, that the delegates to the national convention elect the national committeeman.

The CHAIRMAN. But do they not cooperate with the national committeemen?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Well, I guess the chairman of the city committee does.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the chairman?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Mr. John Small.

The CHAIRMAN. You are all working in the same cause, the Republican cause?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you acquainted, when you began, with any hard feeling between the city committee and the national committee?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first talk with Mr. Babler about the campaign; do you remember?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No; I just remember when there was any question about it. The first I recall is, as Mr. Moore has told you, when Mr. Babler called us up to his office.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Babler's business?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. He is vice president and general manager of the International Life Insurance Co.

The CHAIRMAN. About when was that that you went to his office?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I think in the early part of January.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was there at that time?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Mr. Moore, Mr. Emmerson, and Mr. Babler and I came.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your talk at that time?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I was introduced to Mr. Emmerson and told who he was and how interested he was in Mr. Lowden, and a general conversation took place. I did not say much. It finally drifted into the question of Lowden delegates, that would be favorable to Mr. Lowden, and they asked me my opinion, and I told them that I could not see any objection to Mr. Lowden, that I had not fully made up my mind whom I was for, that I could not see any objection to him. Mr. Babler or Mr. Emerson at that time referred then to carrying the district for Mr. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you there, was there a primary in this district?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No; mass meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a different district?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes; this is the eleventh.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the other delegate from that district?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Mrs. Butler.

The CHAIRMAN. Now go ahead.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. They talked along those lines. They never did question as to whether I would vote for Lowden or not. I never told them I was for Lowden. The impression of course was that I was or would be, and they spoke about money. I laughed at that and told them that there would not be a dollar required. Well, Babler seemed to carry on most of the conversation, and he said, "We will get some money, even if you do not need it." I said, "There is but

one time that money can be used. We have a new registration which requires the canvass of the precinct to find out the exact number of Republicans and Democrats, and after you have the canvass you must have them registered, which means a great deal of work, and possibly money could be used in that.

"And then comes along the election, and if Mr. Lowden were nominated we could use a great deal of money in that kind of work, because we never do get"—if you will excuse me, I was sitting here when Mr. Moore was cross-examined—"we never get any money from the national committee nor from the State committee. On an average, we get about \$10 a precinct for registration and canvassing."

Senator REED. Where do you get that?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. From the city committee, and it is collected by the city committee in the city of St. Louis. There is not a man in the world that can canvass the precinct and canvass it properly in less than three days. It takes three or four men to get out the registration, because there is a four-day registration this fall. I told them in that way there could be money spent and it would come in pretty handy in our district especially, for we had never had any money, and I thought we could carry a Republican Congressman this time.

Senator REED. Was that all said in the presence of Mr. Moore?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. That was all said in the presence of Mr. Moore. They talked generally along those lines. There was not anything more said about money at all. I can not give dates. I am getting a little old. But shortly after that I got a telephone message from Mr. Emmerson telling me that he would like to have Mr. Moore and me—by the way, Mr. Babler had told me that he was going to call up, that Mr. Emmerson would call up; that they wanted us to meet the governor. We went over there and spent some little time in Emmerson's office. I met a woman there whom I had known as a little girl, who had been taken over there as a stenographer in one of the departments, and we sat there and talked; and then we went into Gov. Lowden's office, and there was never any occasion when the word "money" was spoken.

The next time was shortly after that when Mr. Moore was in my office and Mr. Babler asked us to come up and see him, and we went up there and he tendered us the check.

Senator REED. \$2,500 each?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. \$2,500 each.

Senator SPENCER. Was it a mere coincidence that Mr. Moore was in the office at the time that you were in Babler's office?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No; he asked for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a mere coincidence that the checks were for \$2,500 each?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk about what it should be?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Had not talked what it should be or even that there should be any.

The CHAIRMAN. You were surprised?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes; and I said that we did not need that money and he might as well keep it. He said, "No; the checks are in your name. Deposit it,"—which I did.

Senator REED. The checks were made in your name and for deposit?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes; and if I needed any money at the mass meetings or in any way to use it. It never was used. It did not cost one 5-cent piece for anything that transpired in the District. I took the advertisement from the St. Louis Times, and they did not even charge for that. So there was not a 5-cent piece spent in the district.

Senator REED. All of this talk that you have told about occurred in Mr. Moore's presence?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with the money?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I deposited it in the Liberty Bank where it still remains.

The CHAIRMAN. In a separate fund?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In your own checking account?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. In my own checking account.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider it in the nature of a trust fund?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I did. I did not see any reason why it might not just be deposited there as some other place.

Senator SPENCER. Has that amount been intact ever since?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. It has been intact ever since.

The CHAIRMAN. In your own private checking account?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

Senator REED. What you mean is that you placed \$2,500 in the bank and that they credited your personal account?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

Senator REED. And you check on your personal account, which account was made up of this \$2,500 and other moneys that you had put in there from time to time?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. And checked out.

Senator REED. And the general balance existed there?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

Senator REED. And you checked against your funds from time to time?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. But never——

Senator REED. But you say that there is still \$2,500 in that account?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. And always has been.

The CHAIRMAN. You expect to return the \$2,500?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I certainly do. I expected to return it unless Gov. Lowden was nominated.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you expect to go to the convention with this money in your bank and vote for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I will not say that. I have never said that I was for Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not said so?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No. My inclination is that I will vote for him.

Senator REED. That was your inclination when you took the money?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were going to take the money and use it for him?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. If he was elected.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you not going to use it if there was any sentiment developed against him in the district, were you not going to use it to create sentiment?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. There was not any sentiment. You gentlemen here do not understand a district organization.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure we do not.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. It was just simply a question of who would be the delegates; that was all.

The CHAIRMAN. You tell us that \$2,500 was not to be used at all until after the nomination?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Their suggestion was that it would. But never in my own mind was a thought that a cent of it would be used.

The CHAIRMAN. You were different from Mr. Moore. He was going to use it if it was necessary to combat anti-Lowden sentiment, so he tells us.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. There was not a thought of such a thing in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you not tell them to wait until after Gov. Lowden was nominated?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. They would not do it?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Mr. Babler says: "The check is in your name." I would like to say, if you will let me drift away one moment——

Senator REED. Just before you drift, this statement that you made, that you just told us of, that you suggested that they keep the money until after Gov. Lowden was nominated was, of course, made in Mr. Moore's presence?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I think so. I am almost positive of that.

Senator REED. He did not think of that when he testified.

Senator SPENCER. He testified to it.

Senator REED. Did he?

Did you ever know in your whole experience of money being paid to committeemen before the primaries, at which delegates were to be selected to the conventions, which were in turn to select delegates to the national convention?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Never.

Senator REED. Or of money having been paid to a committeeman, with the understanding that he would use it if the candidate was nominated, and if he was not nominated that he would return it?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Never.

Senator REED. Nobody else ever heard of that kind of a transaction until this beautiful spring morning, did they?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I am free to say to you that I can see it just as clearly as you can at this time.

Senator REED. But at that time your mental vision was a little bit scattered by the size of that check.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Not at all. Money does not mean anything to me.

Senator REED. It seems to have entered into the mind of Mr. Emerson.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. It might have; I have nothing to say about that; but if you will allow me, Senator——

Senator REED. You said you wanted to drift.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I have been in Republican organizations for the past 30 years, and I have never gotten a dollar from a congressional or city committee that was not turned over intact to my organization as I got it and was spent in my organization, and if this money had been spent it would have been given to the treasurer of the congressional committee and not spent by me at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did not you give it to him?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Because the time was not ripe to give it to him.

Senator REED. It was just as ripe for the congressional committeeman to have it as the ward committeeman.

Senator EDGE. As a matter of fact, let us be fair. I have not asked any question. I do not think that there is any necessity of persecuting a witness.

Senator REED. We are not.

Senator EDGE. I see you are not. You have been asked why you did not turn it over to some other agency of the committee, the money given to you by Mr. Emmerson for the purpose that you have clearly stated. Let me ask you whether it was a mistake for you to have taken it or to have taken it and held it there and not turn it over to the ward committee.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I admit it was a mistake.

Senator EDGE. I want to be a little bit fair.

The CHAIRMAN. When this matter was first presented to you by the reporter of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, did you not deny receiving any money?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Just because I knew I had made a mistake. In the first place, I really thought—I knew that it was not intended for my district, for Gov. Lowden. It could not have been, because there was no excuse for spending a dollar in that district.

Senator REED. Mr. Goldstein, you said you never received money. As a matter of fact, having held office for so many years, I suppose ordinarily you have been requested to contribute or you have contributed?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you have stood well with your organization because of the past, and if there was any money that came in, you turned it over to the organization; and the real truth about the matter is this, that this was sort of forced on you?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

Senator REED. By the Lowden people?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. And a mistake upon my part in accepting it.

Senator REED. I think so.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. But it never entered into my mind that I was going to use one dollar of that money. That money would have gone to the congressional committee for registration work.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it ever forced upon your mind, or your mind ever seemed to believe that it would have been forced upon you in order to influence you as a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. No. I think it was rather forced on me—Mr. Babler was interested in being elected national committeeman. In all my years in public life I have never had a desire to go to a national convention, or to go to any convention. I always felt as if anybody

else wanted to go, I wanted to step out of their way. Mr. Babler wanted me to go more for his interest than for Lowden's interest. That is a surmise.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Goldstein, as a matter of fact, after you had taken that money you felt that you were in honor bound to support Gov. Lowden, were you not?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Well——

Senator REED. Whether you took it as a trust fund or for what purpose you took it, you had received this money. Did you feel the same freedom of action and choice that you otherwise would have felt?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I would have felt it to this extent——

Senator REED. You would not have a judge on the bench be in that situation if he were trying your case, would you?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I want to say this to you, that the Missouri delegation will meet in caucus in Chicago. If a majority of that caucus should be for some other than Gov. Lowden, I would abide by the majority.

Senator REED. But did you have in your mind that in the caucus you would vote for Lowden?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. More than likely.

Senator REED. Did you have in mind the same thing that Mr. Moore seems to have had in his mind as he expressed it, that if he went to the convention and did not vote for Lowden that he would send the money back then?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Oh, absolutely.

Senator REED. So, as we get to it, this was the thing that formulated itself in your mind, take the \$2,500. If I go to the convention and do not vote for Lowden, I will feel in honor bound to immediately return it. If I do vote for Lowden I will not be bound to return it. But I will be at liberty to use it in my own campaign.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. If Mr. Lowden were not nominated, whether I would vote for him or not, the money would be returned.

Senator REED. To state it this way, you would take the money; you were going to the convention; if you did not vote for Lowden you would instantly return it. That is right so far, is it not?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

Senator REED. If you did vote for Lowden, and if he was not nominated, you would return it?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. If he was nominated, you would keep it and use it in the election?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I would not keep it. I would turn it over to the eleventh congressional committee to be used by them.

Senator REED. Exactly. Now, there was this much of a personal obligation about it in your own mind. If you did not vote for him you were going to instantly return the money. Otherwise you would keep it awaiting either one of two contingencies—his defeat in the convention or his nomination by the convention?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Senator, I have already stated that I made a mistake in taking the money. I think that answers the whole question.

Senator REED. Do you not think they made a mistake in giving it?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I do.

Senator REED. Do you not think that kind of campaign is a very questionable one?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. As I have said to you before, in my 30 years in political life that is the first time that ever occurred.

Senator REED. And you think it is a questionable practice, do you not?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I want to say to you that it will never occur to me again. I can say that very freely.

Senator REED. Mr. Goldstein, the committee is considering this from two aspects. One to find out what has been done, and the other to find out what should be done. Let us assume that all men—and we must assume that all men are not disinterested and high-class as yourself and Mr. Moore. Suppose this system of campaigning that you have described was indiscriminately indulged in throughout the country, do you know that the effect of it would be that money would control the conventions inevitably?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Senator, I am not smart enough to cope with you——

Senator REED. Is not that your opinion?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes; if it was done generally.

Senator REED. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that you have been very frank, Mr. Goldstein.

Senator REED. I thank you, Mr. Goldstein, for your frankness.

Senator SPENCER. We want to get, of course, at the exact facts in each case, but we want to be entirely fair to you. We do not want you to feel that we are unfair.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I thank the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Everybody makes mistakes.

Senator SPENCER. As I gather, the gist of what you said—you correct me if I am wrong—is that when the question of money was first broached to you in connection with the eleventh district, you said very frankly, "There is no need of money in connection with Gov. Lowden's campaign?"

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Senator, I do not think I mentioned Gov. Lowden. The eleventh congressional committee is a happy family. We all agree. There are nine committeemen. I do not think that Gov. Lowden was mentioned at all. I told them that there would be no necessity of spending one cent, and at that time I had no thought of going as a delegate.

Senator SPENCER. Of course, you knew when you met Mr. Emerson and Mr. Babler that they were interested in Gov. Lowden?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Surely.

Senator SPENCER. And you told them that as far as the eleventh district was concerned, without mentioning any candidates, there was no need of spending a dollar in that district?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I did.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say, however, that they rather insisted that you should take this \$2,500?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Or that Mr. Babler did. You did not think then that there was any necessity for it. They seemed to think that there might be some necessity for it. Is that right?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes; that there would naturally be some expenses. I do not know what they had in mind. The ward organization in

The CHAIRMAN. And there were some points that some members of the committee thought were not covered by his testimony; and they wanted you to come here; I do not remember now just what it was. Are you the manager in Michigan of the Wood campaign?

Mr. ALGER. I was, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And what was your Michigan organization, in a general way?

Mr. ALGER. Well, Mr. Chairman, that is a little hard to explain. We started last summer and conducted a very long campaign. We started last summer with a Leonard Wood League of Michigan, and then we developed that along through the fall, so that we had an executive committee, of which, though nominally a part of the league, was really, politically, the controlling element. I assumed the presidency of the league and was the responsible manager for the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you, just as a matter of information: You are a son of the former Secretary of War and Senator, Russell A. Alger?

Mr. ALGER. I am, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you raise money for the Wood campaign in Michigan, outside of donations from the national headquarters?

Mr. ALGER. We had no donations from the national headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. None at all?

Mr. ALGER. None whatsoever; there were none received——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Well, in the report filed here by Mr. Sprague, according to the notations that I made from it, the amount for speakers, etc., was something like \$8,000; the State organization, \$350; and they sent into Michigan something like \$54,000.

Mr. ALGER. That did not come into me at all.

The CHAIRMAN. That did not come in to you at all?

Mr. ALGER. No; I had nothing to do with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did that come through?

Mr. ALGER. That was all paid out from the national headquarters, without my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not understand. This statement is that \$54,000 was sent into Michigan. Now, I want to know whether that was money sent into Michigan, or whether that was a value of literature sent into Michigan.

Mr. ALGER. No; that was money raised at our headquarters, in Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you raise that and send it to Chicago?

Mr. ALGER. No; spent it there.

Senator POMERENE. That is money subscribed by Michigan people, is it?

Mr. ALGER. By Michigan people, and spent there.

Senator REED. How much was it, Mr. Alger?

Mr. ALGER. The account of the treasurer was fifty-four thousand and odd dollars. That account, Mr. Chairman, was incorrect, for this reason—and I should have sent you this as soon as I found that Mr. Wisert was misinformed—I spent personally between \$22,000 and \$23,000 in addition myself.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the \$44,000?

Mr. ALGER. In addition to the \$54,000.

Senator POMERENE. Will you give those figures again?

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to put in this record at this point a letter from Mr. Daniel C. Roper, with relation to the evidence that has been given before the committee concerning him.

(The letter referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 29, 1920.

Hon. W. S. KENYON,

Chairman, etc.; United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Since writing you several days ago to the effect that I had no information of value to your committee relative to the collection or distribution of funds in the interest of the nomination of any candidate for the presidency, my attention has been directed to the fact that statements have been made in the course of your investigation to the effect that campaign headquarters for Mr. McAdoo have been maintained at the Pennsylvania Hotel, the inference being that such headquarters had been instituted and are now being directed by me. There is positively no truth in this statement. I am sure that I would have heard of any such headquarters or any purpose that was in the minds of individuals to establish such headquarters, and no such information has been brought to my attention except as indicated above. The fact is that I live at the Pennsylvania Hotel in a small, single room, for which I get the lowest rate that is quoted by the hotel, and in order to conserve my meagre resources, I generally surrender the room when I visit my family at week-ends in Washington.

In view of the insinuations that have been made in the hearings before your committee, I hope that you may be willing to insert this letter in connection with the former letter which I addressed to you into the record.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

DANIEL C. ROPER.

The CHAIRMAN. I will also put in the record a telegram from the president of the Stanford Hoover Club—I suppose it is the Stanford University Hoover Club—denying certain parts of the testimony of Mr. McCabe.

(The telegram referred to is here printed in full, as follows:)

PALO ALTO, CALIF., June 1, 1920.

Senator KENYON,

Chairman Campaign Expenditures Committee, Washington, D. C.:

Press dispatches quote Alexander McCabe as testifying before your committee that 300 Stanford students were hired by the Hoover organization to stand at the polls election day. This statement is an absolute falsehood. There were not 300 Stanford students at the polls and not a red cent was paid to any Stanford student for services. This organization composed of students sent 120 volunteer workers to San Francisco, a distance of 30 miles, for the purpose of being present during the count of the ballot. We paid the bare cost of railroad transportation only, all other expenses being paid by the students. We are prepared to verify the above statements by affidavits and records if requested.

THE STANFORD HOOVER CLUB,
J. G. DRISCOLL, Jr., President

TESTIMONY OF MR. FREDERICK M. ALGER, DETROIT, MICH.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Alger, give your name to the reporter, please.

Mr. ALGER. Frederick M. Alger.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in Michigan, Mr. Alger, is it?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; Detroit, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. We had someone here from Michigan whom you sent?

Mr. ALGER. Yes, sir; Mr. Weissert.

Mr. ALGER. Yes, I call the total; this is only approximate, but it is very close: The total advertising bill—the treasurer spent, I think, twenty thousand odd dollars, and I spent myself \$9,000 in addition.

The CHAIRMAN. You contributed yourself most of this \$54,000, as I remember?

Mr. ALGER. I contributed altogether something over \$70,000 of what I spent myself.

Senator REED. Pardon me; you personally——

Mr. ALGER (interposing). I personally——

Senator REED (continuing). You personally put up \$70,000. \$22,000 or \$23,000 of which you spent directly, and the balance of it you spent through the committee?

Mr. ALGER. Through the committee, as appears in the subscription.

Senator EDGE. The previous statement shows that you contributed \$50,000, I think.

Mr. ALGER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that money used?

Mr. ALGER. I could not give you the details without having an audit of my books; but I could give you some of the largest items.

The CHAIRMAN. What are they?

Mr. ALGER. I spent \$9,000 for advertising. I spent about \$2,500 for speakers, in Detroit and Wayne County. I employed a Miss Wiel, a woman to go around and help organize women's committees for canvassing work, and I imagine I spent \$500 or \$600 on that. that is outside of the direct line.

The CHAIRMAN. Advertising in newspapers and billboards—can you give us that?

Mr. ALGER. We did no billboard advertising.

The CHAIRMAN. Newspaper?

Mr. ALGER. Newspaper; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us that?

Mr. ALGER. Well, that comes in the total advertising bill, and of course within that figure comes the advertising firm's commission: that is gross.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a contract with some advertising firm?

Mr. ALGER. We did.

The CHAIRMAN. He spoke of two counties; what county is the city of Grand Rapids in?

Mr. ALGER. Kent.

The CHAIRMAN. Kent County; that was financed and taken care of by the county; do you know anything about that?

Mr. ALGER. I do not think so, entirely; in fact, I know, not entirely, because I helped them out several times in connection with meetings, personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what they raised and spent in that county?

Mr. ALGER. I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the county that St. Joseph is in?

Mr. ALGER. There is St. Joseph County; the city of St. Joseph is in Berrian County.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it St. Joseph County? Well, I think he said that county was financed by himself. Have you any idea what was raised in that county?

Mr. ALGER. Not the slightest.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any estimate of it at all?

Mr. ALGER. Not even a guess.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the \$50,000 and the \$23,000 with the \$73,000, and in addition, what they raised in these three counties would be what they raised in Michigan?

Mr. ALGER. The great body of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The great body of it?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; the great body of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what more would there be?

Mr. ALGER. Well, it is impossible, Mr. Chairman, to say what a man in a county will do by himself; he may get three or four men to go around, run an automobile, or something like that. I have no idea, and I will not even pretend to know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any independent funds were raised in Detroit for the Wood campaign?

Mr. ALGER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We have evidence that there was an independent Johnson fund there; do you know anything about that?

Mr. ALGER. No; I do not.

Senator SPENCER. That amount represents all that you know of having been raised?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Who were your principal competitors in Michigan?

Mr. ALGER. Senator Johnson was our principal competitor.

Senator SPENCER. Was he your only competitor?

Mr. ALGER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hoover was one of your competitors?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; Mr. Hoover was one.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Hoover on both tickets in that State?

Mr. ALGER. No; that you can not do in our State—yes, I beg your pardon; you can; Mr. Hoover was on both tickets.

Senator SPENCER. What was the final result? Do you remember the vote?

Mr. ALGER. With Johnson?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; do you remember the vote?

Mr. ALGER. Approximately I do.

Senator SPENCER. What was it?

Mr. ALGER. Senator Johnson carried the State by 44,000 plurality.

Senator SPENCER. And his total number of votes was about what?

Mr. ALGER. I forget the total. Gen. Wood came down to Wayne County with about 12,000 or 13,000 plurality. Senator Johnson carried Detroit, or Wayne County, by about 56,000.

Senator POMERENE. What return did you get on this investment?

Mr. ALGER. I expected no return, sir, except the privilege——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). I said, what did you get?

Mr. ALGER. Public service—well, I got called down here, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. That is, Gen. Wood carried Michigan, except the city of Detroit?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; he came down to Detroit with a plurality.

Senator SPENCER. And Senator Johnson's vote in Detroit was so large as to overcome the plurality of Gen. Wood in the State and give Senator Johnson a plurality of about 44,000?

Mr. ALGER. Yes, I call the total; this is only approximate, but it is very close: The total advertising bill—the treasurer spent, I think, twenty thousand odd dollars, and I spent myself \$9,000 in addition.

The CHAIRMAN. You contributed yourself most of this \$54,000, as I remember?

Mr. ALGER. I contributed altogether something over \$70,000 of what I spent myself.

Senator REED. Pardon me; you personally——

Mr. ALGER (interposing). I personally——

Senator REED (continuing). You personally put up \$70,000, \$22,000 or \$23,000 of which you spent directly, and the balance of it you spent through the committee?

Mr. ALGER. Through the committee, as appears in the subscription.

Senator EDGE. The previous statement shows that you contributed \$50,000, I think.

Mr. ALGER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that money used?

Mr. ALGER. I could not give you the details without having an audit of my books; but I could give you some of the largest items.

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Mr. ALGER. I spent \$9,000 for advertising. I spent about \$2,500 for speakers, in Detroit and Wayne County. I employed a Miss Wiel, a woman to go around and help organize women's committees for canvassing work, and I imagine I spent \$500 or \$600 on that; that is outside of the direct line.

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The CHAIRMAN. Kent County; that was financed and taken care of by the county; do you know anything about that?

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Mr. ALGER. I have no idea.

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The CHAIRMAN. Was it St. Joseph County? Well, I think he said that county was financed by himself. Have you any idea what was raised in that county?

Senator EDGE. Is that correct, Senator? Did he not specify that the \$9,000 was from the \$22,000? That was what I understood him to say.

Senator POMERENE. He said he had contributed all told himself some \$70,000.

Senator EDGE. Yes; but——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). And we had his statement before that the national headquarters expended some \$54,000.

Mr. ALGER. No; the State headquarters expended \$54,000.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I have got that wrong; the State headquarters; that is correct; I intended to say that. And then, outside of what was expended by the State headquarters, you personally expended \$22,000 or \$23,000; then you started out—and then you added the statement further that you had contributed all told some \$70,000.

Mr. ALGER. Well, I am only trying to—the expenditures of the \$50,000 were entirely explained in the other statement. I am trying to explain this \$22,000 or \$23,000—those items alone.

Senator EDGE. I will call your attention to the fact that we have a full detailed list of the \$54,000 already in the record.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any unpaid bills, Mr. Alger?

Mr. ALGER. I think not a thing; there may be some telegraph bills, or something that is held over, but I think not a thing.

Senator REED. Mr. Alger, do you hold any position in the political organization of Michigan?

Mr. ALGER. I do not. ?

Senator REED. When did you first become interested in the Wood campaign?

Mr. ALGER. Very shortly after my return from France.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. ALGER. Let us see—I got home about the middle of March, in 1919.

Senator REED. What business are you in?

Mr. ALGER. I am in general business. Do you want me to tell you what I am a director of—the companies?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. ALGER. I am not in any one business.

Senator REED. Well, what companies are you a director in?

Mr. ALGER. I am a director of the Elwood-Smith Co., which is a lumber concern; I am a director of the Packard Motor Car Co., which is an automobile concern; I am a director of the Jefferson Forge Products Co., which is a drop-forging concern; I am a director of the National Bank of Commerce, in Detroit, and of the Union Trust Co. of Detroit. Those are my principal interests.

Senator REED. I did not hear the first part of your testimony; and so that I may be sure I have it in my mind correctly, let me go over it a moment: There was raised in Michigan and expended through the State committee organization, the Wood organization, \$54,000, in round numbers?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator REED. And a gentleman who was sent down here to represent you came here and gave us the figures?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Mr. ALGER. About 44,000.

Senator REED. There was not much of a vote in the State, then, was there?

Mr. ALGER. There was bad weather.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of the vote of the State of Michigan generally is in Detroit?

Mr. ALGER. I have been out of politics for quite a while. It used to be about one-fourth. I think to-day the normal vote will probably show about one-third.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the entire vote of the State?

Mr. ALGER. Of the entire vote of the State.

Senator SPENCER. Was that true in this primary? Did Detroit cast one-third of the entire vote of the State?

Mr. ALGER. I ought to have those figures, but I have not them with me. I am inclined to think it did.

Senator SPENCER. It cast one-third of the entire vote?

Mr. ALGER. I think so.

Senator REED. I may be wrong about this, Senator; but I think Gen. Wood carried the State outside of Detroit by about——

Mr. ALGER (interposing). About 12,000.

Senator REED. About 12,000; and now, Gen. Wood comes to Detroit with 12,000 plurality, and there Senator Johnson beats him by——

Mr. ALGER (interposing). About 56,000.

Senator REED (continuing). Senator Johnson beats him there enough to give him about 44,000 plurality in the State; is that correct?

Mr. ALGER. About 42,000 or 43,000, I think.

Senator REED. So that there could not have been in the State outside of Detroit more than 25,000 votes, could there?

Mr. ALGER. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. I mean for Gen. Wood.

Mr. ALGER. Oh, yes.

Senator SPENCER. There might have been half a million votes for Gen. Wood.

Mr. ALGER. Yes; I mean he came down with that plurality of the total vote outside of Detroit.

Senator REED. Yes; I see.

The CHAIRMAN. How many newspapers did you advertise in in Michigan, and to what extent?

Mr. ALGER. I can not answer that question accurately, but I should guess between 250 and 300; that would be my guess.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it extensive advertising?

Mr. ALGER. No; it could not be very extensive advertising with that amount at the existing rates.

Senator POMERENE. A little while ago you started to detail your expenditures as best you could from memory, and you gave us advertising, \$9,000; speakers, \$2,500, and Miss Wiel, \$500 or \$600.

Mr. ALGER. I would rather get those figures from my books and send them down to this committee.

Senator POMERENE. Well, can you give it approximately, for our information, while you are here? You can send the statement later on. You have only given here about \$12,000 out of \$70,000 which you yourself contributed, and there was some \$76,000 or \$77,000 expended.

Senator EDGE. Is that correct, Senator? Did he not specify that the \$9,000 was from the \$22,000? That was what I understood him to say.

Senator POMERENE. He said he had contributed all told himself some \$70,000.

Senator EDGE. Yes; but——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). And we had his statement before that the national headquarters expended some \$54,000.

Mr. ALGER. No; the State headquarters expended \$54,000.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I have got that wrong; the State headquarters; that is correct; I intended to say that. And then, outside of what was expended by the State headquarters, you personally expended \$22,000 or \$23,000; then you started out—and then you added the statement further that you had contributed all told some \$70,000.

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Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator REED. And a gentleman who was sent down here to represent you came here and gave us the figures?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator REED. Showing the expenditure of that money?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, practically all of that money you put up yourself—that \$54,000?

Mr. ALGER. That is true, sir.

Senator REED. Now, in addition to the moneys which he told us about, you had expended, and not through the committee, but by yourself personally——

Mr. ALGER. Personally.

Senator REED (continuing). Approximately \$22,000 or \$23,000, and you are uncertain as to the amount?

Mr. ALGER. Yes, that is correct.

Senator REED. Were you subpoenaed to come here?

Mr. ALGER. I was not subpoenaed.

Senator REED. Did you come on a telegram?

Mr. ALGER. I did, sir.

Senator REED. Did that telegram request you to bring your books and papers?

Mr. ALGER. It did not, sir.

Senator REED. Just a mere telegram?

Mr. ALGER. Just a telegram.

Senator REED. I believe you wired the chairman of the committee, in substance and effect, that Mr. Wisert was in full possession of all the facts?

Mr. ALGER. I supposed he was, sir. And I sent him a memorandum giving him this estimate, which I am now giving you, which he did not receive.

Senator REED. Oh, he had not yet received it?

Mr. ALGER. He did not. Now, when I saw his testimony in the press, if you had not called me down here, I should have sent this on.

Senator REED. I readily believe that, sir.

Mr. ALGER. Thank you, sir.

Senator REED. The \$22,000 or \$23,000 that you spent directly, to whom did you pay it?

Mr. ALGER. Well, I can not remember all the items, Senator; I just tried to think up the big ones; that is a pretty hard thing to remember. There are a great many telegraph bills, there are a great many telephone bills—hotel expenses, traveling expenses—even club bills have to be analyzed to show where all of that money went, to show all the details.

Senator EDGE. You mentioned speakers?

Mr. ALGER. Speakers; I paid approximately \$2,500 for Detroit speakers.

Senator REED. Let us stop a moment on that. Do you mean to say that you paid the expenses of halls and advertising, etc., for meetings, or did you pay the speakers themselves for their services?

Mr. ALGER. I will tell you exactly: I employed a man named Withe, of Detroit, whose initials I do not know, whose business it was to get together a corps of speakers for factory speakers. Now, the total cost of all that—he administered all the money, and I think it was not high for the number of speeches that were made—was approximately \$2,500.

Senator REED. What does Mr. Wise do?

Mr. ALGER. I do not know, sir. I know what he was doing then; he was running the local speakers' bureau.

Senator REED. Yes; but was he connected with the laboring element?

Mr. ALGER. No.

Senator REED. Or is he a sort of "talk well" man?

Mr. ALGER. I can not answer your question, because, honestly, I do not know. I think he is an insurance man.

Senator REED. These speakers—you referred to them as "factory speakers"—did they go to the factories and make speeches?

Mr. ALGER. They did, sir.

Senator REED. Now, what class of men were they? Were they laborers?

Mr. ALGER. No; for the most part, they were, I should think, young lawyers.

The CHAIRMAN. You could get them pretty cheap, could you not? [Laughter.]

Senator REED. And the young lawyers of Detroit would take money to go out and make speeches in a political campaign?

Mr. ALGER. Some of them would.

Senator REED. Did you have any speakers from abroad who received pay?

Mr. ALGER. Let me see—not that I recollect; that is, not paid by us.

Senator REED. Did you know of any being sent in from abroad?

Mr. ALGER. Oh, yes; several speakers were sent in.

Senator REED. Who sent them in?

Mr. ALGER. From the national headquarters.

Senator REED. So that there was an expense that you did not have to bear?

Mr. ALGER. That is accounted for, I think, in that \$9,000 item which was testified by Mr. Sprague, that is charged to Michigan.

Senator REED. Do you know whether or not the headquarters sent in any other moneys?

Mr. ALGER. No; that is, I did not know it. But that item in Mr. Sprague's testimony, as read by the chairman, says that altogether approximately \$9,000 was expended in that way.

Senator REED. Yes. It says, "State organization, \$350"; you were really the State organization there, were you not?

Mr. ALGER. I do not know anything about that.

Senator REED. It says, "Newspaper advertising, \$1,200"; do you do not know anything about that either, do you?

Mr. ALGER. I know nothing whatsoever about that.

Senator REED. You thought you were taking care of that job?

Mr. ALGER. I originally told Col. Procter that Michigan would take care of advertising.

Senator REED. And then comes the item in the table, for postage, speakers, travel expense, circularizing, etc.—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Was that literally true, or did Mr. Alger take care of Michigan?

Mr. ALGER. Do you want me to tell why I contributed so much money myself? We did not solicit a dollar in Michigan.

Senator POMERENE. Pardon me, Senator Reed; I believe I interrupted you.

Senator REED. I was not quite through with my question, but I am perfectly willing to wait until you have finished.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I suggest that you go ahead. I am sorry that I interrupted you.

Mr. ALGER. I did not understand that you were asking a question.

Senator REED. I was engaged in asking a question, and the Senator overlooked it. It is all right; I do not care which way we proceed.

Senator POMERENE. Perhaps I had better wait until you finish.

Senator REED. I will repeat my question. The table submitted by Mr. Sprague, in next to the last column, says, "Postage, speakers, travel expenses, circularizing, billboards, telephone, and telegraph, etc.," and it gives \$8,100 under that item. You did not know about the national headquarters paying that expense?

Mr. ALGER. I did not, sir. Of course, I knew when they sent speakers in that they had to bear that expense, of course.

Senator REED. The total of all the items is \$9,650. You did not know anything even about that money being spent there?

Mr. ALGER. I did not.

Senator REED. Well, if the national committee could spend \$9,650 in the State without your knowing it, some other organization might have spent money there and you not know it?

Mr. ALGER. That seems a fair inference, Senator, but I do not believe it is so.

Senator REED. This Miss Wiel who was sent out to organize women, you paid her \$500?

Mr. ALGER. I paid her at least that.

Senator REED. And possibly you paid her more?

Mr. ALGER. Well, I paid her expenses; she went all over the State, to the different cities; I paid her expenses; and she got, as I recollect, \$50 a week salary.

Senator REED. What had been her occupation?

Mr. ALGER. She had been in an office, I think—a factory office.

Senator REED. A factory office?

Mr. ALGER. I think so.

Senator REED. She was sent out to visit the factory girls and women?

Mr. ALGER. No; primarily to teach the women and the women's committees how to get into the factories, or get around the factories and pass out literature.

Senator REED. Yes—to the factory workers?

Mr. ALGER. To the factory workers.

Senator REED. Who was it that you made the contract for advertising with?

Mr. ALGER. E. A. Batcheller & Co.

Senator REED. Of Detroit?

Mr. ALGER. Of Detroit.

Senator REED. Is that the same concern that the committee made its contract with?

Mr. ALGER. The same one.

Senator REED. You made a supplemental contract with them?

Mr. ALGER. I did not make a contract; I just determined that some advertising was necessary and paid for it; it was over and above the advertising approved by the committee.

Senator REED. But you placed that with the same concern?

Mr. ALGER. Absolutely; I just went on in; I did not have time to call the committee together.

Senator REED. Well, you did not need to very much; you were furnishing the sinews of war.

Mr. ALGER. Yes; but of course, normally, I would have done it.

Senator REED. Now, you wanted to ask some questions, Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. Yes. Now, I asked you, Mr. Alger, a question a little while ago which I withdrew. In substance, you said that you had told Col. Procter that Michigan would take care of herself; and in view of your statements, I asked you whether that was literally true—whether it was not Mr. Alger that was not taking care of Michigan? You were going to say something in regard to that.

Mr. ALGER. I do not like to put either Michigan or myself in a bad light. I would like to answer that. As I told the committee at the start, we started this work in the summer, and carried on a very long campaign. Originally, I had expected, of course, to go out and get subscriptions from a number of people, as normally would be done in a campaign. At that time, Gen. Wood was being attacked very unjustly, as I saw it, for a supposititious financial ring backing him. I did not want to stir that thing up; and rather than stir it up, I put up the money myself, which I was proud to do, and I am still proud of it; and I would do it again, gentlemen, unless you pass a law that stops it.

Senator EDGE. In order to supplement that question, there is no corrupt practices act in the State of Michigan which would prohibit a contribution for a presidential primary?

Mr. ALGER. No.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let me ask you another question. You have been interrogated here about the receipts and expenditures for the Wood campaign; you have also told us of your chief competitor, Senator Johnson. There are a number of other entries in this race. Can you give us any information touching the receipts and expenditures of any or all of these several candidates?

Mr. ALGER. I could give you no reliable information whatsoever.

Senator POMERENE. You have no direct information upon which you could base a judgment?

Mr. ALGER. I would not base a judgment.

Senator POMERENE. I did not hear you.

Mr. ALGER. I would not base a judgment on what I know.

Senator POMERENE. Well, then, if you would not, I do not care to inquire further.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are to be congratulated in not giving us rumors; we have had too many rumors.

Senator EDGE. I was just going to make that same remark. You paid the bill, and you are frankly stating how you paid it; that is your own campaign, and you do not know anything about any other?

Mr. ALGER. Not a thing.

Senator EDGE. Right along that line, the factory workers that you employed speakers to go among—the factory hands. Do you know whether any of the opposing candidates did likewise? Without any thought of the expense, did they follow the same plan of campaign?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; they followed it immediately, as soon as we started it. On the other hand, whether they paid anything for it, I

do not know. The vast majority of our people throughout the State were not paid anything; and I should hate to have them turn around and improperly accuse us of things that we did not do; and I certainly do not intend to accuse them.

Senator EDGE. Just in order that the record may be clear, Senator Reed asked you, I think, a question as to whether you knew about outside speakers being paid by the Chicago headquarters; I think earlier you had answered a similar question to the effect that you did not know that there were outside speakers in the State, paid from the Chicago headquarters.

Mr. ALGER. I suppose, of course, they were paid—men sent in there. Did I contradict that?

Senator EDGE. Well, I thought that you did, by inference, in answering Senator Reed later, that you did not know that they had been sent in, or did not know whether they had been paid from outside sources.

Mr. ALGER. I did not mean to; I took that for granted that they had been paid.

Senator REED. Who were these speakers that were sent in?

Mr. ALGER. I can not answer you, Senator; I am sorry.

Senator EDGE. Was that done entirely outside of your organization?

Mr. ALGER. Absolutely.

Senator EDGE. It is self-evident that somebody had to pay for it.

Mr. ALGER. I assume that; yes.

Senator EDGE. Now, bringing your statement down to date, as I have figured it out, your \$22,000 or \$23,000, outside of the committee fund—you announced approximately \$9,000 for advertising, \$2,500 for—I do not remember what it was now; what was that item for?

Mr. ALGER. For speakers; for local speakers.

Senator EDGE. For speakers; \$600 for a woman organizer; and you gave us another \$2,500 approximately, later for something; I did not make a memorandum of what it was.

Mr. ALGER. I do not remember that. I spent about \$1,000 for halls. Your question brought that to my mind. (To Senator Reed.)

Senator EDGE. Well, that figures \$15,600, leaving only \$7,000 or \$8,000 for various other expenses.

Mr. ALGER. Well, I still reiterate, gentlemen, that this was a very long campaign and a very informal campaign, until after January.

Senator EDGE. With regard to the matter of newspaper advertising, did any of the other candidates spend, so far as you could observe from reading the papers, as much as you did, or as your committee did?

Mr. ALGER. In straight advertising?

Senator EDGE. Yes; regular newspaper publicity?

Mr. ALGER. I think not; I should judge not.

Senator EDGE. Well, did they use the papers for display advertising—any of the other candidates?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Which ones?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; I think all of them; I think all of the main ones did advertising.

Senator REED. Did Senator Johnson?

Mr. ALGER. I remember one insertion that was put in, and the man's name, whatever it was, I do not know, who paid for the advertising.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in Detroit?

Mr. ALGER. That was in Detroit.

Senator EDGE. I think we had that testimony; that is all I have to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew Gen. Wood, and you believed in Gen. Wood and wanted him for President, and were willing to do what you could?

Mr. ALGER. Absolutely, sir; I considered it a public service, just as I consider any other form of public service.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Alger.

TESTIMONY OF MR. E. L. MORSE, OF EXCELSIOR SPRINGS, MO.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please state your full name.

Mr. MORSE. E. L. Morse.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in the State of Missouri, do you?

Mr. MORSE. I live in Excelsior Springs, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. MORSE. Well, I practice law. I have built railroads; I have built a light and water plant there at Excelsior Springs; I have a bottling works there: I have a bathhouse that I run in connection with the hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is enough. Are you a delegate to the Republican national convention?

Mr. MORSE. I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the delegates from your district?

Mr. MORSE. Dr. E. R. Lindley and Mr. L. F. Diehart.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Emmerson?

Mr. MORSE. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you known him?

Mr. MORSE. Since November, 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any money from Mr. Emmerson for use in Gov. Lowden's campaign?

Mr. MORSE. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. MORSE. Approximately \$32,000.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that sent to you?

Mr. MORSE. It was sent to me in checks.

The CHAIRMAN. At different times?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; the first check was for \$5,000; the second check was for \$10,000; and two or three other checks were for \$5,000; I could not just remember the amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. Covering what periods of time?

Mr. MORSE. The \$5,000 check was sent me in January, and a couple of weeks afterwards the \$10,000 check was sent. I think the checks have been sent in here, and the dates of the checks will show.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the last check sent you?

Mr. MORSE. The last check was, I should judge, about the 25th of April; some time in April.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with the money?

Mr. MORSE. Well, now, I was notified that, as I was away from home when it came—I was notified by telegraph at Excelsior Springs. I had been down to St. Louis to attend a meeting of the State delegation on Friday, and I left on Friday night for Chicago; and I had been on the train for three or four days; and I had been in the sleeper during that time, and I was all tired out, and I got to Chicago, and I went to bed at the Congress Hotel in Chicago; and on Sunday morning when I got up they said there was a call there for me, and they did not disturb me, because they thought I was tired; and that there was a call for me from Excelsior Springs; and when I got back I was advised that there was a telegram for me requesting me to come here before this committee. I immediately sent to Senator Reed a telegram requesting him to notify the committee that I would be here Tuesday morning. I suppose you have that telegram. And so I came on here.

Now, I can give the bulk of these expenditures from memory. I have a pretty fair memory, and I think I can do that.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you may do so.

Mr. MORSE. Approximately \$17,000 went to Mr. Babler, the national committeeman.

Senator SPENCER. Is Mr. Babler here?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; Mr. Babler is here.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the national committeeman for Missouri?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; \$2,550 to Mr. T. W. Hookreddy, of Warren, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate to the convention?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir; \$1,250 to Mr. Kavanaugh.

The CHAIRMAN. Of where?

Mr. MORSE. Of New Hampton, Harrison County, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate to the convention?

Mr. MORSE. He is not; \$500 to Joseph E. Black, of Richmond, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate to the convention?

Mr. MORSE. He is not; \$300 to Mr. W. E. Templeton, of Excelsior Springs, Mo.

Senator REED. Who is that?

Mr. MORSE. W. E. Templeton, of Excelsior Springs, Mo.; \$2,000 to Mr. John Albus, of St. Joseph, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate to the convention?

Mr. MORSE. I think he is a contesting delegate; he had charge of the fourth district; \$300 to Mr. J. W. Hallett, of Nevada, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate to the convention?

Mr. MORSE. He is not; \$150 to Harold Gartside, of Kingston, Mo.

Senator REED. \$150 to Harold Gartside?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; \$200 to Mr. Sid Frost, of Moberly, Mo.

Senator REED. Sid Frost, of Moberly, Mo., \$200?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir. \$100 to Charles Jones, of Polo, Mo.

Senator REED. Charles Jones, \$100?

Mr. MORSE. \$250 to William Scurry, of Kansas City, Mo. I had Mr. Scurry doing publicity work; I had him traveling around over the State. \$200 to Mr. John Eberman.

Senator REED. How is that spelled?

Mr. MORSE. John E-b-e-r-m-a-n. \$300 to Mr. Grant Dubel, of Princeton, Mo.

Mr. ALGER. Not the slightest.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any estimate of it at all?

Mr. ALGER. Not even a guess.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the \$50,000 and the \$23,000 with the \$73,000, and in addition, what they raised in these three counties would be what they raised in Michigan?

Mr. ALGER. The great body of it.

The CHAIRMAN. The great body of it?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; the great body of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what more would there be?

Mr. ALGER. Well, it is impossible, Mr. Chairman, to say what a man in a county will do by himself; he may get three or four men to go around, run an automobile, or something like that. I have no idea, and I will not even pretend to know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any independent funds were raised in Detroit for the Wood campaign?

Mr. ALGER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. We have evidence that there was an independent Johnson fund there; do you know anything about that?

Mr. ALGER. No; I do not.

Senator SPENCER. That amount represents all that you know of having been raised?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Who were your principal competitors in Michigan?

Mr. ALGER. Senator Johnson was our principal competitor.

Senator SPENCER. Was he your only competitor?

Mr. ALGER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hoover was one of your competitors?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; Mr. Hoover was one.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Hoover on both tickets in that State?

Mr. ALGER. No; that you can not do in our State—yes, I beg your pardon: you can; Mr. Hoover was on both tickets.

Senator SPENCER. What was the final result? Do you remember the vote?

Mr. ALGER. With Johnson?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; do you remember the vote?

Mr. ALGER. Approximately I do.

Senator SPENCER. What was it?

Mr. ALGER. Senator Johnson carried the State by 44,000 plurality.

Senator SPENCER. And his total number of votes was about what?

Mr. ALGER. I forget the total. Gen. Wood came down to Wayne County with about 12,000 or 13,000 plurality. Senator Johnson carried Detroit, or Wayne County, by about 56,000.

Senator POMERENE. What return did you get on this investment?

Mr. ALGER. I expected no return, sir, except the privilege——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). I said, what did you get?

Mr. ALGER. Public service—well, I got called down here, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. That is, Gen. Wood carried Michigan, except the City of Detroit?

Mr. ALGER. Yes; he came down to Detroit with a plurality.

Senator SPENCER. And Senator Johnson's vote in Detroit was so large as to overcome the plurality of Gen. Wood in the State and give Senator Johnson a plurality of about 44,000?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know anything about his receiving Harding money, as the testimony here discloses?

Mr. MORSE. Not until after the disclosures at the committee meeting.

Senator REED. Did you suppose at that time he was for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator REED. You have been very active for Mr. Lowden, have you not?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you have a reputation in our State for knowing what is going on in politics.

Mr. MORSE. He never gave any evidence of being otherwise than for Gov. Lowden at all of our meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a surprise to you to know that he had received money from the Harding men?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; I was surprised. I understand that he explained it by saying that he was the second choice.

Senator REED. Well, he got twice as much money from the second choice. Did you ever hear that story about the colored man who was accused of not delivering his vote; and the Republican said to him, "I gave you \$5 for your vote, and you did not vote for me." And the colored man said, "Yes, sir; but," he said, "the Democrat gave me \$2.50 and I voted for him;" and the Republican asked him, "Why did you do that?" And he said, "Because you Republicans are the most corrupt." [Laughter.]

The man that paid the most money was the second choice in this case?

Mr. MORSE. Well, I was not aware of that fact until after this disclosure.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Cole a delegate to the convention?

Mr. MORSE. He is one of the delegates at large.

Senator REED. What are Mr. Cole's initials?

Mr. MORSE. W. L. Cole.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is a delegate at large with \$1,200 of Senator Harding's money and \$500 of Gov. Lowden's money?

Mr. COLE. Well, I said that he may have considered this as a contribution to the Congressional campaign; but he went over and pledged himself to Senator Harding very early.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether he has a third choice or not?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know whether he has. I may be able to "cash in" on that in Chicago.

Senator REED. What do you say his initials are?

Mr. MORSE. W. L. Cole. John Frost, of Clinton County, \$200.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Cole the gentleman who was a candidate for Sergeant at Arms of the Senate?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir. Howard Morse—that is a son of mine—approximately \$700. He was sent over to Indiana, and was there nearly a month, or more than a month.

Senator REED. Who is that?

Mr. MORSE. Howard Morse, my son; he was used there in the third congressional district, and he was at the Chicago headquarters and they made me pay this money for him.

Senator EDGE. Is that correct, Senator? Did he not specify that the \$9,000 was from the \$22,000? That was what I understood him to say.

Senator POMERENE. He said he had contributed all told himself some \$70,000.

Senator EDGE. Yes; but——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). And we had his statement before that the national headquarters expended some \$54,000.

Mr. ALGER. No; the State headquarters expended \$54,000.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I have got that wrong; the State headquarters; that is correct; I intended to say that. And then, outside of what was expended by the State headquarters, you personally expended \$22,000 or \$23,000; then you started out—and then you added the statement further that you had contributed all told some \$70,000.

Mr. ALGER. Well, I am only trying to—the expenditures of the \$50,000 were entirely explained in the other statement. I am trying to explain this \$22,000 or \$23,000—those items alone.

Senator EDGE. I will call your attention to the fact that we have a full detailed list of the \$54,000 already in the record.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any unpaid bills, Mr. Alger?

Mr. ALGER. I think not a thing; there may be some telegraph bills, or something that is held over, but I think not a thing.

Senator REED. Mr. Alger, do you hold any position in the political organization of Michigan?

Mr. ALGER. I do not. ?

Senator REED. When did you first become interested in the Wood campaign?

Mr. ALGER. Very shortly after my return from France.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. ALGER. Let us see—I got home about the middle of March, in 1919.

Senator REED. What business are you in?

Mr. ALGER. I am in general business. Do you want me to tell you what I am a director of—the companies?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. ALGER. I am not in any one business.

Senator REED. Well, what companies are you a director in?

Mr. ALGER. I am a director of the Elwood-Smith Co., which is a lumber concern; I am a director of the Packard Motor Car Co., which is an automobile concern; I am a director of the Jefferson Forge Products Co., which is a drop-forging concern; I am a director of the National Bank of Commerce, in Detroit, and of the Union Trust Co. of Detroit. Those are my principal interests.

Senator REED. I did not hear the first part of your testimony; and so that I may be sure I have it in my mind correctly, let me go over it a moment: There was raised in Michigan and expended through the State committee organization, the Wood organization, \$54,000, in round numbers?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator REED. And a gentleman who was sent down here to represent you came here and gave us the figures?

Mr. ALGER. Yes.

Senator REED. Do you not think, then, that if a man is not called here and his testimony has been printed and everybody knows about it, that if he wanted to make any defense he at least might write a letter or send in an affidavit to the committee.

Senator EDGE. This man, as I understand, has made a statement in a St. Louis paper.

Senator REED. Well, if you think that is evidence, I disagree with you.

Senator SPENCER. No; it is not evidence.

Senator EDGE. I do not say it is evidence, but I say that that shows the unfairness of this kind of an investigation with the ramification that this investigation has taken.

The CHAIRMAN. Can not Mr. Cole come here? Where is he?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in Chicago, is he not?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know; I saw him the last time on Friday in St. Louis.

Senator POMERENE. If any of these men want to appear here, permission may be given them and no doubt will be given them.

If, after we have closed these hearings, any man's name appears in the record who has been reflected upon unjustly, I am ready to say that any affidavit from him may be incorporated in the record. That will be entirely fair to all of them. And the mere fact that there may be some reflections incidentally upon some people is not a justification for introducing newspaper statements.

Senator REED. In view of the somewhat unique situation developed in this case, I move that Mr. Cole be invited to appear before the committee.

Senator SPENCER. On what date?

Senator REED. I will leave that to the chairman.

(The motion was duly put by the chairman and unanimously adopted.)

The CHAIRMAN. Can you not tell us where Mr. Cole is?

Mr. MORSE. No; I think he is at home.

Senator SPENCER. I think a telegram would reach him at Union, Mo.; that is his home.

Senator EDGE. We will be glad to hear from him—or by affidavit, as suggested by the Senator.

Senator REED. I would like to hear from him; I would like to know how he transacts his business.

Senator POMERENE. I said I would like to have him here; and if after the testimony is closed, anyone felt himself reflected upon, then he could send in an affidavit.

Mr. MORSE. The next is B. F. Folk, of Maysville, \$300.

Senator REED. Mr. Chairman, will you have the telegram to Mr. Cole request him to bring his memoranda and his checks, and let us see what he did with this money—and his correspondence; and any and all instruments of writing of whatsoever kind or character throwing any light upon the receipt or distribution of any campaign funds that he has had?

Senator SPENCER. In connection with the presidential contests?

Senator REED. Yes; in connection with the presidential contests.

Mr. MORSE. Now, I think that approximately covers the expenditure of money that I have made to individuals. Probably there are

a few instances that I have not made an accounting of; that, I think, approximates \$28,000 or \$29,000. Now, I have spent myself, for telephone and telegraph and hotel bills and traveling expenses—I have been to Washington twice; I have been to Chicago, I guess, eight or ten times; I have been over to conduct delegations to Gov. Lowden and paid the expenses of the men that I took over there with me, and I have been to St. Louis twice or three times a week during this entire time, and I presume likely I have spent in the neighborhood of \$3,000 myself.

Senator POMERENE. In addition to that?

Mr. MORSE. In addition to this; yes.

Now, I want to say this: That I propose to turn over these checks—everything has been done by check; where I have not given a check to a person, I have noted on the checkbook, "Cash"; it is my intention to turn these checks over to Mr. Emmerson, together with my bills for telephone and telegraphs and hotel expenses, and all other expenses, and to make a settlement.

Senator EDGE. Are you the manager of the Lowden campaign for the entire State of Missouri?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; that is, in the State; yes.

Senator EDGE. Did Mr. Lowden have any other headquarters in Missouri?

Mr. MORSE. Well, I will relate to you my connection, and how it came about, with the Lowden end of it: Sometime in July or August, 1919, Mr. Hoblin, of Bloomington, Ill., came into my office, at Excelsior Springs, and wanted me to take an interest in the Lowden candidacy there in Missouri. I told him at that time I did not think there was any Lowden sentiment in Missouri; that the fact of the matter was that they were pretty well lined up for Wood and Johnson, and as between Wood and Johnson my inclination was to support Senator Johnson, but that I was very bitterly opposed to the nomination of Gen. Wood.

And after I had gone home, he sent me a letter, and asked me if I would come over and see the governor; if I could make an appointment. In fact, he sent me two or three letters, and I did not respond to any of them. But a little after that, I think he called me up over the phone, and I told him I would be glad to make a date to go over and talk with Gov. Lowden.

First, Gov. Lowden sent Mr. Mason, his private secretary, over to St. Louis, and I had a conference with him, and he wanted me to go over and have a talk with Gov. Lowden, and I went over and had a talk with Gov. Lowden, and spent the day with him; and I told him then that I would undertake to go ahead and secure a delegation from the State for his nomination, excepting the city of St. Louis; that he would have to deal with the people there himself; I would not do that.

Senator EDGE. Did you make arrangements while you were there then for an expense account?

Mr. MORSE. No; there was nothing said about an expense account. It was contingent—I told him it was contingent; that I would have to have the cooperation of Mr. Babler, or the State organization. It was contingent upon their approval.

Senator EDGE. Whom did you have the conversation with as to these remittances afterwards?

Mr. MORSE. That was with Mr. Emmerson.

Senator EDGE. What I want to get at is—you were the Missouri manager, and there was no other central headquarters, or no other State headquarters, in Missouri, with the exception of St. Louis?

Mr. MORSE. Well, Mr. Babler practically managed—that is, Mr. Babler disbursed funds for the organization; I sort of had general supervision.

Senator EDGE. How many districts are there in Missouri outside of St. Louis?

Mr. MORSE. Thirteen.

Senator EDGE. Thirteen districts; and then, you were the manager of the Lowden campaign in those so-called outside districts, and these expenditures were made to various active men in those districts?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. For what purpose?

Mr. MORSE. For creating sentiment for Gov. Lowden and holding the public sentiment in his behalf, so that we could secure a delegation favorable to his nomination.

Senator EDGE. I think you testified while I was in the room, in going over this list, that none of these men who received remittances from you were actual delegates, with one exception, who was a contesting delegate.

Mr. MORSE. No.

Senator EDGE. Perhaps you gave some names while I was out of the room.

Mr. MORSE. No; I put in there Mr. De Hart, of Dekalb County, that he received \$100 to pay his expenses to come down to the convention.

Senator EDGE. He was elected delegate after he had attended that convention?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. You mean to bring the local delegates down to the district convention, do you?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. And you paid him \$100 toward paying the expenses of the delegates to that convention?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; and to Dr. Lindley \$300. I thought I had given you that.

Senator SPENCER. Did any of this money go to the State candidates—any of that under your disbursement?

Mr. MORSE. No—candidates for State offices, do you mean? No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any arrangements to pay the expenses of delegates to Chicago?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you expect to do that?

Mr. MORSE. I do not think so; the delegates expect to pay their own expenses; that is my understanding.

Senator EDGE. How many delegates has Gov. Lowden from Missouri, as far as you are able to determine?

Mr. MORSE. I should think he ought to be able to control 34 or 35 delegates; I think 34 or 35 ought to vote for him.

The CHAIRMAN. You think 34 or 35 are for him?

Mr. MORSE. Yes—well, say 33.

Senator EDGE. Then, as I understand it, by way of recapitulation, you expended about \$32,000, approximately?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; I think I have spent more than that; I do not know.

Senator EDGE. Do you know of any other money spent outside of that which was spent in St. Louis, of which the committee has already had some information?

Mr. MORSE. No; I think there was no other money spent there.

Senator EDGE. You think there was no other money spent in Missouri—that is, except the money spent in St. Louis, as to which the committee has already had some information?

Mr. MORSE. No.

Senator EDGE. Then, that is in the neighborhood of less than \$40,000, is that correct?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there primaries in any of these districts?

Mr. MORSE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. There were no primaries?

Mr. MORSE. No.

Senator EDGE. You do not have the primary system in Missouri?

Mr. MORSE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a law for filing statements of expenses?

Mr. MORSE. Not on the election of delegates. Senator Reed could answer that; he is more familiar with that than I am.

Senator EDGE. Can you go more into detail as to the spending of this money to work up sentiment there? In what way was it spent? Did they have public speakers or meetings, or advertising, or in what way was any of this money distributed into the districts—before your local conventions?

Mr. MORSE. For instance, Mr. Hooper went all over the State, in all the congressional districts, and had interviews with the leaders. Mr. Babler requested a great many people to come to St. Louis, probably 200 or 300; maybe 300 or 400—to come to St. Louis and talk with him there about the availability of Gov. Lowden, and he presented his good qualities to them. He had literature sent out from the Lowden headquarters of Illinois to the precinct committeemen—to those generally interested in the election of delegates, and we conducted a campaign along those lines.

Senator EDGE. What were the Wood activities, so far as they came to your attention?

Mr. MORSE. Well, the Wood people had pretty generally the press with them; I do not think they had anybody in active control; they had the press; they had the Kansas City Star, and they had the country press very generally, and it was understood, of course, that some of the St. Louis papers were friendly to Gen. Wood.

Senator EDGE. They had the press, and you had the voters?

Senator REED. Who did get the delegates?

Senator EDGE. He said he got 33.

Mr. MORSE. I think Gov. Lowden gets 33.

Senator EDGE. Thirty-three out of thirty-six?

Mr. MORSE. Of course, I can not put that in except as my judgment, you know: that is what they tell me about it.

Senator EDGE. Did the Wood managers contest any of these local conventions?

Mr. MORSE. There are two contests, one in Kansas City and one in the St. Louis district.

Senator EDGE. The contests in your local conventions—that is what I am speaking of?

Mr. MORSE. Yes—no; they had contests, that is, the Wood people. Now, whether that was financed or directed from any central headquarters or not I could not say. But we had contests in nearly every district in the State; there were opposing delegates in which people organized opposing delegations, but ostensibly they had no organization outside of the organization that was there locally.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge and not from rumors—we do not want any rumors—of any money sent into the State by the Wood people?

Mr. MORSE. I do not.

Senator SPENCER. The testimony of some of the witnesses was to the effect that a total of something like \$10,000 had been spent in behalf of Gen. Wood in Missouri. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. MORSE. No; I do not know anything about Wood money being spent in Missouri.

Senator EDGE. Did you see the advertising? They spent \$3,700 for advertising. Did you see the Wood advertising?

Mr. MORSE. Well, I do not know what they paid the Kansas City Star; they were always advertising Gen. Wood. I have never seen any display advertisements.

Senator REED. You never saw any display advertisements for Gen. Wood?

Mr. MORSE. No; not at all.

Senator REED. Of course, there might have been some.

Mr. MORSE. There might have been some and I may not have seen them.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any cases of advertisements being put in and paid for by their friends? We have run across that in a good many instances.

Mr. MORSE. Not that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. Who is J. L. Babler?

Mr. MORSE. E. L. Babler is the national committeeman for Missouri.

Senator POMERENE. The national committeeman?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, who is this man Hukreide?

Mr. MORSE. He is ex-chairman of the State committee, a very prominent Republican there, and a man of considerable influence in Republican circles.

Senator POMERENE. Where does he live?

Mr. MORSE. At Warrenton, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. What was he to do with this \$2,550?

Mr. MORSE. He was out in the campaign, and he went to all of these congressional districts; he went around over the State generally.

Senator POMERENE. Was this given to him in a lump sum?

Mr. MORSE. No; it was given to him for reimbursement; this money given to Mr. Babler was money that was given to him in reimbursement of money that he had spent from time to time.

Senator POMERENE. Would he render any accounts to you for it?

Mr. MORSE. He would give me a memorandum and say he had spent so much.

Senator POMERENE. Have you the memorandums with you?

Mr. MORSE. No; I have not. I would not take the memorandums at the time. I gave him a check for \$500 at one time.

Senator EDGE. You ran one of the old-fashioned campaigns?

Mr. MORSE. I presume I did.

Senator POMERENE. Did you keep a book account?

Mr. MORSE. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. None at all?

Mr. MORSE. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. How much money did you handle?

Mr. MORSE. My checks are my books.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you deposit to your account all the checks and remittances that you received?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; I put the money right into my account and checked it out of my account.

Senator POMERENE. Is this Mr. Hukreide a candidate out there for delegate?

Mr. MORSE. No, I think not; he is not a delegate.

Senator POMERENE. Is he not a candidate for some position out there?

Mr. MORSE. I am not sure about that; Senator Spencer might know about that.

Senator SPENCER. I think he has filed as a candidate for Congress.

Senator POMERENE. In whose district is he?

Mr. MORSE. He is in the ninth district.

Senator POMERENE. What was this \$1,250 paid to Mr. John W. Kavanaugh for?

Mr. MORSE. He was working in the northwestern part of the third congressional district, in which I live. He was handling up there three or four counties for me.

Senator POMERENE. What was he to do with this \$1,250?

Mr. MORSE. He was to propagate the Lowden—to build up the Lowden influence; he was to pay the expenses of the conventions, the precincts—where they had county conventions, he was to pay the expenses of getting out voters to the precincts meetings—automobile hire; mass meetings.

Senator POMERENE. Did he render an account to you?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; in a general sort of way.

Senator POMERENE. You have not any of his memoranda with you?

Mr. MORSE. No; I have not.

Senator POMERENE. Did you preserve them?

Mr. MORSE. No; I have not.

Senator POMERENE. So you simply accepted his word that he expended this \$1,250?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; I gave it to him in different checks, at different times.

Senator POMERENE. In spreading over his district a good word for Lowden?

Mr. MORSE. Well, in working with the influential Republicans and getting them interested in attending the conventions, the precinct

and the county—arranging for a delegation to come to the congressional convention.

Senator POMERENE. Who is Joseph E. Black?

Mr. MORSE. Joseph E. Black is an attorney at Richmond, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. You gave him \$500?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What was that given to him for?

Mr. MORSE. To take care of the delegation in Wayne County.

Senator POMERENE. To take care of the delegation?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by "taking care of the delegation"?

Mr. MORSE. For the expenses of the township meetings and the county convention, and things of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. Was he to be paid for his services?

Mr. MORSE. No; I do not think so.

Senator POMERENE. Were these other men to be paid for their services?

Mr. MORSE. I do not think so.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether they kept any part of this for their own services?

Mr. MORSE. I could not say as to that.

Senator POMERENE. W. E. Templeton; who is he?

Mr. MORSE. W. E. Templeton is the ex-postmaster there at Excelsior Springs, Mo., and he went all over the district for me, and this \$300 was to pay expenses—automobile hire, etc.—and he gave me memoranda from time to time of what he had been out, and it was approximately \$300.

Senator POMERENE. Did you pay this all at one time?

Mr. MORSE. No; at different times.

Senator POMERENE. Did you pay him for his time and services?

Mr. MORSE. No; he never charged anything for his time, I think.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do you know that?

Mr. MORSE. No, I do not know that; but I do not think he did. I think it was just for expenses that he was paid; he was correspondent there and worked there in the headquarters——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Now, John Albus; where does he live?

Mr. MORSE. In St. Joseph, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. What is his business?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. How long have you known him?

Mr. MORSE. I have known him about 25 years.

Senator POMERENE. You have known him 25 years and do not know his business?

Mr. MORSE. No; I do not.

Senator REED. Is he not a druggist?

Mr. MORSE. I could not say; he has been in several different things; but I do not know what he is engaged in now.

Senator POMERENE. What did you give him this \$2,000 for?

Mr. MORSE. He lives in St. Joseph, and he claimed they needed that; they were going to have a primary there in the congressional district, and it would take fully \$2,000.

Senator POMERENE. How did he expend that sum?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know for what purpose he expended it?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know whether he kept any of it for his own services?

Mr. MORSE. I do not; no, sir.

Senator REED. Was he postmaster there at one time?

Mr. MORSE. I do not know whether he was or not. I think his brother, Joe Albus, held some position there. He is since dead.

Senator POMERENE. Who is J. W. Hallett?

Mr. MORSE. J. W. Hallett.

Senator POMERENE. You gave him \$300.

Mr. MORSE. He is my attorney at Nevada, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. What did he get his expenses for?

Mr. MORSE. To pay his expenses traveling around there in the fifteenth congressional district.

Senator POMERENE. How much of that was for his own services?

Mr. MORSE. I do not think he got a dollar; I think he spent more than he got.

Senator POMERENE. How did he become interested?

Mr. MORSE. He was for Gov. Lowden. He was one of the original Lowden men in Missouri.

Senator POMERENE. You have not got any statement from him which you can lay before us showing the purposes for which any part of this \$300 was expended?

Mr. MORSE. I have not.

Senator POMERENE. And you do not know anything about what he expended it for?

Mr. MORSE. No, I do not. I know he was doing good work, because I called up the district from time to time over the telephone; and I found out that he made speeches at banquets and things of that kind and had done good work.

Senator REED. Who was this?

Mr. MORSE. J. W. Hallett, of Nevada, Mo.; you know him very well; "Bill" Hallett.

Senator POMERENE. Charles Gartside, \$150?

Mr. MORSE. Howard Gartside.

Senator POMERENE. Howard Gartside; did he render an accounting to you?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What did you pay him this \$150 for?

Mr. MORSE. He was trying to secure control of the delegation of his county.

Senator POMERENE. Where is his home?

Mr. MORSE. New Hampton, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. Then you paid a man named Frost \$200?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What was that for?

Mr. MORSE. The same purpose.

Senator POMERENE. Where did he live?

Mr. MORSE. In Moberly, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. Did he render you any account?

Mr. MORSE. No, he did not.

Senator POMERENE. You simply turned over \$200 for him to do with as he chose?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, absolutely.

Senator POMERENE. Charles Jones?

Mr. MORSE. He lives at Polo, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. \$100; what was that for?

Mr. MORSE. The same thing.

Senator POMERENE. William Scurry?

Mr. MORSE. He was doing publicity work for us in the third district.

Senator POMERENE. Where does he live?

Mr. MORSE. William Scurry lives in Kansas City, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. What was that \$200 for?

Mr. MORSE. He was around doing publicity work, traveling around over the district.

Senator POMERENE. Traveling around over the district; you do not mean newspaper publicity?

Mr. MORSE. Interviewing the newspaper men and sending out stuff from Excelsior Springs to the newspapers.

Senator POMERENE. Was he to be paid for his services?

Mr. MORSE. I think this was actual expenses; I do not think he got anything for his services at all.

Senator POMERENE. Well, do you know about that?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; I know about that; he got nothing; I boarded him at the house, at my home, and did not charge him any board, and he went out from time to time in several of the counties and he sent out—he was engaged more directly in the congressional fight—he sent out a great many stories to the Kansas City and the St. Louis papers; and this was just money that was advanced him from time to time to pay his railroad fare and other expenses.

Senator POMERENE. Who was John Everman?

Mr. MORSE. He lives at Gallatin, Mo.

Senator POMERENE. What was that \$200 given him for?

Mr. MORSE. That was for Davis's County, along the same lines.

Senator POMERENE. And Grant Duble, \$300? Where does he live?

Mr. MORSE. He lives in Princeton.

Senator POMERENE. What is his business?

Mr. POMERENE. He is county clerk there.

Senator POMERENE. Is that partly pay for his services?

Mr. MORSE. No; I do not think so; it was not intended as such.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know how he expended it, or what for?

Mr. MORSE. They had two conventions there. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Ben F. Kesterton, \$1,000?

Mr. MORSE. Yes. We had him running over the district.

Senator POMERENE. Where does he live?

Mr. MORSE. At Princeton, Mo., and this paid him for his services.

Senator POMERENE. How much of that \$1,000 is for his services?

Mr. MORSE. Well, I do not know; I thought there was a good deal of it; he claimed that; he claimed that he was out expenses, but I did not know how much.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. D. Mitchell, \$150?

Mr. MORSE. \$125.

Senator POMERENE. What was that for?

Mr. MORSE. That was for the Excelsior Springs Daily Standard; they published for us——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Advertising?

Mr. MORSE. Advertising and extra copies of papers to send around over the district.

Senator POMERENE. And the Bethany Republican?

Mr. MORSE. Now, the Bethany Republican, I do not want you to put that down; put that down, Mr. Crouch; I found that on my memorandum.

Senator POMERENE. What is his first name?

Mr. MORSE. C-r-o-u-c-h.

Senator POMERENE. The St. Louis Censor, \$300?

Mr. MORSE. Well, now, the Bethany Republican, I don't want you to put that down. Put that down from Mr. Crouch. I found it on my memorandum.

Senator POMERENE. The St. Louis Censor, \$300.

Mr. MORSE. That was for a write-up of Gov. Lowden.

Senator POMERENE. And Cole, \$500.

Mr. MORSE. I explained that, Senator. I don't know whether you were listening at the time.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if you did explain it I will not ask you to repeat it.

John Frost.

Mr. MORSE. He was a candidate for Congress there in that district, and I sent it up to him to use in his county, Clinton County.

Senator POMERENE. In his candidacy?

Mr. MORSE. No; he was there in the interest of Gov. Lowden.

Senator POMERENE. Then Howard Morse, your son, \$700. How long was he out?

Mr. MORSE. He has been out, I should judge, four or five months. That is just actual expenses. He was over at Indianapolis and Chicago and went to Washington twice.

Senator POMERENE. B. H. Folk, \$300. What was that for?

Mr. MORSE. That was in Dekalb County.

Senator POMERENE. Does he live in Dekalb County?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, as you were testifying, I noticed a part of the time while I was in here you had just a little memorandum there?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. From what did you make that memorandum?

Mr. MORSE. From memory.

Senator POMERENE. Just from memory?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; I was apprised of this summons—that is, a telegram had been sent to my home in Excelsior Springs, and I got it at Chicago on Sunday morning; and I thought you wanted to know something about the expenditures of this money. I did not have my checks with me, so I just simply jotted this down on this piece of paper.

Senator POMERENE. You feel confident that is entirely accurate?

Mr. MORSE. I feel confident that is accurate—approximately, yes; as well as my memory will serve me. But I think there has been more expenditure, probably, than this.

Senator POMERENE. You handled, all told, then, about \$28,000 or \$29,000 which was furnished you?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And you put in \$2,000 or \$3,000 of your own money?

Mr. MORSE. I think that that is the way it will figure up. I have had no settlement yet with them.

Senator POMERENE. We understood that that was not intended to be mathematically accurate.

Senator SPENCER. Who received the \$32,000?

Mr. MORSE. I did.

Senator POMERENE. Do I understand, Mr. Morse, that you received \$28,000 or \$29,000, and you expended from \$30,000 to \$32,000 in behalf of the candidacy of Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MORSE. I think I spent more than that, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. You spent more than that, and you kept no books at all except your check stubs, and no banking book showing your deposits?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now did you keep a bank account separate and apart from your own personal bank account?

Mr. MORSE. I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Well, then, how are you going to be able to tell what funds you had to your account which belonged to you personally and what funds you deposited, and which were in fact for political purposes?

Mr. MORSE. These checks came to me from Mr. Emmerson, from Springfield, Ill. They were in amounts of \$5,000 and \$10,000.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that is all I care to ask.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Morse, I want to ask you one question. I got a telegram from Mr. Hyde, Arthur M. Hyde, who is a candidate for governor.

Mr. MORSE. I answered that question.

Senator SPENCER. We wanted to know whether any money had been sent to him or any State candidate.

Senator REED. Mr. Morse, I wanted to ask you just one question. I believe you stated that when you were first invited into this campaign—that is, for Lowden—you told the people who asked you to take hold on behalf of Lowden that you thought the State was pretty well sowed down with Wood sentiment at that time.

Mr. MORSE. Wood and Johnson.

Senator REED. That was your opinion?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator REED. Is it still your opinion that that was the condition at that time?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The Lowden people did not undertake to hold many meetings or print advertisements in newspapers, or use billboards, or send out a great lot of circulars, or anything of that sort, did they?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir.

Senator REED. The fact of the matter is, they didn't do it—they practically didn't do it at all?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir.

Senator REED. The Wood people did send out a good deal of literature through the State, did they not?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. They appealed to the voters in that way?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And Johnson went to Missouri and made some speeches?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And had some rather large meetings?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There was some Johnson literature sent out?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator REED. I believe you said in addition to all this most of the newspapers of the State with large influence were for Wood?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That is true, isn't it?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, notwithstanding that condition of affairs, by taking this \$27,000 and using it in the good old way, going out and seeing the boys and putting the practical fellows at work, using this money, you got 33 out of the 35 delegates, you believe?

Mr. MORSE. We believe so.

Senator REED. Well, you don't miss it often very far. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. We will hear Mr. Babler now.

Senator REED. Just one more question, Mr. Morse. How many of these people who got money are delegates?

Mr. MORSE. I said that Mr. De Hart got \$100, and Mr. Alberts, of St. Joe, got \$2,000. He is a contested delegate. I don't know whether he will be seated or not. That is as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Cole?

Mr. MORSE. Well, I have explained that.

The CHAIRMAN. But Senator Pomerene asked you about the list.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Cole; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the two gentlemen who have testified to-day.

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator REED. Just one thing further—these men who got this money were generally men of pretty considerable activity in politics in their counties or in their districts?

Mr. MORSE. They were usually men that delivered delegations.

The CHAIRMAN. Now Mr. Babler, you will be sworn.

STATEMENT OF MR. J. L. BABLER, OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. BABLER. I had a telegram from the Sergeant at Arms asking me if I would accept service from that telegram, and I said I would, but I would like awfully well to have a little time on this. We have two contests in Missouri, from the fourth and fifth districts, and then there is a contest on the delegates at large. We elected eight and they are waiting for me, and I had to slip off yesterday.

Senator SPENCER. You mean in Chicago?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Who are "we?". You say "We elected eight." Who are "we"?

Mr. BABLER. I mean the party from Missouri elected eight delegates at large with a half vote each, and that will have to come up before the national committee and the credentials committee to decide whether to seat the eight with half a vote each, or just four.

Senator SPENCER. You are a member of the National Committee?

Mr. BABLER. I am a member of the national committee, and I had to slip off to come down here.

Senator REED. If he can not stay over, I am willing to go on now.

Mr. BABLER. Could I come back after the convention? I notice you asked Mr. Morse if he brought his memorandums. Now I have everything and can give you everything you want, but I had to go to Chicago just after receiving this telegram, and I wired Mr. Berry asking that it be deferred on account of these contests in the convention there. Then I have an important suit at home on the 16th of this month.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we ought to hear you to-night.

Mr. BABLER. I didn't bring anything with me, but I think I can give you sufficient information.

The CHAIRMAN. What relationship did you bear to the Lowden campaign in Missouri?

Mr. BABLER. I assisted in bringing about the election of delegates favorable to Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. And when did you first enter upon that work?

Mr. BABLER. I think it was some time in December of last year.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you finance that yourself?

Mr. BABLER. I started to finance it.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first receive any money from the Lowden forces?

Mr. BABLER. After I had spent about \$4,000 or \$4,300 of my own money.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. BABLER. I think it was in January.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any arrangement when you started in and spent that money that it would be reimbursed?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that arrangement with?

Mr. BABLER. I talked with Mr. Emmerson and also with Mr. E. L. Morse.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any limit put on the amount of money you could spend, or were you to go ahead and then fix it up with Mr. Emmerson?

Mr. BABLER. I told Mr. Morse and Mr. Emmerson that personally I was inclined to favor Senator Johnson, that I admired him very much, and I was inclined to favor him if he had anything like a chance. I told Mr. Emmerson that as it looked to me Gov. Lowden had the best chance on account of his record as governor, and that anyway, as he was our neighbor, I would do what I could to bring about sentiment for him and bring about election of a delegation favorable to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you went ahead?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you to send the money and he would take care of it?

Mr. BABLER. I told him that there was practically no sentiment crystallized in the State for Gov. Lowden, but that I thought if the precincts and counties could be visited and his record could be brought to their attention, and the fact that he was our neighbor, that we might succeed in electing a delegation favorable to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Up to the time that Mr. Morse turned over the \$17,000 to you, had you had any money from Mr. Emmerson or anybody connected with the Lowden campaign?

Mr. BABLER. No; Mr. Morse did not pay me that in one lump sum.

The CHAIRMAN. In how many different payments?

Mr. BABLER. There must have been five or six.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the last one?

Mr. BABLER. I think probably a month ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you expect any more?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I have spent more money than I have received, but I have made no claim for anything further.

The CHAIRMAN. You expect that to be made up to you, of course?

Mr. BABLER. I haven't thought about it, because it is only—oh, probably \$1,000 would cover it, and I had not thought of making any further claim.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with this—\$17,000, was it?

Mr. BABLER. Well, to begin with, Mr. Emmerson—I had spent some money having friends of mine from over the State come to St. Louis to talk over the situation. I paid their expenses. I told Mr. Emmerson that I had paid out some money on account of an investigation that I was making as to the sentiment in the State, and that I had found it uncrystallized. It had not been crystallized, but that the Wood people were making some effort and had considerable influence through the press, and that it would take considerable work. He told me that he would be glad to reimburse me for the money I had spent, or the money that I did spend in a legitimate way to bring Gov. Lowden's case before the people. I then continued to spend my money until I had spent about \$4,300. Mr. Morse then came to us to talk with me about the situation, and I gave him a list or memorandum of the money that I had spent. He told me that he had received a check from Mr. Emmerson and that he would be glad to reimburse me, which he did at that time, for the money that I had spent. Subsequently he reimbursed me for moneys that I had spent to a total of about \$17,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with the money?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I called in workers, urged them to go into the precincts, to bring out the friends of mine and the friends of Gov. Lowden; to attend precinct conventions, and followed that up by having them attend the county conventions for the election of delegates to district conventions and to the State convention that would be friendly to Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people do you think you called in that way to St. Louis?

Mr. BABLER. There must have been two or three hundred. I am really afraid to say; but there were a great many. This was over a period, you see, of five or six months.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay their expenses?

Mr. BABLER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you entertain them while they were in St. Louis?

Mr. BABLER. Yes. Now, having been invited here by telegram just asking me if I would waive service, it did not ask me to bring any data, and I will say frankly to you it did not occur to me, because, Senator, I received it just before leaving the office Saturday afternoon about 4 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. So you can not tell us where the money went.

Mr. BABLER. Well, I did this; I have been trying to recall, and as did recall, I jotted it down and I have jotted down on a slip of paper that I have here quite a number, and I would be glad to give you that.

The CHAIRMAN. The checks that you gave to Goldstein, you delivered those checks?

Mr. BABLER. I delivered them.

The CHAIRMAN. And the other gentleman—Moore—they were not out of your account?

Mr. BABLER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Those were checks given you by Mr. Finmerson to give to these two gentlemen?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That doesn't appear in your account?

Mr. BABLER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not included in the \$17,000?

Mr. BABLER. No.

Senator EDGE. How many congressional districts have you in the city of St. Louis?

Mr. BABLER. Three.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, give us the memorandum that you have, as near as you can.

Mr. BABLER. This is just made from memory, and the amounts that I have here are from memory, and they may be more or less, but I think they are correct. To the best of my knowledge they are correct. I gave a Mr. Russell, of Caldwell County—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Give the full name as you go along and the address.

Mr. BABLER. I don't have his initials, Senator—a Mr. Russell, of Caldwell County, \$100; a Mr. Mark Feltis, of the same county, \$100; Mr. B. F. Shiveley, of the same county, \$100; Mr. B. L. Foltz, of Dekalb County, \$225.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as you go along, if any of these men are delegates to the national convention, please indicate it.

Mr. BABLER. I will, Senator. A Mr. Fred Wilson, \$100.

Senator REED. Where is he from?

Mr. BABLER. From Macon, Mo. He runs the Macon Republican, of Macon, Mo. A Mr. H. B. Gilfillen, of Moberly, Mo., \$100; a Mr. L. Kelley, of Moberly, \$200; a Mr. John Albus, of St. Joe, \$200. After I had gotten into the Lowden matter I was going to Chicago and I had Mr. Albus to meet me there, and I gave him this check for \$200. It may have been \$250, but my recollection is it was \$200. Mr. O. G. Boiseau, of Holden, Mo.—I don't know just what I gave him, but it seems to me I gave him two checks, one for \$200 and one for \$300, but I may be mistaken about that.

Senator REED. Where is he?

Mr. BABLER. He is at Holden, Mo.

Then Mr. Charles Hays, of Harrisonville, Mo., I gave him several checks of \$100.

Senator POMERENE. You say several?

Mr. BABLER. I don't know just how many, Senator—several.

Senator POMERENE. You mean checks of \$100 each?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; I think I gave him approximately \$500.

Mr. Minks—I don't know his initials—of Collins, Mo., \$100. He is a member of the State committee down there.

Then I gave Mr. Charles Hendricks, of Stockton, Mo., \$300. I gave Mr. W. H. Allen, of Clinton, Mo., several checks.

Senator SPENCER. Aggregating how much?

Mr. BABLER. I couldn't say—\$600 or \$700 or \$1,000—maybe, as much as \$1,000. He is a delegate to the national convention.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his name?

Mr. BABLER. W. H. Allen.

Senator EDGE. Just a moment there—did you give him these checks before or after they had the State convention or district convention?

Mr. BABLER. I gave him these checks before he was elected a delegate.

Senator EDGE. That is what I wanted to bring out.

Mr. BABLER. And during the fight in the precinct and county conventions. He had a very hard fight in his county to elect delegates from his county to the district convention, and I urged him to do everything necessary to carry his county, and in view of the fight I backed him to the limit.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the limit?

Mr. BABLER. I think it is something like \$1,000. I really don't know. I am sure it is not more than that. It may have been only \$600 or \$700.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these county conventions attended by the people or just a few politicians?

Mr. BABLER. Well, the way most of those were held in our State was that they would have a fellow—I won't say most of them, but in this one in particular I know he had an awful fight at Clinton, Mo., and his friends had, I think, something like 200 people out at a mass meeting for the precinct convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Of this man's friends?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; to elect delegates to the county convention, and they had those fights all over the county, and he succeeded in electing all of his friends in the county from all of the precincts, so I understand.

Senator EDGE. You really go through three primaries or three contests to get your State delegation? As I understand it, you have your precinct convention or meeting, then a county convention, and then a State convention to elect delegates?

Mr. BABLER. In some of the counties, but in some of the counties they just have a county mass meeting. It varies. It is owing to the calls.

Senator EDGE. Take the city of St. Louis, where you have a thickly settled population, do they have precinct meetings before they have district meetings?

Mr. BABLER. I think there they have ward meetings. I think they have ward meetings there.

I gave Holmes Hall at Sedalia, Mo., either \$200 or \$400. I sent for him as one of the early ones, and my recollection is I gave him \$200 and subsequently another \$200. I think I gave him \$400.

Senator SPENCER. He follows Albas.

Mr. BABLER. Yes. I gave J. W. Palmer \$100. He is also at Sedalia, Mo.

I gave Roscol Patterson, of Springfield, Mo., \$1,000, and I gave a Mr. James, of Higginsville, I think, \$100. I gave Dr. Duncan, of Iberia, Mo., my recollection is, \$400 or \$500.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate?

Mr. BABLER. No, sir; Allen is the only one so far.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much money Allen put in himself in this fight?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think he put in any, Senator. I told him that I would back him to anything that was necessary, and I know that I did not intend to have him put any money in. He may have, at that. He is a pretty liberal fellow, and he may have spent money additionally, because he came to St. Louis once or twice to see me and would not take any expense money.

I gave, as I remember it, M. E. Rhodes, \$200; Mr. B. L. Guffy, of Haiti, approximately, \$1,000; Mr. Charles Prather, \$300; Mr. Joe Manlove, \$300; and Mr. Edmonds—I don't know his initials—I think it is I. Edmonds—\$200; Mr. A. H. Dorman—I think I gave him \$300. Then I gave Mr. Jackson—I don't know his initials—\$125. He lives in St. Louis. I gave \$125 to he and another party. These that I am giving you now are colored men, and a Mr. Banks, \$100; a Mr. Weil, \$100; Mr. Lloyd, \$100; a Mr. Mitchell, \$100; a Mr. Venerable. \$300; as I remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a minister?

Mr. BABLER. I think he is the head of a school. Then I gave the Argus paper there, a colored paper, \$200. Now, this was for expense money to go over and visit Gov. Lowden, and for attending a colored State convention at Sedalia, Mo. They said that the expense would approximate that, and that is what I gave him.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is that all?

Mr. BABLER. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any colored delegates on the delegation from Missouri?

Mr. BABLER. There is one.

The CHAIRMAN. Any of these men?

Mr. BABLER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any particular friend of Dr. Venerable on the delegation?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think so.

Senator REED. Where is that colored man from?

Mr. BABLER. He is from the twelfth district, Congressman Dyer's district.

Senator REED. That is in St. Louis.

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. I will say that for the benefit of these other gentlemen.

Mr. BABLER. Then there is a colored man from St. Joe, a delegate at large.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you help elect him in any way?

Mr. BABLER. No; I did not help him. You see this money was sent through these local workers to bring about the election of delegates to county conventions, and then to State conventions and district conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Babler, did you talk to any of these parties whom you visited to become active, about patronage, what would be done for them in case of the election of a Republican President?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think so. I don't remember of ever having discussed patronage with anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. The national committeeman in your State, is he rather a distributor of patronage?

Mr. BABLER. No; Senator Spencer does that.

The CHAIRMAN. That national committeeman has something to do with that, doesn't he?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think I ever discussed patronage with anybody, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. None of these men became active because of patronage?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think so. I don't have in mind ever having discussed patronage with anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. When you started in on the campaign you say the sentiment was large for Wood and Johnson?

Mr. BABLER. There was not much sentiment crystallized. The papers were carrying a good deal of news about Gen. Wood. Personally I was very much inclined to go out for Senator Johnson, but I didn't think that he had a chance on earth at that time. That was back in December.

Senator POMERENE. Now these figures that you have given, crediting you with the larger amounts which you have given and which you say there is some uncertainty about, I have cast this up very hurriedly, and it would run about \$7,450, so there is probably \$10,000 back yet.

Mr. BABLER. Well, approximately—I received approximately \$17,000, and I received it all after I had spent—advanced about \$4,300 of my own, and all of that to a penny can be accounted for.

Senator EDGE. How about your own expenses?

Mr. BABLER. I have it on this list here. I spent approximately \$1,000 for telephone and telegraph, and approximately \$2,000 for hotels and entertainment.

Senator SPENCER. You mean for these men from the State that you brought into St. Louis?

Mr. BABLER. Yes. Then I visited these districts, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a pretty hard job to get Mr. Moore and Mr. Goldstein to take this \$2,500 check?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I was very anxious about St. Louis and I urged one of them to take the issue for Gov. Lowden, and I made an appointment for Mr. Emmerson to come to St. Louis and to meet Goldstein and Moore. They met Mr. Emmerson in my office and I urged them to become active for Gov. Lowden. They said that they thought their districts were friendly to Gov. Lowden, but I wanted to tie them up and urged upon Mr. Emmerson to assist them in any way that they thought was necessary to get their active support.

Senator SPENCER. I have received a telegram from Mr. Hyde, Mr. Babler, who as you know has been running for governor out there. Did any money go to Mr. Hyde? He was very anxious to know whether any amount of money—he said there had been some charge that some Lowden money had come through him or to him. Did any of the money at all that you disbursed go to Mr. Hyde?

Mr. BABLER. I didn't give him anything.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you know, he didn't get any of the Lowden money? Is that right?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I didn't give him any. He didn't get any of this \$1,700.

The CHAIRMAN. He asked you a straight question there; can you answer it, whether you knew he was getting any money from Lowden?

Mr. BABLER. I don't know of him getting any. Mr. Morse testified that he had paid Mr. Hecht, I think is his name——

Senator REED (interposing). Hukreide?

Mr. BABLER. No; Kesterson.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Morse testified that no money went to Mr. Hyde or to any State candidate.

Mr. BABLER. I don't know of any money going to Hyde.

Senator SPENCER. That is your testimony, too?

Mr. BABLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What was the reason you rather hesitated there so long, Mr. Babler?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I was just trying to think, Senator. But I didn't give him a cent.

Senator REED. Well, do you know of him getting any money from Lowden?

Mr. BABLER. I don't know of anyone paying any money to Hyde at all.

Senator REED. Did you hear of anything of that kind?

Mr. BABLER. No.

Senator SPENCER. You seemed to hesitate, and I had the same impression that Senator Reed does, that perhaps there was some doubt about it.

Mr. BABLER. No; there is no doubt in my mind at all.

Senator REED. Well, were there any of these people who did get money close to Hyde?

Mr. BABLER. Not that I know of, Senator.

Senator REED. You spoke of Mr. Kesterson. Does he live in Mr. Hyde's county, or is he close to Mr. Hyde as his manager?

Mr. BABLER. No; he is in his district.

Senator REED. Just what do you know about Mr. Hyde's campaign moneys?

Mr. BABLER. I don't know a thing about it, because I haven't taken any part in the governorship contest. I have never taken any part in it.

Senator REED. Now how many delegates—how many of the people whom you have named to whom you gave money, are delegates? I would like to get that all together.

Mr. BABLER. W. H. Allen is the only one I have here.

The CHAIRMAN. He was not given by Mr. Morse.

Senator SPENCER. No.

Mr. BABLER. That was prior to his election as a delegate, and to cover expenses only.

Senator REED. Did you name somebody else, Mr. Babler?

Mr. BABLER. No; except that Mr. Morse testified that Cole——

Senator REED (interposing). I am not speaking of Cole.

Mr. BABLER. No; I didn't name anybody else.

Senator REED. Did you understand Cole was cooperating with your forces for Lowden?

Mr. BABLER. I understood he was friendly to Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. He was operating with you people, wasn't he?

Mr. BABLER. He had made a trip over to see Gov. Lowden, and I understood that he was for Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. Who was it gave him the money that he did have for the Lowden forces?

Mr. BABLER. Mr. Morse.

Senator REED. It is pretty hard to fool him, too, isn't it, in those things? [Laughter.] You needn't answer that. I ought not to have asked you that.

Are there any alternates to the National Convention on this list of men who received money?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think so.

Mr. REED. Now, Mr. Babler, boiling this whole thing down, the method of campaign which you adopted was to get in touch with the active, influential workers in various parts of the State, and then to furnish them with some money and tell them to get busy and get the delegates to the county conventions, or wherever they were to be elected, and you gave them this money somewhat in accordance with the situation as you understood it, and you never required any accounting from them?

Mr. BABLER. No; all of these men I have known a good while and I meant it only to cover expenses in carrying out our program. I don't believe that any of these men—I didn't believe that any of these men would retain any of the money, but I really feel that all of these men must have spent more than I really gave them, but I didn't require an accounting.

Senator REED. Speaking broadly, they are part of your organization, your forces?

Mr. BABLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. If you want something done, you call on them, and if it is necessary to have some money they call on you and you furnish it if you can?

Mr. BABLER. Yes sir.

Senator REED. The result of this method of campaigning was as stated by Mr. Morse, I think, that you got 33 out of 35 delegates for Lowden?

Mr. BABLER. I don't know how many. I supported those who were candidates that I thought would stand by the majority and would probably do the thing that we all thought was best when they got to Chicago.

Senator REED. You started with the organization crowd and followed it up as far as possible by getting your organization Republicans?

Mr. BABLER. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you think that you have got the Lowden campaign in pretty good shape in that State, don't you?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; I do.

Senator REED. Now, what do you know about expenditures on behalf of the Wood campaign in the State?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I don't know anything about that at all Senator.

Senator REED. Did you see any evidence of Wood activities?

Mr. BABLER. Well, the papers had been carrying his activities and they seemed to be quite friendly to him.

Senator REED. Well, who was it handled the Wood campaign in Missouri?

Mr. BABLER. Judge Lamm was at the head of the Wood League, and there was a Mr. Perkins quite active in the league, and the Kansas City Star was quite active for him.

Senator REED. Do you know a Gen. Glenn?

Mr. BABLER. Gen. Glenn? No; I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know a Gen. Brough?

Mr. BABLER. No; I do not.

Senator REED. So you do not know anything about the Wood money?

Mr. BABLER. No; I do not.

Senator REED. I have nothing more.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Babler.

Senator REED. I wish you would send us that list.

Mr. BABLER. Yes; I will do so.

(Whereupon, at 7 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until 10 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, June 2, 1920.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 3

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



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SELDEN B. SPENCER.

WALTER E. EDGE.

JAMES A. REED.

ATLEE POMERENE

CHAS. A. WEBB, *Clerk*.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Reed, Pomerene, and Edge.

TESTIMONY OF HON. EDWARD KEATING.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name, Mr. Keating.

Mr. KEATING. Edward Keating. My home address is Pueblo, Colo., and my Washington address, the Machinists' Building.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a former Member of Congress? You will acknowledge that, I suppose?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir; without the slightest hesitancy.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business now, Mr. Keating?

Mr. KEATING. I am serving as manager of the Plumb Plan League.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the general purpose and scope of this investigation?

Mr. KEATING. I am not entirely clear.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you read the resolution?

Mr. KEATING. No; I have not had an opportunity to examine the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we are investigating campaign expenditures in the presidential primaries, with possibly some other powers, but that is a brief statement of it. We would like to know from you whether the Plumb Plan League is taking part in the primaries and contributing. What can you tell us about that?

Mr. KEATING. The Plumb Plan League has not contributed a dollar to the presidential campaign funds. It is taking no part in the presidential campaigns, except distributing information through its weekly newspaper known as "Labor." "Labor" handles current events, national and international, from the point of view of labor, and in this connection we have dealt with the presidential campaign.

For example, last March, when there were some reports in the daily press concerning unreasonable expenditures by presidential possibilities, I addressed an open letter to the gentlemen whose names had been mentioned in connection with the presidency. I wrote that letter as manager of "Labor," and explained that the paper was owned and edited and controlled by the 16 recognized railroad labor organizations; that we had seen these reports in the

press concerning the expenditures in connection with the presidential campaigns, and we felt that the facts should be placed before the people. We asked the various "possibilities" to state how much money they had raised, who had contributed it, and how it had been expended and we received responses from all but three of the candidates. That is my recollection. Those replies, by the way, were printed in the public press at the time. We gave them out as they were received.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago was that?

Mr. KEATING. The open letter was dated early in March, I should say about the 15th of March. I have not the letter with me, but Labor was one of the first papers to notice the matter in a big way and to ask for an investigation, or for a statement from the candidates. But so far as the league is concerned, we have not contributed and we do not intend to contribute a cent. The league is conducting and confirming itself very strictly to the conduct of an educational campaign. The league was organized by the chief executives of the 16 recognized railroad organizations for a specific purpose, to secure Government ownership and democratic operation of the railroads of the United States.

In furtherance of that object we print, as I say, a weekly newspaper at a fixed subscription rate, we maintain a corps of lecturers in the field, we distribute a great quantity of literature, and that is the end of our activity, conveying information to the members of the organizations which compose the league.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the league take any part outside of and away from any question of contributions, in the campaign of any candidate for President? Are they, as an organization throwing their strength to any particular candidate?

Mr. KEATING. No; the league is not attempting anything of the kind. We state the facts as we see them in the paper. We have not undertaken to deal with the presidential campaign in any way, except through the columns of our paper. Frequently we receive letters from members asking us where we stand on the presidential contest, and I suppose we have written hundreds of letters stating that, so far as the Plumb Plan League is concerned, it had indorsed no candidate for President. It has been trying to convey, through the columns of the paper, what the men responsible for the Plumb Plan League believe to be the facts concerning the various presidential campaigns.

The CHAIRMAN. I am a reader of your paper.

Mr. KEATING. We feel highly complimented, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it contains some of my speeches in the Senate once in a while, and it is a pretty good paper; but I gathered the impression that your paper was rather supporting in the Democratic Party Mr. McAdoo, and in the Republican Party Mr. Johnson, while it may have been there just the individuals.

Mr. KEATING. If that impression has been conveyed, then the writer did not accomplish the object we had in mind. I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not mean by that that the paper is opposed to Mr. McAdoo. We have commented upon Mr. McAdoo's public utterances at times with much favor, but we have not taken any attitude either for or against a presidential candidate, except as we have criticized certain presidential candidates because of things they have done or we believed they were responsible for.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been requested by the managers of any presidential candidate of either party to take an active part for the candidate?

Mr. KEATING. No; we have been approached by no one.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been approached by no one?

Mr. KEATING. No, sir. It might be well for me to state in that connection, Mr. Chairman, that, so far as the political activities of these 16 organizations are concerned, they have a campaign committee just as the American Federation of Labor has a campaign committee, and that, in so far as the political activities of the 16 organizations are concerned, in a national sense, they will be handled by that campaign committee. Now, it happens that I am the chairman of that campaign committee. There are three other members on that committee.

Senator REED. I did not hear the first of your testimony. What campaign committee are you speaking of?

Mr. KEATING. I happen to be manager, Senator, of the Plumb Plan League. The National Plumb Plan League was created by the 16 recognized railroad labor organizations, and its activities are directed by an executive committee designated by the executives of those organizations, and I am the manager, and in the absence of the executive committee, I have charge of the activities of the league. We have our headquarters here in Washington. Now, these same 16 associated railroad labor organizations, which have organized the Plumb Plan League, have also appointed a campaign committee, of which I am the chairman. Mr. E. P. Curtis, one of the vice presidents of the Order of Railway Conductors, is a member. He represents what is known as the transportation brotherhoods, the engineers, conductors, firemen, trainmen, and switchmen.

Mr. Fred Hewitt, the editor of the Machinists' Journal, which is the official organ of the International Association of Machinists, is also a member, representing what is known among the railroad organizations as group 2, which consists of the shop crafts, such as machinists, boiler makers, sheet metal workers, electrical workers, and a number of organizations of that kind, and Mr. I. D. Mumby, one of the national officers of the Railway Clerks' Association, is the fourth member of the committee representing Group 3.

Senator POMERENE. Curtis, Hewitt, Mumby, and who is the fourth?

Mr. KEATING. I am chairman, acting as the fourth member. This committee is designated by the chief executives of the 16 organizations. We report to those gentlemen, and are, of course, at all times subject to instructions from them. They meet frequently, and we have many opportunities for conferring with them. We also co-operate in the most intimate way with the campaign committee named by the American Federation of Labor, now headed by Mr. Gompers.

Senator REED. There is a campaign committee named by the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. KEATING. Yes. I do not know that they call it a campaign committee. Its official designation——

Senator EDGE. You have just stated, Mr. Keating, that the campaign committee, or whatever you call it, of the Plum Plan League did not conduct any——

Mr. KEATING. We have no campaign committee of the Plumb Plan League, Senator. You misunderstood me. I said that so far as the Plumb Plan League is concerned, it had not spent a dollar in this presidential campaign, and had not expressed any preference for any presidential candidate, and had taken no part in the presidential campaign at all.

Senator REED. Let me get the campaign committee of the American Federation of Labor. That is Gompers?

Mr. KEATING. I think it consists of Mr. Gompers, Secretary Morrison, and, I think, Mr. O'Connell, formerly president of the machinists organization and a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. I may be in error as to that membership, Senator.

Senator EDGE. What is the title of the committee composed of the four men you have just named?

Mr. KEATING. So far as the railroad organizations are concerned, we call the committee the national campaign committee. That committee has taken no part in this presidential campaign, no part whatever, has not contributed a dollar to any presidential candidate, and has not indicated in any way a preference for one candidate as against another.

Senator REED. What is it doing, then, as a campaign committee?

Mr. KEATING. Its work up to date, and its principal duty, will be to convey information to the members of the organizations throughout the country.

Senator REED. In regard to what?

Mr. KEATING. In regard to the political situation, principally with regard to Senators and Congressmen.

Senator REED. Have you been doing that?

Mr. KEATING. Well, not on the presidential proposition.

Senator REED. Well, have you been doing it all, in regard to anything?

Mr. KEATING. Not up to date. Our activities up to date have been confined to an examination of the records here in Washington of the various Senators and Congressmen. Those records have been kept by the legislative representatives of the various railroad brotherhoods, and by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. Up to date the activities of this committee have been confined to a very careful examination of those records, in some instances extending back a good many years.

Senator REED. You have had consultations with reference to your course in the campaign that is to come on?

Mr. KEATING. Yes.

Senator REED. That is now on?

Mr. KEATING. Yes.

Senator REED. That, of course, includes the question as to whether a President will be elected who may be inimical to your interests, or who may be regarded as friendly, and when I say your interests, I mean the interests of your plan. That is embraced in it, is it not?

Mr. KEATING. Without reservation I wish to say that we have not discussed presidential possibilities in this committee.

Senator REED. Well, now, I am not speaking of individuals; I am speaking about whether you have discussed the proposition of throwing your weight and influence toward those candidates who

may be ultimately determined to be the most favorable to the plans you have in view. You have done that, have you not?

Mr. KEATING. Oh, indeed, we have discussed the advisability and the most practical way of conveying information to the members of the various railroad labor organizations throughout this country concerning the attitude of presidential candidates and candidates for Senator and Congressman, upon the questions which are of peculiar interest to labor.

Senator REED. And that includes the Plumb Plan?

Mr. KEATING. Why, I presume it would, because we consider that one of the leading issues. Certainly we include that.

Senator REED. And since you have been discussing the question of the attitude of the candidate after he is nominated, and have made preparations to send to your members advice with reference to the various candidates, have you not done anything to try to promote the selection of candidates who are favorable?

Mr. KEATING. Senator, I just testified under oath that our committee, of which I am chairman—and I even went so far as to say without reservations—"had done nothing." So when I made that answer, it was a complete answer to the suggestion which you have made. Absolutely nothing.

Senator REED. Well, you say your committee has not. Do you know of any other committees or aggregation of men who have done it, who are connected in any way with organizations which you in any way represent?

Mr. KEATING. No; none whatever.

Senator REED. You have not done anything to affect the nomination either of candidates for the Senate or for Congress, have you?

Mr. KEATING. Up to date, no, except through the publication of "Labor," and through the circulation through that paper of the records of Members of Congress.

Senator POMERENE. Why do you so often say, "Up to date"?

Mr. KEATING. Because I can not testify as to the future, Senator, that is all.

Senator REED. What is your plan? You have got a plan, have you not?

Mr. KEATING. Yes; our plan, and it is a very simple one—I feel almost like a "piker" in talking about the money involved after listening here yesterday to the discussion of very large sums—but here is our plan. The executives have designated this campaign committee of four men. We have gone over the legislative records of various Members of Congress with the men who are permanently here as representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the various railroad brotherhoods. You gentlemen have come in contact with those gentlemen frequently. We have also, as accurately as possible, endeavored to determine how much money would be required in order to conduct the activities which we had in mind and we have reported to the executives of these organizations that to maintain headquarters in Washington and to do the work in connection with the campaign which we have in mind, would require the expenditure of approximately \$10,000, and the executives have responded by saying that they would ask the boards of directors of their various organizations to contribute to the campaign fund a sum equal to 1 cent for each member of the organizations. That will

give us something more than \$10,000. I do not know the amount; \$15,000 will be the limit.

What do we propose to do with the money, as we have discussed our plan? We propose to give advice to the members of the organizations throughout the country. We have determined upon that advice in a general way in the course of our conferences. We have said to these members of organized labor, as represented by the railroad brotherhoods, that there were just two ways in which a political campaign could be conducted. One was the old party way, by which considerable money was expended and men were offered jobs and other favors, and we have said that labor can not conduct a campaign in that way. The only way that labor can make an effective campaign is by rallying around some principle or principles and organizing an army of volunteer workers, and so we have suggested—or we have agreed to the suggestion, rather, because we have not sent out the instructions, we have not really prepared them, but in our discussions we have agreed to suggest to these gentlemen practically what Mr. Gompers has already suggested to the organizations of the American Federation of Labor, that in the various localities the various lodges and divisions shall designate committees which shall meet; that they shall form central committees in that locality; that they shall get in touch with the other organizations of labor; that they shall particularly get in touch with the farmers in that vicinity——

Senator REED. What?

Mr. KEATING. With the agricultural workers in that vicinity and with liberal-minded citizens generally, because, in our judgment, it would be a very great mistake for labor to undertake to make a narrow class struggle. Through the columns of Labor we have rather voiced that sentiment. That is our plan.

So far as the national campaign committee is concerned, it would not presume to dictate to our members as to how they shall vote. Nothing that has the suggestion of an instruction will ever go out from this campaign committee, because that would be resented, and quite properly, by the men at home. If at all successful, it must be a democratic organization, in our judgment; it must be an organization formed in the locality and financed in the locality, because we are going to say to these gentlemen, "After you have organized this local committee"—for instance, take in the city of Springfield, Mo., if that is a railroad center——

Senator REED. It is.

Mr. KEATING. "Form your committee and agree upon a modest budget, then call on the boys to voluntarily chip in 50 cents or a dollar, enough to pay for the rent of headquarters, for postage, for the printing of such literature as you may have, and you will conduct the campaign in your own way, at your own expense, and all that we can give you from headquarters will be such information as we may be able to gather here, and such advice as to the best way to conduct a political campaign as we believe that we"——

Senator REED. Is there not in the city of Washington a headquarters where they are engaged in carrying on a propaganda for the Plumb plan?

Mr. KEATING. That is the Plumb Plan League; yes; the National Plumb Plan League, of which I am a manager.

Senator REED. How many employees are down there?

Mr. KEATING. I really do not know.

Senator REED. Well, approximately?

Mr. KEATING. I can perhaps reach the matter in a more satisfactory fashion for you in this way: The principal activity of the National Plumb Plan League is really the publication of its paper, Labor. It has a very large circulation, and while it does not carry any advertising, it does carry a considerable editorial force. Then we have found that the work—the office work for a newspaper of that kind—becomes very considerable after the circulation runs up into the hundreds of thousands—the keeping of lists, and all that sort of thing.

Senator REED. What is your circulation?

Mr. KEATING. Two hundred and fifty thousand last week, perhaps a little above that; at least that; it may be a thousand or two more.

Senator REED. Who financed this?

Mr. KEATING. Well, there have been so many various stories told about that, Senator, that I am glad you asked me that question. I will try to answer it as frankly as possibly, because of the stories that have been told, and I presume that those who told them believed them, about millions of dollars having been raised. The Plumb Plan League was organized about one year ago, either June or July. I have forgotten just when the league was organized. Some time in May the executives of these railroad——

Senator REED. This year?

Mr. KEATING. No; last year, May, 1919, these executives of the 16, at that time 14, railroad organizations—two have been added since then—asked Mr. Glenn E. Plumb to put aside his law business and to devote himself to presenting the Plumb plan to the people of the United States. He opened up an office in the Munsey Building with one stenographer, and a few weeks later it was agreed to organize the National Plumb Plan League, based on this proposition, that the individual member would contribute \$1, and that when a lodge, or union, or church, because we have a few churches that are members——

Senator REED. Churches that are members of the——

Mr. KEATING. My recollection is that we have two or three church organizations that have taken out charters in the Plumb Plan League. Any organization that believes in Government ownership and democratic control of the railroads may join, other things being equal, and we have had a number of organizations that are not made up of railroad workers, join the organization, but, of course, the great majority of the organizations, and there are some 4,000 of them, are railroad organizations or unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Now, each of those organizations pays a yearly membership fee of \$10.

Senator REED. Four thousand organizations?

Mr. KEATING. Four thousand organizations, something like that.

Senator POMERENE. Each of these——

Mr. KEATING. Each of these organizations pays a yearly membership fee of \$10. In return for that it has the privilege of sending in 10 names of men or women who shall receive our weekly paper for a year, so really what they subscribe for is 10 subscriptions to Labor. That is the business obligation we assume.

Senator REED. How many individuals have you paying \$1 a year?

Mr. KEATING. I will reach that, Senator. I wanted to clear up the other proposition. Of individuals we have something more than 200,000 who are paying the yearly subscription.

Senator REED. That gives you an annual income of \$240,000?

Mr. KEATING. It does not give us an annual income of \$240,000, except as a business concern has an income of \$240,000, because we have assumed a very definite obligation here. We are printing a weekly paper; we are printing a paper without advertising; we are printing a paper that is compelled now to pay 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents a pound for print paper. The last offer I had from New York was 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents. That means a very definite business obligation which we are preparing to take care of, and which we have to take care of out of this dollar.

Now, whatever is left after that business obligation is taken care of, we have for our educational campaign. That educational campaign consists of keeping a corps of speakers in the field, lecturers and organizers, printing literature and distributing it, and we have printed a number of pamphlets and distributed, I think, millions of copies.

Senator REED. How many lecturers have you in the field?

Mr. KEATING. We have in the field at the present time about six lecturers, I think.

Senator REED. Paid men?

Mr. KEATING. Certainly. We have six who are paid. We have a number who are not paid, people who volunteer their services from time to time.

Senator REED. You have six lecturers in the field, I think you said?

Mr. KEATING. They are lecturers and organizers, as I recall.

Senator REED. How many organizers?

Mr. KEATING. Those are the six.

Senator REED. They are combined?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir; some of them are lecturers and some organizers. We have had a larger number at times. It depends a good deal upon the circumstances.

Senator REED. I go back now to my question. How much of an office force have you down there?

Mr. KEATING. I suppose we have 40 or 50 clerks and stenographers, I should say; I do not know. I imagine that would be a little high, Senator.

Senator REED. How many field men?

Mr. KEATING. I have explained about the field men.

Senator REED. Are those all the field men that you have?

Mr. KEATING. Yes. Mr. Neville, our secretary-treasurer, handles the clerks in the office, receipts for the money, and pays all the bills, so that he hires these clerks and stenographers, and I do not know the exact number. Perhaps it would be safer to say 25.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Plumb an officer?

Mr. KEATING. No; it is a peculiar thing that Mr. Plumb is not an officer of the Plumb Plan League. Of course, it is hardly necessary to say that he is a very influential member of the Plumb Plan League.

Senator REED. He is paid a salary?

Mr. KEATING. He is paid a salary; yes, sir. Mr. Plumb is the legal adviser.

Senator REED. What amount does Mr. Plumb draw?

Mr. KEATING. I do not object to stating it, but, Mr. Chairman, as far as I am personally concerned, if you want to know about me, or anything about the work of the organization——

Senator REED. It is not personal at all; it is a matter of public business.

Mr. KEATING. It has nothing to do, if I might submit, with the presidential campaign. However, if the committee feels that it has, I have no objection to answering the question.

Senator REED. Well, you have a campaign committee?

Mr. KEATING. No, sir, we have not; and I have stated distinctly and repeatedly that we have not. So far as the National Plumb Plan League is concerned, it has no campaign committee, it has not spent a dollar in this campaign, and does not propose to.

Senator REED. It has no association directly or indirectly with any campaign committee?

Mr. KEATING. Of course, the manager of the Plumb Plan League happens to be the chairman of the campaign committee of the 16 associated brotherhoods, and the 16 brotherhoods control the Plumb Plan League.

Senator REED. Well, I think that you have got a connection that is so close and intimate that——

Mr. KEATING. Well, I have no particular desire to avoid the question, Senator, because there is nothing I want to conceal there, except that in discussing a matter of that kind, if you will pardon me, I thought at the time it was not material, but if the committee feels that they want that information, I will gladly give it.

Senator REED. We have asked similar questions of every organization.

Mr. KEATING. Well, Mr. Plumb receives \$1,000 a month.

Senator REED. Where does the money come from?

Mr. KEATING. Out of the Plumb Plan League. The entire league is financed by this dollar.

Senator REED. Where was Mr. Plumb from—just for my information?

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Plumb at the time he presented the Plumb plan to the people of the United States and Congress was attorney for the 14 associated railroad organizations, was a resident of the city of Chicago, and is still a resident, and had had broad experience as an attorney.

Senator REED. I am not questioning that.

Mr. KEATING. But I think in connection with his salary that I should state here that Mr. Plumb is a very distinguished attorney, and when the brotherhood fixed this compensation, which they did without suggestion from Mr. Plumb, they felt that they were offering him about one-half his usual income. I think in justice to Mr. Plumb, I should state that, because that was the feeling of the executives of the railroad brotherhoods. Mr. Plumb has naturally a tremendous interest in the child of his brain.

Senator REED. As the campaign progresses you anticipate that the question of the governmental ownership of the railroads, plus the Plumb plan, or in connection with the Plumb plan, or as affecting the Plumb plan, will become an issue, do you not?

Mr. KEATING. Senator——

Senator REED. You intend to make it an issue, do you not, if you can?

Mr. KEATING. I know you will permit me to answer that in my own way. We are in existence, the National Plumb Plan League, for one purpose, which is to bring the Plumb plan for the control of the railroads before the people of the United States, and to conduct a national educational campaign.

Senator REED. You are not only to bring it before the people, but you want to have it embraced finally in a law finally, do you not?

Mr. KEATING. Indeed we do. We hope eventually the great majority of the Members of Congress will be for it.

Senator REED. And you intend to employ your influence in that direction, of course.

Mr. KEATING. So far as the National Plumb Plan League is concerned, its energies will be directed indefinitely to the attainment of that goal, Government ownership of the railroads and democratic control. In other words, we are enlisted for the war.

Senator REED. Exactly, that is the point I wanted to make. So that you are bound to be in the political battle.

Mr. KEATING. It is the only way in the United States by which such a reform can be brought about.

Senator REED. So that you are a political organization, because you are organized for a political purpose, intending to work for aims and to attain your ends through political activities and organizations? Now, that is where you come out, is it not? I do not think you have not a perfect right to do that. I am not questioning its propriety, but I wanted to get down to the question frankly that we have here, a political organization to deal with that——

Mr. KEATING. Well, I would not by silence agree with your conclusion, Senator.

Senator REED. I do not mean for you to be silent. I want you to talk.

Mr. KEATING. I do not agree with your conclusion that this is a political organization in the accepted sense.

Senator REED. No, it is not a political organization in the sense that the Republican Party or the Democratic Party is, because they are old parties, but now a fight is on between those two parties, and a general fight in the country, and here is a large organization with 250,000 paying members, which is more than any political party has got, a good deal, and you propose to attain a certain legislative result and governmental result through the activities which you intend to put into politics, so that in that sense I say you are political.

Mr. KEATING. I will say, for instance, that the National Child Labor Committee for years conducted a campaign to secure the enactment of the Federal child labor law, that it collected money and spent money, and sent out literature, but so far as I know, never supported any political candidate for office, or contributed funds to any particular candidate, although it may have done so, but no one ever thought of accusing the National Child Labor Committee of being a political party.

Senator REED. I do not want to get into an argument, but that is where you are differentiated from that.

Mr. KEATING. We are not differentiated from it.

Senator REED. You and your kindred organizations with which you are closely interlinked propose to attack the record of candidates and the positions of candidates on the one hand and to support other candidates on the other.

Mr. KEATING. Well, we do not propose——

Senator REED. That is just what you are doing, is it not? You are getting up their records; you are printing their records in your paper?

Mr. KEATING. Yes; but the principal object of the existence of the paper is to send to the people of this country the records of Members of Congress on those matters in which we believe the workers will be interested.

Senator REED. Exactly; and the principal object of the Democratic Party is to get the record of its candidates or its party before the people in as favorable a light as possible, and that of the Republican or Socialist candidates in as unfavorable a light as possible, and it is pretty hard to draw the line between the two things, is it not? As a matter of fact, you are in this fight, and you expect to be a potential force in this fight. You have got a larger headquarters to-day than any political party has, you have got more employees than any political party, you have got more paying members than any political party, and I want to pay you the compliment of saying that it would appear to be managed by a very intelligent, wide-awake gentleman who I do not think will sleep on his job between now and November. I say that in all honesty, and I am not criticizing you for it, but I want to get at the facts.

Mr. KEATING. In view of the fact that you represent the State where I was born, I thank you for your compliment. But, Senator, it is not quite fair to state that we have the largest political headquarters.

Senator REED. It is not?

Mr. KEATING. No, sir; we have not.

Senator REED. Then I take that back.

Mr. KEATING. Here is the fact: We are printing a newspaper, and it is no exaggeration to say that nine-tenths of the employees on the fourth floor of the Machinist Building of this city are engaged in producing a newspaper, not in conducting a political campaign.

Senator REED. But that newspaper is purely the organ of the movement——

Mr. KEATING. No; you are mistaken there.

Senator REED. Which you are carrying on?

Mr. KEATING. No; you are quite mistaken there. It is not purely the organ of that movement. It has a much broader scope. Labor was established for the purpose of trying out a very interesting experiment in the newspaper business. I have been in the business all my life. We undertook to prove that a newspaper can be maintained without advertising. In order to do that we can not afford to make it the organ of some particular cause. We are endeavoring to make it a national labor weekly, and so far as we can an international labor weekly, appealing to all elements in the labor movement, and frankly being a labor paper. Now we are producing this paper, we are paying 13½ cents a pound for paper, we are employing girls to keep up our files, we are employing editors to write our editorials, we are paying local correspondents to send us information

from their territory. In a word, we are running a newspaper, and we could not have an income of \$250,000 in subscriptions for a political publication such as that.

Senator REED. I do not know what you expend, but evidently the matter is political.

Mr. KEATING. As a matter of fact, the \$250,000 is being expended for the purpose of running a newspaper, largely, because we are expending about 90 per cent of it for that purpose.

Senator REED. I do not want to argue it; but, as a matter of fact, you have a definite object in view, and you are organized for the attainment of that definite object, and that definite object can only be accomplished through legislation, and that legislation depends upon the men who are elected to legislate, and along with your kindred organizations you are getting up the records of the men pro and con, and your way of reaching them is by sending out a newspaper publication. Another way of the old-time politician was well illustrated yesterday, where a candidate gave a man in his district some money to use in order to get him delegates. Another plan of campaign that has been largely exploited here is to spend a lot of money in newspaper advertising and in propaganda work for candidates. But all of these methods, after all, lead to the same end—the attainment of a policy of government through the election of certain men who are wedded to that policy.

Mr. KEATING. Yes; I fully agree with you.

Senator REED. I am not criticising you at all for this organization. You have got a perfect right to have it, as these other candidates have a perfect right to run, and I am only asking these questions—

Mr. KEATING. But, Senator, you are not going to place us in the same category with a gentleman who goes out and undertakes practically to buy delegates to a political convention?

Senator REED. No; I am saying to you, if you will let me finish my inquiry, that I am not criticizing your organization or your method. Some of the things you have mentioned here I would very severely criticize in connection with another movement, but I say now, in explanation of these questions, that I have no desire to pry into your private affairs, but this is one of the movements that we have been considering, and I am very much obliged to you for your testimony, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Senator. I have stated the object of our movement rather accurately, and the only thing that I have objected to was that I was afraid you would put us in rather bad company. As long as you have excluded us from that company, we do not object.

Senator POMERENE. You have spoken of your income through your paper, and your subscription rate is a dollar per year, as I understand it?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. It is a weekly paper?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any other source of income?

Mr. KEATING. I am very glad you mentioned that, because in the interruptions I overlooked one proposition in stating the financing of the Plumb Plan League, and I do not want the possibility of a misunderstanding. If the Senator will permit me, I will make a brief

statement, with regard to the financing of the Plumb Plan League, so the record will be absolutely straight.

When the league was launched a little over a year ago, as I stated, Mr. Plumb opened an office with one stenographer, and the 14 associated railroad organizations agreed to contribute \$1,500 a month to the upkeep of that office. The work expanded, and at the end of about two months there was so much interest manifested that the organizations got together and advanced \$6,000 as a fund for organizing the Plumb Plan League and defraying the preliminary expenses. A vast amount of literature was printed costing a great deal in excess of the \$6,000. I do not know the exact figure, but I should say \$25,000 or \$30,000, or maybe \$40,000 worth of literature was printed, consisting principally of application blanks, and things of that kind. We became a bit alarmed at our debts, and we had not had an opportunity to receive any returns on memberships, so that the associated brotherhoods came together again and submitted a proposition to their boards of directors to contribute to the Plumb Plan League a sum equal to 5 cents per capita for each member in the active railroad service, and that sum was contributed, which amounted to about \$59,000.

Senator POMERENE. In round numbers there are about 2,000,000 men in the railroad business?

Mr. KEATING. About \$60,000. That would be 1,200,000. These organizations have a membership of about 2,000,000 men, but they only contributed——

Senator POMERENE. That is the 16 organizations?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or 18 now?

Mr. KEATING. There are 16 now that are associated, but, anyhow, the net result was about \$59,000 or \$60,000. By the time that money came in from these organizations our membership fees had been coming in very rapidly, and I decided, with the consent of the executive committee, that this money should be put aside as a reserve fund, and not touched, the \$60,000, so it was put aside, and when I said here a moment ago——

Senator POMERENE. A reserve fund for what?

Mr. KEATING. Emergencies, as, for instance, this increase in the price of paper. It was a fortunate thing that we had put aside a substantial reserve fund.

Senator POMERENE. In a word, and I am not finding any fault with it, you would expect to use this \$60,000 if at any time it became necessary to carry out what the Plumb Plan League considers to be a legitimate object?

Mr. KEATING. Well, I think I could even narrow it down more than that, because with a circulation of 250,000 hanging over your head, and no advertising fees coming in, you simply must have a reserve fund to take care of a newspaper, and that fund, in my judgment, should be larger than \$60,000, but while I have no right to project myself into the future, and have no assurance as to what will be done, that fund will never be touched for any purpose except to take care of the newspaper, as long as I am manager of the league, because it would be unsafe to do it as a financial proposition. We have drawn upon it for paper and different things of that kind. We had to buy \$8,000 worth of equipment in order to get out this

weekly newspaper, to print the mailing lists, and things of that kind, and I believe that fund was drawn upon for that.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any other source of income?

Mr. KEATING. I forgot to state that we paid back this \$6,000 that I stated they had advanced. We paid that back to the organizations that had advanced it, so that it is literally true that all of the activities of the league, aside from our investment in furniture and fixtures, and our reserve fund, have been paid from the contributions received from members and the contributions received from lodges. That is literally true.

So far as other contributions are concerned, we have at times received pay for lectures. For instance, when some organization up in Boston decides it wants to have a lecturer up there, it is impossible for us to stand the expense of sending a man from Washington up to Boston, and we sometimes ask them to contribute a fee to cover that.

Senator POMERENE. That is inconsequential?

Mr. KEATING. Inconsequential. A few thousand dollars.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you another question. Has your League pursued the policy of sending out tickets to different lodges and asking them to pay for them and sell them, or to contribute the value of them?

Mr. KEATING. No, absolutely nothing of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. Let me put this question to you as it came to me.

Mr. KEATING. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. A friend that I know speaks of this. He tells me that this scheme for financing the Plumb Plan League contemplates the collection of subscriptions. The main method to be employed, however, is to send out an army of trained lecturers who will appear in all important towns and states of the United States. They will speak in school houses, lodge rooms, etc. The plan is to send a local labor union 2,000 tickets. The local union is then assessed \$200 as a charge for these tickets. It is supposed to sell them at 10 cents apiece. Whether it sells them or not, it is supposed to remit the \$200. In a small town the number of tickets may be limited to 500. The only expense of the Plumb Plan League would be the cost of the printing of the tickets and the expense of the lecturers. Assuming the expense and salary of lecturing to be \$100 a week, you can readily see what an enormous profit would be coming into the League headquarters, weekly, assuming that there were sixty lecturers on the road.

Have you any such plan as that?

Mr. KEATING. No. That man is a "Col. Sellers."

Senator POMERENE. Was this plan proposed?

Mr. KEATING. It may have been proposed. We have had all kinds of plans proposed to us at the beginning of things.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know Mr. Risley, of New Jersey?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir; I know Mr. Risley.

Senator POMERENE. Did he propose that plan?

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Risley proposed such a plan to our organization, but his plan was absolutely rejected, because at the beginning of things we received plans for the solution of this whole proposition at the rate of about one a day. Mr. Risley's proposition was to conduct lectures on this basis, to issue 200 or 300 tickets, or 500 tickets, and have the local organization agree to sell those tickets,

paying a fee for the lectures. Now, we rejected that proposition without serious consideration.

Senator POMERENE. Then the theory seems to be this, that this plan he writes me about is a plan that had been proposed?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. But which you say the Plumb Plan League rejected?

Mr. KEATING. Oh, yes; rejected absolutely. It was never considered.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you another question. At the time of the original organization of the Plumb Plan League, the papers that you know about made a statement to the effect that it was planned to have a membership of 4,000,000, and that you were to raise a fund of \$4,000,000, which was to be used for campaign purposes in support of the league, and necessarily that included efforts to defeat Congressmen or Senators who did not accept the view of Mr. Plumb with regard to the solution of the railroad problem. Was that plan suggested, and what is the truth about the attempt to raise a large sum of money of that kind?

Mr. KEATING. There is nothing to that story, Senator, except that we threw open the membership rolls not alone to 4,000,000 men, but to all the people of the United States who wanted to join, that was all, and if 4,000,000 had joined, we would have received 4,000,000 and their contributions.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, you would have accepted their membership?

Mr. KEATING. Absolutely; we would have welcomed their membership. The only thing we have refused, by the way, we have refused contributions——

Senator POMERENE. I am not finding fault with that, but you remember that statements of that kind were prevalent in practically every cosmopolitan paper in the country.

Mr. KEATING. Yes; and one paper put it as high as \$10,000,000, and it was assumed by some gentleman who really should have——

Senator POMERENE. Now, another matter. In your campaign for membership have you been issuing paid-up subscriptions to anyone in order to secure memberships?

Mr. KEATING. No; but from the very beginning the proposition was that when you joined the league you became a subscriber for Labor. If you became a subscriber for Labor and did not want to join the league, you paid just the same for Labor, but the membership fee carries a year's subscription to Labor.

Senator POMERENE. Now, I do not feel free to give the name of the writer of this letter, but I will say to you——

Mr. KEATING. That is perfectly satisfactory to me.

Senator POMERENE. But I will say that he is a business man in Chillicothe, Ohio, and he writes me in regard to this, and says:

The writer has just very recently received a pamphlet headed "Plumb Plan League, 447-453 Munsey Building, Washington, D. C." Attached to this pamphlet was a receipt for \$1, for membership in the Plumb Plan League, and for this receipt I am to receive a paper issued under the name of "Labor," which is published in Washington, D. C.

The receipt mentioned above is a receipt for \$1 claimed to have been received. This was not done with the writer's request or knowledge, and without ever having given \$1 to pay for this subscription.

Mr. KEATING. What probably has happened there, Senator, is this. I do not know of that case, of course. A great many of our friends, through the country, are buying subscriptions for Labor and having the paper sent to some one that they think is in need of education along certain lines, and in some communities, and Ohio has been particularly active, I will say there has been a rather strong effort along those lines. A man will put up \$2 or \$3. That has not been suggested by us, except in the most indirect fashion, but he would have the paper sent to his friend, or to his grocer, or perhaps to the superintendent of schools, of the town, or give us the——

Senator POMERENE. There is nothing improper about that.

Mr. KEATING. No; but in our office, if a man sent in a name, or a list of names, the clerk sent the receipt to the name, instead of the man who transmitted the money.

Senator POMERENE. Who is W. L. Douglas?

Mr. KEATING. W. L. Douglas is a member of the Plumb Plan League. I do not know him personally, but the name is very familiar. I think he lives in Columbus, and he is a member of our league.

Senator POMERENE. Was he collecting funds for the league in this way, or subscriptions?

Mr. KEATING. I imagine he was.

Senator POMERENE. This receipt is said to have been signed by him.

Mr. KEATING. I see. You see, all of our subscriptions, or practically all, come through the voluntary efforts of our friends, and anyone is authorized to collect subscriptions, anyone who wants to. In fact, we ask through the columns of the paper——

Senator POMERENE. There is not anything wrong about that, because I suppose that every one of us has, out of compliment to another man, paid up a year's subscription to one or more papers and had them sent to his friend. That is not an impossible thing, and in fact it is not an improper thing, if it were done. Now, you have spoken of your activities. Is not the league at the present time engaged in efforts to defeat Congressmen and Senators who have not been in favor of this Plumb Plan League, or the Plumb plan?

Mr. KEATING. Not aside from what appears in the paper. That is the only political activity of the league.

Senator POMERENE. Are the members, by some concerted action, doing that?

Mr. KEATING. The members of the Plumb Plan League and the membership of these railroad unions throughout the country are aroused on that particular subject as they have never been before, in my judgment, and they are carrying on all kinds of political activities, but their activities, Senator, are largely based, as nearly as I can judge, upon the vote on the Cumming-Esch bill. That is the principal issue.

Senator POMERENE. And they are demanding the defeat of everybody who supported that piece of legislation?

Mr. KEATING. Yes, they have taken the position that any man, either in the Senate or in the House, who voted for the Cumming-Esch bill should be defeated, and we have advocated that through the columns of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. And they have a perfect right to do it.

Senator POMERENE. No one is raising any objection to that at all.

You have given in answer to Senator Reed's question the information as to the salary which Mr. Plumb is receiving?

Mr. KEATING. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, I feel that you have been slighted, so may I ask what salary you are receiving as manager of the league?

Mr. KEATING. I get \$7,500 a year, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. The same as a Congressman?

Mr. KEATING. The same as a Congressman.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. ANTOINETTE FUNK.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the McAdoo campaign?

Mrs. FUNK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have not been able to locate this McAdoo campaign yet by any male witnesses, so we thought we might be able to do so by some female witnesses.

Mrs. FUNK. Senator, that can be very simply explained. There is not any.

The CHAIRMAN. There is not any?

Mrs. FUNK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You are connected with the Democratic national committee?

Mrs. FUNK. No; not now.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you cease your connection?

Mrs. FUNK. A year ago, just now, I think, I was appointed director of their educational department. I resigned in February—I think February or the first of March.

The CHAIRMAN. A year ago now you were——

Mrs. FUNK. Appointed; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your position?

Mrs. FUNK. Educational director, director of the educational department.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Democratic national committee?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You held that position until when?

Mrs. FUNK. I think it was February. I have forgotten the exact date, Senator; about February, about the middle of February.

The CHAIRMAN. From June, 1919, to February, 1920?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before that time your business was that of traveling around the country in the interest of the Democratic Party?

Mrs. FUNK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it?

Mrs. FUNK. I had suggested a year before that to the national Democratic committee a plan of getting information to the women of the country on the principles of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be along in June, 1918?

Mrs. FUNK. It was earlier than that. It was—well, as a matter of fact I guess it was in the fall of 1918.

The CHAIRMAN. In the fall of 1918?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, after we were out of the war. I had suggested this to the National Democratic Committee, and they adopted the plan I suggested.

The CHAIRMAN. You had been working on the plan for some time?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, sir. I will say to you that I made that proposition to the Republican national committee some years ago. I was very anxious to have the women all over the country enter their political life with some knowledge of what the parties meant, the principles they were built upon, and what they had done, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time were you engaged also in Liberty loan work?

Mrs. FUNK. No; the Liberty loan work closed at the close of the fifth loan. For some little time afterwards I had to do some little signing of papers, accounts, etc., but I was not actively engaged.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your work on the Liberty loan?

Mrs. FUNK. We had a national Liberty loan committee of 12 women and I was one of those women. I was vice chairman, and during most of the period of the war I acted as executive officer in general charge of the headquarters here.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were some of the other members of the committee?

Mrs. FUNK. Mrs. McAdoo was chairman, Mrs. Frank Vanderlip was treasurer, Mrs. Synon was secretary, Mrs. Dudley was a member. Mrs. George D. Guernsey, Mrs. Frank Higginson, or George Higginson, of Boston, was a member, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was a member, and earlier Mrs. Baldwin of San Francisco and the late Ella Flag Young was a member a portion of the time, Mrs. George Bass, and I think I mentioned Mrs. McAdoo. Mrs. McAdoo was chairman.

Senator POMERENE. Your memory for these names is very much better than the memory of some of the witnesses we have had in regard to the funds they have expended.

Mrs. FUNK. I associated with these women during the entire period of the war.

Senator POMERENE. You have no more reason to know them more intimately than some of these men who have been associated in the party in the distribution of these funds.

Mrs. FUNK. Well, I will add another, Mrs. John O. Reilly, of Pennsylvania, to the list.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bass is now connected with the Democratic committee?

Mrs. FUNK. Since 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. What is her position there?

Mrs. FUNK. She is director of the women's bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of these other women connected with the Democratic national committee?

Mrs. FUNK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your work for the Liberty loan ceases and ended and fitted right into your work for the Democratic Party incidentally, did it not?

Mrs. FUNK. No, not incidentally.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, following your work on the Liberty loan you went into the Democratic Party——

Senator REED. What more natural to leave one patriotic work to go into another?

Senator POMERENE. And into a greater patriotic work?

The CHAIRMAN. These gentlemen out vote me, but just restrain yourselves.

Mrs. FUNK. I have been interested in the Democratic Party since I supported Mr. Wilson in 1916, and I have done all that I could constantly for that party since then, all of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Whenever you have gone around the country you have done a good deal of talking for the Democratic Party, have you not?

Mrs. FUNK. I always talk for the Democratic Party whenever I see an opportunity, early and late.

The CHAIRMAN. During that time your expenses in many instances have been charged to the Government, have they not?

Mrs. FUNK. No. I think, Senator, that, to be fair, I might say that I have never talked in a public way or made a public speech for the Democratic Party during the time I was engaged in the war work.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you always talked for the Democratic Party.

Mrs. FUNK. I mean as an individual, as one person to another.

Senator REED. She ought to be allowed to answer that question.

Mrs. FUNK. I am a rather enthusiastic politician, being a new one, I suppose.

Senator REED. You started to say that when you were out during the campaign for war funds you never made any public speeches for politics.

Mr. FUNK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did make a plenty of private ones, did you not?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; at every opportunity I had.

The CHAIRMAN. You formulated this plan of education for the Democratic Party and for the Republican Party?

Mrs. FUNK. I was heart and soul in the work, and may I say that I was not only out for the Liberty loan but I was also a member of the woman's committee of the Council of National Defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you connected with the Democratic Party in any way during the time you were traveling around the country in behalf of the Liberty loan?

Mrs. FUNK. Only as a Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you consulting with different members of the party?

Mrs. FUNK. Not at all. I never knew of a Democratic consultation at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Bass was called in to the same work?

Mrs. FUNK. Well, she was not so active as I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us call attention to some of these traveling expenses.

Senator POMERENE. May I ask what you are reading from?

The CHAIRMAN. I am reading from—

Traveling expenses, Treasury Department—letter from the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting statement of officers and employees of various bureaus of the Treasury Department who traveled on official business to points outside of the District of Columbia, fiscal year ended June 30, 1918.

Senator POMERENE. Is it limited to any particular subject, or any particular time?

The CHAIRMAN. It is divided as to the different subjects, Senator. For instance, it shows, under the first Liberty loan, the expenses of

Elizabeth Bass, member of woman's Liberty loan committee, July 17 to August 25, 1917—

Senator POMERENE. This is a public document?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. What is the number of it?

The CHAIRMAN. House of Representatives No. 1476. From Washington to Chicago and other western cities, \$368.94. Do you know what that is for?

Mrs. FUNK. I will say generally that the expenses of our speakers were paid. Mrs. Bass did considerable speaking for the Liberty loan.

The CHAIRMAN. She was one of the speakers?

Mrs. FUNK. She was one of the speakers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she make speeches for the Democratic Party, too?

Mrs. FUNK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. She was a very active Democrat, and is now?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; she has always been an active Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. Again, Mrs. George Bass, second Liberty loan, secretary Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, Washington to Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Chicago, and return, October, November, and December, 1917, \$335.50. Was that a trip to make speeches?

Mrs. FUNK. I will say in reference to all these trips that whenever you see an item of expenses for any member of our committee going out over the country, it was to make Liberty loan speeches, and—

The CHAIRMAN. Again, Mrs. Bass, from March 28 to April 9, 1918, Washington to Chicago and Milwaukee, and return, \$94.80. That was to make speeches, I suppose?

Mrs. FUNK. I think I have answered that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Antoinette Funk, vice chairman Woman's Liberty Loan Committee, January 10 to February 8, 1918, trip from Washington through Southern States, \$222.90. What was that for?

Mrs. FUNK. The same thing, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any boosting of Mr. McAdoo as a presidential candidate on these trips?

Mrs. FUNK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any talk of him?

Mrs. FUNK. Not that I ever heard.

The CHAIRMAN. There was plenty of boosting of the Democratic Party, was there not?

Mrs. FUNK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you say there was not, all right.

Mrs. FUNK. I do not know of any boosting of the Democratic Party. We went out to do our patriotic duty as women from all sections of the country, which at that time—

The CHAIRMAN. Did it require all these trips?

Mrs. FUNK. May I make an explanation there? Our committee sold five and a half billion dollars worth of bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. Your committee did?

Mrs. FUNK. Our committee. We practically absorbed the \$50 bonds. We secured millions of subscriptions.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do in that?

Mrs. FUNK. I have explained that I was vice chairman of the committee and acted as executive officer. I did that work mostly alone, and when the campaign was going on I traveled all over the country—

The CHAIRMAN. You think the women would not have subscribed if you had not done it?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not know. That was the policy of the Treasury, and other men and women went out, you know.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

Elizabeth Bass, member woman's Liberty loan committee, April 27 to May 25, 1918, Washington to Philadelphia, Chicago, Des Moines, etc., \$263.66.

Again—

Washington to St. Louis, Chicago, and other cities, \$208.12.

Mrs. FUNK. Mr. Chairman, perhaps I am under a misapprehension as to why I am here.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here to see if we can find out if there is any connection between the work done in the Liberty loan campaign by you and other women, and the McAdoo candidacy, and to see if that organization was immediately turned over to Mr. McAdoo's assistance.

Mrs. FUNK. Well, it was not. I can tell you that, and I know all about it. He has not any campaign, and the organization was not turned over to him. He would not have it if we tried to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. I find again:

Antoinette Funk, vice chairman, woman's Liberty loan committee, March 1 to April 3, 1918, Washington to Philadelphia and Bethlehem, and return, \$153.11.

How far is it from Washington to Philadelphia and Bethlehem?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not recall that. I think that was a trip where I went all over Pennsylvania, and that is the way I described it.

The CHAIRMAN. Again:

June 13, 1918, Washington to Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Chicago, etc., \$334.09.

Do you remember anything about that?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not remember exactly, except that all of that is evidenced by proper vouchers on file in the Treasury Department.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all work in connection with the Liberty loan?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; and nothing else.

Senator POMERENE. When you presented these several bills, were they itemized?

Mrs. FUNK. Always. They were rendered under the strict Treasury rules.

Senator POMERENE. And they had blanks, did they not, on which to—

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; everything was itemized.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). On which you had to designate whether it was railroad fare, or hotel bill, or what?

Mrs. FUNK. Certainly.

Senator POMERENE. Or Pullman?

Mrs. FUNK. It was all rendered under oath also. Sometimes I went on organization trips, without doing any speaking. I did quite a good deal of that. We had an extensive organization plan.

The CHAIRMAN. I find you in here again:

From June 17 to 29, 1918, Washington to Chicago, Pontiac, Dayton, etc., \$81.13

You made a good many trips in June, did you not?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not remember. I traveled so continuously that I can not remember the dates.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what these other people who were traveling around did? For instance, Mr. Baker, Director of the Mint?

Mrs. FUNK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Appearing on page 11, and whether he was connected with the Liberty loan drive?

Mrs. FUNK. He may have been. That is the men's organization. I do not know anything about that. I only know about the women's organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anybody who was traveling around in this matter who was not a Democrat?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; I do. I was going to call your attention to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was it?

Mrs. FUNK. Mrs. Higinson and Mrs. Vanderlip. They were two of our most active members.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they expense accounts in here?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; they traveled over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Price seems to be here.

Mrs. FUNK. He is not a member of the women's organization.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a sort of director of publicity, was he not?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is Mrs. Bass again, February 28, 1918, Washington to Chicago, Ill., and Milwaukee, and return, \$94.80.

Mrs. FUNK. Mrs. Bass did a great deal of organization work, more than speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is an item of W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, and party, April 6 to May 2, 1918, Washington to Raleigh and Goldsburg, N. C.; Wilmington and Columbia, S. C.; Savannah, Ga.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Mobile, Ala.; New Orleans, La.; Jackson, Miss., etc., \$4,837.79. Were you in that party?

Mrs. FUNK. I have not been in any of the men's parties. My work was confined exclusively to the women's organization.

Senator REED. How many men were on that \$4,000 trip?

The CHAIRMAN. It says "and party."

Senator REED. Who was the man?

The CHAIRMAN. W. G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury.

Senator REED. That is when he went around——

The CHAIRMAN. Swung around the circle.

Here is another one, September 30 to October 25, 1917, Washington to Chicago, Spokane, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Denver, Memphis, Nashville, etc., and return, \$1,844.98.

Senator POMERENE. Is that Mrs. Funk?

The CHAIRMAN. No; that is the Secretary.

Now, in 1919 Liberty loan campaigns and other loan activities, I find an item of Antoinette Funk, vice chairman, woman's Liberty loan committee, August 13 to 25, 1918, Washington to Chicago and return, to New York and Philadelphia and return, \$136.93. Do you remember anything about that?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not remember definitely about that, Senator. I only know it was one of the trips I was obliged to make.

The CHAIRMAN. There were no party conferences anywhere on that trip?

Mrs. FUNK. No party conferences ever at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. September 4, 1918, Washington to Chicago, \$32.08. Chicago is your home, by the way, is it not?

Mrs. FUNK. No; Bloomington is my home.

The CHAIRMAN. Bloomington, Ill.?

Mrs. FUNK. Bloomington, Ill.; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. November 15 to 17, 1918, Washington to New York and return, \$31.07.

November 19, 1918, Washington to Baltimore and return, \$6.55.

November 21 to 22, 1918, Washington to Philadelphia and return, \$29.73.

October 27 to November 7, 1918, Washington to New York and Boston, Concord, N. H., and return. \$60.29.

Senator REED. Is that 1918?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; 1918. September 8 to October 20, 1918, Washington to Chicago and Santa Fe, N. Mex, and return, \$198.48.

Senator REED. There is a matter that ought to be corrected.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Senator REED. A while ago, and asking the question, you called the year 1919, and I thought at the time you were getting into something entirely different before you, but it appears that when you called the year 1919 you merely happened to be looking at the date of the report and not the item.

The CHAIRMAN. I was referring to the report. These expenses were in 1918.

Mrs. FUNK. After the close of the war there were one or two occasions on which I had to make a trip to a Federal reserve bank to straighten out a matter of accounting.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you have to do with the accounting?

Mrs. FUNK. Our committee had everything to do with our accounting. We worked under the direction of the committees which were formed by the Federal reserve banks, which were responsible directly to the Treasury. We had to clear through the Federal reserve banks, and I have had to make various trips on that account. Mrs. Synon, in particular, Mrs. Vanderlip, and I think Mrs. Higinson have had to make trips to the banks in regard to the accounts in order to adjust some matter or difficulty they had in regard to accounting mistakes, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us go on. You again, November 29 to December 2, 1918, Washington to New York City and return, \$60.89. Do you know why you had to go there?

Mrs. FUNK. I did a great deal of work up in New York City. That was during the campaigns, and when the fifth Liberty loan came on all of our organization force were somewhat paralyzed. There seemed to be——

Senator POMERENE. That was known as the Victory loan?

Mrs. FUNK. That was known as the Victory loan. After the armistice was signed everything rather slumped, and we had to do a great deal of work in rebuilding our lines, and a good deal of traveling about to get our organization together again.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there are a number of items running down through here of your expenses. \$104.69, \$29.66, \$259.96, \$18.70, \$73.07, \$272.33, \$40.01, \$20.83, running up to something like \$789, as I figure it. Those are all on trips for the Liberty loan?

Mrs. FUNK. Everything you will find in the Treasury report is.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of these trips are in 1919?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you not in the employ of the Democratic national committee then?

Mrs. FUNK. No. Those trips were the ones I explained where we had to close up certain matters. We had to have some officer here to do some last necessary things. For instance, we had a number of adjustments to make, and because I was here in Washington, I did that adjustment, although there was no regular connection. I did it as a matter of finishing up the business.

The CHAIRMAN. On none of these trips, up to June 21, 1919, were you connected with the Democratic committee in any way?

Mrs. FUNK. Well, in 1919 I was connected with the Democratic committee. I just commenced my connection in June, 1919, just year ago now, almost to the date.

The CHAIRMAN. With the Democratic committee?

Senator POMERENE. With the Democratic committee?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; with the Democratic committee. I really regarded that other work as through, except for these adjustments.

The CHAIRMAN. You went from this work, as you said, in June, where you have charged your expenses against the Government—

Mrs. FUNK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Right into the work for the Democratic national committee?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; I was appointed at that time, but really did not commence work until the fall.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time have you had or seen lists of the workers in the Liberty loan drives?

Mrs. FUNK. I am very glad to tell you about those lists, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You seem to.

Mrs. FUNK. At the close of every loan we published in a pamphlet distributed over this country the name of every officer, our State chairman, our county chairman, and our Federal reserve chairman. I think I have some of those pamphlets around, because I have the Liberty loan literature.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any of those lists been turned over to any parties connected with you in this campaign do you know?

Mrs. FUNK. They do not have to turn them over. They are public property. They were sent out by the hundreds as a part of our propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any literature has been sent out in regard to Mr. McAdoo to the people on those lists?

Mrs. FUNK. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there is any kind of organization for Mr. McAdoo among the people who have done this Liberty loan work in the country?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not know of any organization for Mr. McAdoo; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that there is not any organization for him?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mrs. FUNK. Because I have been somewhat closely connected with Mr. McAdoo, and I know he will not permit it. We have tried hard enough to have an organization, but Mr. McAdoo does not want it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been doing everything you could yourself?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; I have done all I could in Mr. McAdoo's interest, and will continue to do so down to the nomination.

Senator REED. You have that right under the Constitution of the United States, have you not?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. No one is finding any fault with that. We are trying to find out what is being done. What other ladies are engaged in the same work for Mr. McAdoo?

Mrs. FUNK. Not any that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Are your expenses being paid?

Mrs. FUNK. By myself. I have never received a dollar from anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you expect to be reimbursed for what you have spent for Mr. McAdoo?

Mrs. FUNK. I have not spent anything particularly for him.

The CHAIRMAN. All your expenses in connection with traveling around?

Mrs. FUNK. I would like to explain that, too, because I noticed some statements in the paper about my traveling around. I have never traveled around for Mr. McAdoo. It is a fact that I have been in a great many States, but I have been there on other business. For instance, I have attended four or five or possibly six of the Democratic district conventions. My children reside in the West. I have a delicate daughter who has to stay there for the climate, and I go out there two or three times a year, sometimes four times, and my business is in Illinois, and I travel back and forth from there, but I have never traveled a mile for Mr. McAdoo.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you written letters for him?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it been a general organized effort of letter writing for him?

Mrs. FUNK. It has not been, because you not do organize yourself.

The CHAIRMAN. Some people can.

Mrs. FUNK. I have not been able to do it. I have written to a few personal friends, and recently I have sent out letters to such delegates to the San Francisco convention as I have chosen.

The CHAIRMAN. You have sent them to all the delegates?

Mrs. FUNK. All that are chosen so far.

The CHAIRMAN. Urging the nomination of Mr. McAdoo?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, sir; urging his nomination, exactly, and trying to point out to these delegates his availability as a candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. Has any one helped you in that work?

Mrs. FUNK. Not a soul.

The CHAIRMAN. You do that all yourself?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not, of course, write them myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any headings to any of the letters, or anything of that kind?

Mrs. FUNK. No, I have my address at the top, because my signature is illegible.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a personal matter?

Mrs. FUNK. A personal matter entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you spent a large sum, or a small sum?

Mrs. FUNK. A small sum. I have not kept an account, but I should say \$150 would more than cover it. I have not an exact account.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not a very large fund.

Mrs. FUNK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any one else spending money?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not. I do not think any one else is.

The CHAIRMAN. \$150 is all you have spent?

Mrs. FUNK. That is all.

Senator REED. Have you not been in consultation with anyone at all about this matter?

Mrs. FUNK. May I ask, Senator, what consultation is?

The CHAIRMAN. You are a lawyer?

Mrs. FUNK. I thought I used to know, but I have heard the word used so carelessly around Washington that I wanted to be sure that the Senator's mind and my own met.

Senator REED. Where you get together and talk over matters?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, I have, Senator, a few times, but not recently so much, because I do not see him so often as I did before.

Senator REED. About sending out some letters?

Mrs. FUNK.. No, I have never talked to him about that, because Mr. McAdoo did not want me to do it, so I did not tell him until after I had done it.

Senator REED. He is doing it, too, is he not, the same thing?

Mrs. FUNK. Not that I know of. I doubt it. I do not know. Maybe he is.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about people meeting casually now and then, and carrying on a campaign in that way?

Mrs. FUNK. No, I do not, Senator.

Senator REED. I am going to illustrate to you what I am trying to cover.

Mrs. FUNK. I will help you all I can.

Senator REED. I heard once of a combination—in fact, I am quoting now almost from a court record—of what was charged ultimately to be a great trust or combination in restraint of trade. The method that was pursued in organization was this: There was a sort of promoter of a new corporation, and the proprietors of 10 or 15 different corporations that were to be combined, who all happened to be in New York on the same day, and they all went to different hotels, and they never saw each other, and never talked with each other; but the promoter of the new corporation went around from place to place and talked with them about transferring their stock into his new corporation for certain stock in it, and at the end of a few days of that kind of business the whole thing was combined in one corporation, and all of the individuals who had controlled the separate corporations which finally were combined into one were, of course, able to say with perfect truth, "We have had nothing on community with any of the other officers of the other corporations."

Now, I am putting it to you in this way, because it has been broadly intimated that there is such a movement as that being carried on, and let me state it all, because then I will get your answer which will probably cover it—and a lot of people who have been interested in the Liberty loan drives, some of whom were salaried in that, and people that have been holding various offices under the Government and were beneficiaries of Mr. McAdoo, in that way, while they have no headquarters, while they do not meet together and consult, I mean as a body, nevertheless they have an understanding; and that they all pursue in a general way a plan of writing letters and follow-up letters, and letters that transmit the letters of others, and in that way they are carrying on a very effective campaign.

Now, I do not intimate that that is true by asking the question, and I want it understood that I am asking it in that way to cover all the statements that have been made to us. Do you know of anything of that kind?

Mrs. FUNK. No, sir, Senator, and I would like to answer all the parts of your question, if you will permit, because I have heard of some circumstances which will throw on the matter a little light, I think. Recently, since I have been sending out letters to delegates, I have heard from quite a considerable number of them. Some delegates have written to me and said, "I have received your letter, and I am glad to get it. I have been receiving literature from presidential candidates, but your letter is the first one I have received about Mr. McAdoo," and in some instances they have said, "Won't you send us something more?"

On the other hand, I have received letters from delegates in other portions of the country, saying, "I have been getting a good many letters about Mr. McAdoo." So from that I concluded that Mr. McAdoo's friends are writing letters perhaps to their own delegates or nearby. I want to be perfectly honest, but I would like to be as clear as I can in stating this situation about Mr. McAdoo, because I think I know it. A very great many people that I know are very keen to have Mr. McAdoo nominated at the San Francisco convention. As I have gone about over the country, I have found so much McAdoo sentiment generally that all I can say is that it seems to be a sort of ground swell, and I think that is what has confused this committee in looking for headquarters.

Now, we wanted the many friends of Mr. McAdoo, some of them who had been associated with him officially, and very many who had not, as I have found them about over the country in various places, hoped that he would have an organization. Mr. McAdoo refused. I have talked with him about it hours on end.

The CHAIRMAN. How many hours do you think you have discussed this matter with him?

Mrs. FUNK. I would hate to tell you. The last time I discussed the question with him I hopelessly gave it up. I talked with him at his home from immediately after dinner until 2 o'clock in the morning, and I could not budge him on that point. He will not have an organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked with him from what time?

Mrs. FUNK. Immediately after dinner.

The CHAIRMAN. Until 2 o'clock the next morning?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he do any of the talking?

Mrs. FUNK. I did the major portion of it. He refused and refused. I did not expect that of you, Senator Kenyon.

The CHAIRMAN. I just put it out to you, because we have got to get through here.

Senator REED. He is taking advantage of his position, that is all.

Mrs. FUNK. He refused to let us do any organized work. He said he wants the delegates to go uninstructed, and the best men selected, and he will not go into the struggle for delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with him about getting into Pennsylvania?

Mrs. FUNK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did he happen to get into Pennsylvania?

Mrs. FUNK. Now, Senator, you are arguing with me. I do not know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to argue with you. Was there not a campaign made for McAdoo in Pennsylvania?

Mrs. FUNK. There has never been a campaign for McAdoo made anywhere. I heard a reference here to one having been made in Michigan. Let me tell you about Michigan, because I know about it. Mr. McAdoo's name was filed by some person in Michigan. He wrote up to have it withdrawn and found out that under the Michigan law it could not be withdrawn. Then he sent a notice, which I have no doubt some of you saw, to the chairman, saying that if any delegates by any chance considered himself bound to him as a result of the election, he would release him. I do know this, that a group of people in a number of the States have wanted to submit his name, and he would not permit it.

The CHAIRMAN. His friends did the same thing in Pennsylvania?

Mrs. FUNK. I do not know anything about Pennsylvania. I know that there was no McAdoo campaign on there that had anything to do with him or any of his friends that I know anything about. I never heard of it before.

Senator REED. Just one other question, and I am through. You were engaged in the Liberty loan work, and gave to it during the time those booms were on, all of your time and your energy, and you sought in every way possible to enlist the enthusiastic support of the women of the country?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes, indeed.

Senator REED. In doing that you traveled from place to place, and returned your actual expenses, and other people were engaged in the Liberty loan work, men and women, all over the United States, and some, or all of them, returned their actual expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. You say all of them?

Senator REED. I say some, or all of them, perhaps all, but some of them did. Of those who were engaged in the work regularly I presume all did.

Mrs. FUNK. They had to; yes.

Senator REED. And these items you have had your attention called to are for your immediate expenses in that campaign, and had nothing to do with politics?

Mrs. FUNK. No.

Senator REED. Except, being a woman interested in public affairs, if you had a private talk, or a private conversation, you might have talked Democratic politics?

Mrs. FUNK. I was much more apt to talk Republican politics and say what I thought about them, than I was to say what I thought about Democratic politics.

Senator REED. But at that time you were not doing so much political work, that being a nonpolitical campaign for money?

Mrs. FUNK. No political work at all.

Senator REED. All the Republications were contributing just as generously as the Democrats?

Mrs. FUNK. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a salary?

Mrs. FUNK. No; I had an expense account. I had an actual expense account; it was not a salary.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not a salary?

Mrs. FUNK. No.

Senator REED. You gave your time——

Mrs. FUNK. All of it. During the time I had an expense account I gave every minute of my time. I might say to you in connection with that expense account—you see for the women there, that the final account you will find in the Treasury reports shows that, dollar for dollar, on the raising of money, the women's campaign cost just one seventh of what the campaign did, dollar for dollar, conducted by the men's committees under the Federal Reserve Banks, so that you would not think we were wasting money, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You have my opinion about wasting money in the Liberty loan campaigns.

Mrs. FUNK. Well, we got the returns.

Senator POMERENE. The most strenuous of those campaigns was the last one, the Victory loan?

Mrs. FUNK. Yes; everything had slumped, and it was really very difficult. I have worked 16 hours a day during that period of time.

Senator POMERENE. I personally know that it was much more difficult to raise that loan than it was the others.

Mrs. FUNK. It was very hard.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

(Subsequent to the testimony of the witness the Chairman submitted for the record the following letter from her:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 2, 1920.

HON. WILLIAM S. KENYON,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR KENYON: I think I made a mistake in my testimony this morning which I should correct.

Early in the Liberty loan I made an estimate of my living expenses, at \$55 a week. When Mr. Glass came into the Treasury at the beginning of the fifth loan, my account showed that I had spent about \$1,500 for my living expenses in excess of the amount drawn, and from that time on I received \$75 a week, the same being paid as salary, although this amount was fixed on an estimate of actual living expenses.

I had entirely forgotten the details of the arrangement until after I left the stand.

Yours, very truly,

ANTOINETTE FUNK.

TESTIMONY OF MR. H. F. SINCLAIR.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. SINCLAIR. Oil business. I am president of the Sinclair Oil Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does that company operate?

Mr. SINCLAIR. Practically all over the world?.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the Pennsylvania primary campaign?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I had perhaps as much to do with it as anybody in the State. I organized the campaign in opposition to Mitchell Palmer, took entire charge of it, saw to everything in connection with it, and whatever was done in relation to that campaign in opposition to Palmer I know all about, and a great deal about the other side.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send out any ballots there with Mr. McAdoo's name on them?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Would you like to see one of them?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir. [Witness handed paper to chairman].

The CHAIRMAN. You had a set of delegates at large to the national convention?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This was a McAdoo movement, was it? I see you say, "Vote for a real man for President, William G. McAdoo."

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN (reading):

His name is not on ballot. Write William G. McAdoo under A. Mitchell Palmer, and do not mark Palmer's name. Let Pennsylvania lead.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir. That was exclusively and entirely the act of myself and my colleagues in Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. Your colleagues?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send these all over the State?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any talk with Mr. McAdoo about that before you did?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any correspondence?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, sir. If you will permit me, perhaps I can enlighten you on what you want and at the same time save a little questioning.

When we held our preliminary meetings to organize the opposition to Palmer we realized that we ought to have, if we could, a candidate for presidential preference. I, therefore, after sounding the sentiment throughout the State—I had been traveling over the State extensively making addresses and organizing, because I am Pennsylvania State chairman of the Pennsylvania Commission on Irish Independence, in charge of their bond drives—I found such a sentiment for McAdoo that he was the choice of the people opposed to the Palmer machine. I wrote to Mr. McAdoo asking for an interview with him. I met him on January 2 and had about 30 minutes' conversation with him.

The CHAIRMAN. That was as long as Mrs. Funk's conversation.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Mr. McAdoo took the attitude that he was not a candidate, and he would not be a candidate in the sense of seeking the nomination; that he would not authorize or acquiesce in any avowed friend of his being a candidate, and that, so far as he was concerned, he did not want the nomination and he would not seek it. I protested to him that the shape in which the Palmer campaign was being manipulated as an administration campaign, with the astound-

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Mr. Stebbins?

Mr. BRIDGE. New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen him lately?

Mr. BRIDGE. I never saw him.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never seen him at all?

Mr. BRIDGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you can not tell us where he is.

Mr. BRIDGE. From the circulars of the league, I gathered that he was in New York, and I sent my check there, and I received an acknowledgment.

The CHAIRMAN. You received an acknowledgment from him?

Mr. BRIDGE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago was that?

Mr. BRIDGE. The 7th of May.

Senator REED. How much was the contribution?

Mr. BRIDGE. \$1,000.

Senator REED. Do you know whether Mr. Coheney contributed?

Mr. BRIDGE. No, sir; I do not think he has. He has not unless he has done it since he left for California a week ago. I feel very sure that he has not.

Senator REED. Do you know of any other contributions that have been made to any of the campaign funds?

Mr. BRIDGE. No; except as I gather from the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any personal knowledge—we are trying to keep away from rumors. Have you any personal knowledge of any contributions to the same campaign fund to which you contributed?

Mr. BRIDGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any personal knowledge of contributions to any of the other campaign funds?

Mr. BRIDGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you have ever contributed to this fund?

Mr. BRIDGE. I have frequently, being a Republican, in years gone by.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not asking as to that. This particular Wood campaign is all we are asking about.

Mr. BRIDGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you agreed in any way to assume any portion of the obligations?

Mr. BRIDGE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That ends your contribution?

Mr. BRIDGE. Yes, sir. I was never asked to do it except by circular?

The CHAIRMAN. From Mr. Stebbins' office?

Mr. BRIDGE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. Much obliged to you.

TESTIMONY OF JUDGE EUGENE C. BONNIWELL.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in Philadelphia, Judge?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the general scope of this inquiry, I presume?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

ing misuse of the powers of the Department of Justice and the internal-revenue office, as evidenced in Pennsylvania, even at that stage, that there was a menace of the utmost gravity facing the Democratic Party, and that I could not see how a man of his standing and service to the country could refuse to be a candidate if it were necessary to defeat this man.

Mr. McAdoo said that he did not believe that it would be necessary to call on him to be a candidate to avoid that eventuality. I then asked him if he would not agree to let his name go on the ballot. It requires 10 county signatories, with a hundred electors in each county, and he said flatly that he would not. The last statement between us was, I said to him, "Mr. McAdoo, if it should develop"—no, prior to that he said in his judgment that the decent and proper thing for the Democracy of the Nation to do was to elect an uninstructed delegation, and when they gathered at the convention, in view of the situation at the meeting of the convention to agree upon the man best fitted to represent the party.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell him you were going into the campaign?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, for this reason: That was in January. Our primaries were in May, and I had not, at that time discussed with more than two or three or four of our advisors, and we were preparing then to hold a State meeting, and I wanted if possible to be able to see if we could count upon his signature in the event of taking up nomination papers for him. But he flatly refused. He reiterated that the delegations ought to be uninstructed. That was the only communication I had with Mr. McAdoo.

Subsequently, coming to Washington here October 25—I am an officer of the Order of Washington, and the annual banquet of that order was held in Washington at the Lafayette Hotel on the 25th. One of the speakers was Senator Thomas and another speaker was Mr. Roper. Mr. Roper and I were seated at the table and we fell into a discussion of politics, and I learned that Mr. Roper was very friendly to Mr. McAdoo, and I discussed with him my chart with Mr. McAdoo, and my feeling that Mr. McAdoo was the man who ought to be named. He, however, said that the situation was precisely as Mr. McAdoo had told me; that he would not permit his friends to campaign; and that they were tied hand and foot.

Then as the fight in Pennsylvania progressed, I had occasion about 10 or 12 days prior to our own primaries to go to New York. At that time the McAdoo feeling was rising higher and higher in Pennsylvania. I had occasion to go over and meet the heads of the American Commission on Irish Independence, and I took occasion to secure from Congressman Moran, Mr. Roper's address in New York, and finding that I had time, I telephoned Mr. Roper and asked him to take dinner with me. We had dinner together, and I told him we had our fight in excellent shape in Pennsylvania and that it was in my mind to put his name on the ballot, even if we had to write it in. He said, "For what purpose?" "For the purpose of evidencing a substantial sentiment for Mr. McAdoo among the people of Pennsylvania," I said. "Surely if any number of voters would go to the trouble on the complex ballot to write his name on the ballot, it ought to be evidence that there is a popular demand for him."

Mr. BONNIWELL. That is my information. I got it from one of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course you do not know that all the Federal officeholders received it?

Mr. BONNIWELL. They were generally received around the Internal-Revenue Office in Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Sterling's legal connection? There has been some evidence here of his appearing for certain former officers of the Crucible Steel Co.

Mr. BONNIWELL. I can not say that I do except what your own evidence shows.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the State manager?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes; it carries on that letterhead, "State chairman, primary committee."

(The letter referred to is here printed in the record, as follows:)

PALMER PRIMARY COMMITTEE.

Harrisburg, Pa., May 5, 1920.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have been appointed district treasurer of the Palmer primary committee, for the first district. The first district comprises Philadelphia County.

If you believe that Democracy in Pennsylvania is worth preserving, then you must defend it from sapping within the ranks as well as from external attack.

The Pershing of Pennsylvania Democracy has without doubt been A. Mitchell Palmer. He has stood by the President and the doughboys as that great leader stood by Gen. Foch. The call is sounded. Will you help?

The writer will be glad to see you at his office or upon receipt of your contribution will mail to you an official receipt.

PALMER PRIMARY COMMITTEE.

By JOSEPH K. WILLING,

District Treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. There was another letter that you spoke of.

Mr. BONNIWELL. I did not put that in my bag, apparently. I thought I had it in the envelope. It was very much on the scope of that letter, except that it was addressed to a citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge that Federal office holders contributed to the Palmer campaign?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. I think in the statement that was presented here there were no Federal office holders. There were some gentlemen who were connected with corporations taken over under the alien property custodian act.

Mr. BONNIWELL. That is not—if you will pardon me—that is not the issue so far as it affects Pennsylvania. The issue in Pennsylvania, so far as the primary campaign is concerned, is the most ghastly, the most debasing degradation of the Federal power in every shape and form, so far as it could be tainted by either the complacency of the Attorney General's Office or the degradation of the internal-revenue office.

The CHAIRMAN. Explain that.

Mr. BONNIWELL. I say that there was built up as an important part of this Government enforcement, component parts that mutely and eloquently spoke to every lawbreaker that he was to be protected in his violation of the prohibition act.

The CHAIRMAN. Enlarge on that a little.

Mr. BONNIWELL. I will show what I mean. I will state, not because of its implication, but because of its nearness to Palmer, the mayor of Scranton said that Scranton is the wettest spot outside of the Atlantic Ocean; that is, the district around there. There are a great many distilleries and breweries there. The district attorney for that district is Roger Burnett, Mr. Palmer's partner.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the United States district attorney?

Mr. BONNIWELL. He is the United States district attorney. But the leader whose say-so is essential to every appointment in that district, is Joseph O'Brien, one of the Palmer delegates elected from Lackawanna County, counsel for most of the breweries and distilleries.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the breweries and distilleries running up there?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Wait a minute. Let me be sure on that. Do you say that the distilleries are running? Are they making whisky?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I mean that the breweries are making beer. The distilleries are not running, but the bonded warehouses are wide open.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of beer are they making?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Better than one-half of 1 per cent beer, considerably. The matter, Senators, is a matter of such widespread and infamous administration of law that this thing has done more harm among those un-Americanized foreigners in that section as to utterly destroy their regard for the Federal Government in the State of Pennsylvania.

Senator REED. Are saloons running?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Wide open.

Senator REED. What are they selling?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Whisky and $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent beer.

Senator REED. Can a man walk right in and ask for a glass of whisky?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir. [Laughter.] Any saloon, practically, in Lackawanna, Luzerne, and Schuylkill Counties, and a great many in Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they selling beer right over the counter?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir. Now let me show you what I mean.

Senator REED. What county is that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Half a dozen.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell Senator Reed how far it is up there.

Mr. BONNIWELL. You do not have to go farther than Philadelphia.

Senator REED. I am talking about this county that is said to be the wettest place outside of the Atlantic Ocean.

Mr. BONNIWELL. That is what the mayor called it this morning in the paper.

Senator REED. What county?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Lackawanna County.

Senator REED. Scranton is the county seat?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the district where Palmer's partner is practicing as district attorney?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, with headquarters at Scranton.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of these brewers on the national delegation to San Francisco?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir; A. J. Casey is one of Palmer's delegates at large.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does he live?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Scranton.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any others?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Charles A. Fagin, who was counsel for years and probably still is—although I am not certain of that—but has been counsel of the Pittsburgh brewery for years. He is on the Palmer ticket for delegate at large.

Senator REED. Are there any more of that business on the delegation you have spoken of?

Mr. BONNIWELL. If I had a copy of the ballot I could tell you possibly. You are asking now about a matter I have not thought of. No; there are none others who are engaged in the liquor business.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any Federal officers on that delegation?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, sir. Going a step further, the enforcement official for Lackawanna County is the Democratic county chairman under the control of Mr. O'Brien.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. O'Brien?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Joseph O'Brien is the undisputed Democratic primary leader of that district.

The CHAIRMAN. The Democratic boss?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The prohibition enforcement officer is who?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Grady, a man named Grady, who was the Democratic county chairman last year. The district enforcement officer—I am not quite clear as to the delineation of it—is Leo Crossen, who, I am informed, is a brother-in-law of Mr. O'Brien.

Senator REED. What is that man?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Leo Crossen? He is the district prohibition enforcement officer, and therefore you have the situation of every official in the State of the Department of Justice or a prohibition enforcement officer appointed with Mr. Palmer's visé, that the law is openly and notoriously violated, and with no source to which you can appeal for the rectification of this condition. In Ohio three weeks ago the Ohio authorities seized a truck load of liquor, with 30 barrels of whisky on it, and when they were arrested they found two revenue officers on it.

The CHAIRMAN. What were they doing?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Convoying it, delivering it. They sent this liquor with the prohibition enforcement officers on it so as to secure safe delivery.

Senator REED. You spoke of Ohio. We had not gotten across the State line. Were these men who were protecting or convoying this convoy, this 30 barrels of liquor, was that Pennsylvania whisky?

Mr. BONNIWELL. That was Pennsylvania whisky.

Senator REED. Taken from where?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Taken probably from the large distillery in Allegheny County.

Senator REED. Where is that located?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In Allegheny County near Pittsburgh. Why, Senator, the law officers of New Jersey stopped a truck load of whisky consigned to Summit Hill, and the drivers naively said that they had lost their way. They were on their way to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they accompanied by Federal officers?

Mr. BONNIWELL. They were not under convoy. They had these permits for delivery, that are issued just as freely as a man would issue a pass to the zoo in Pennsylvania. I have two here. That is the way in which a Government official issues an order to get liquor, with typewritten signatures.

(The permits are here printed in the record as follows:)

PERMIT TO PURCHASE INTOXICATING LIQUOR, ETC., FOR OTHER THAN BEVERAGE PURPOSES.

Serial No. of permit, B-55.

Quantity of distilled spirits received since January 1, 1920, 4,505.55 proof gallons.
MARCH 19, 1920.

To Federal prohibition director at Scranton, Pa.:

The undersigned permit holder requests permission to purchase or to procure from Gallagher & Burton (Inc.), of 1204 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa., the following-described intoxicating liquors or other preparations for other than beverage purposes:

Rye whisky, number of packages, 6 cases; wine gallons, 14.40; proof, 80; proof gallons, 11.52; tax gallons, 11.5.

JOHN E. ZERBEY,
Summit Hill, Pa.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of March, 1920.

J. H. DIVEI,
Deputy Collector.

The above-described intoxicating liquors were shipped April 12, 1920.

GALLAGHER & BURTON (Inc.),
Philadelphia.

MARCH 19, 1920.

The above application is hereby approved.

FRED C. KIRKENDALL,
Federal Prohibition Inspector.

PERMIT TO PURCHASE INTOXICATING LIQUOR, ETC., FOR OTHER THAN BEVERAGE PURPOSES.

Serial No. of permit, B-55.

Quantity of distilled spirits received since January 1, 1920, proof gallons, 4,505.55.
MARCH 19, 1920.

To Federal prohibition director at Scranton, Pa.:

The undersigned permit holder requests permission to purchase or to procure from Gallagher & Burton (Inc.), of 1204 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa., the following-described intoxicating liquors or other preparations for other than beverage purposes:

Rye whisky: number of packages, 3 cases; wine gallons, 12; proof, 80; proof gallons, 9.60; tax gallons, 9.6.

JOHN E. ZERBEY,
Summit Hill, Pa.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 19th day of March, 1920.

J. H. DIVEI, *Deputy Collector.*

The above-described intoxicating liquors were shipped April, 1920.

GALLAGHER & BURTON (INC.),
Philadelphia.

MARCH 19, 1920.

The above application is hereby approved.

FRED C. KIRKENDALL,
Federal Prohibition Director.

The CHAIRMAN. It is approved by Kirkendall?

Mr. BONNIWELL. He is the Federal prohibition director.

Senator REED. This has been signed once.

Mr. BONNIWELL. All I know is that the statement made to me was that whisky was delivered on it.

Senator REED. Has it not been signed? You say the signatures were in typewriting. How about the consignee?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The consignee signs that when he gets it.

Senator REED. Look at that between you and the light, and see if the signature of somebody has not been signed on that line.

Mr. BONNIWELL. It looks to me as if they started a typewritten signature on it. I think you will find that you can see remnants of a typewriter on that.

Senator REED. Perhaps you are right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, does all this enter into this presidential primary?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In this way: There is no question, I take it, in Pennsylvania that I would have elected my entire ticket as delegate and beaten Duffy for national committeeman had it not been for this sudden unloosening of liquor.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the contest came on for President, were these things going on?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, sir; the law was enforced with considerable rigidity.

The CHAIRMAN. The laws were enforced?

Mr. BONNIWELL. With considerable rigidity. The saloons were generally closed, and there was—as a matter of fact, the best evidence was the price of liquor. The price of whisky just before this campaign got under way ranged from \$1,600 to \$1,900 a barrel. As soon as the campaign got well under way and it was evident that I and my friends around the State would make a determined fight against Palmer, they opened up these bonded warehouses, with the result that whisky could be bought for \$900 when it was \$1,600 two weeks before.

Senator REED. What was the price to the ultimate consumer?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The whisky that was sold was, say, 90 proof, and it was watered down to 70 or 75 proof, and they sold it at 60 cents and 75 cents a glass.

The CHAIRMAN. If it started in at \$1,600 and got down to \$900 half way through the primary, what was it when the primaries ended?

Senator REED. If you fellows keep on you will elect Palmer President for reducing the price of whiskey.

Mr. BONNIWELL. It was first directed in counties where I was strong, and then it was extended into the other counties.

Senator REED. Do you not understand that Mr. Palmer has been engaged in reducing the high cost of living as part of his service?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I wish my wife could be persuaded of it.

Senator REED. Here is evidence of it.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Not to the consumer. There are four men in Lackawanna County who are credited with having made \$3,000,000 as a result of this.

Senator REED. Who?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Cornelius Dorrian, A. J. Casey, delegate at large; P. F. Cusack, another brewer; and Andrew Breslin, a Palmer leader, at Carbon County.

The CHAIRMAN. They all live where?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Three live in Scranton, and Breslin lives at Summithill.

The CHAIRMAN. They are credited with making \$3,000,000 out of this. How did they do it?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In this fashion. Each of these men, I am informed, put up \$25,000. You see, before they get the liquor out of bond for nonbeverage purposes, the people must furnish a bond and each put up \$25,000, and they took out the bond in Dorrian's name. Practically all the liquor transactions in that section of the country have been operated through Dorrian or through Breslin, who was a Palmer delegate at large. Breslin came to Philadelphia and opened headquarters at the Bingham Hotel and sent for every Philadelphia liquor dealer and told them that if they did not abandon my campaign——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I have it from one of the men that were present.

Senator REED. Who was he?

Mr. BONNIWELL. James H. Pierson.

Senator REED. Where does he live?

Mr. BONNIWELL. He lives in Philadelphia. I would have to have a phone book to get his address. He is a responsible liquor dealer.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the man who told you?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. BONNIWELL. During the campaign.

Senator REED. Where were you when he told you?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In my office in Philadelphia.

Senator REED. Judge, I want to get the facts.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Surely, I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not understand who is the man who did the threatening.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Andrew Breslin, a Palmer delegate from Carbon County.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate to San Francisco?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is not much comfort for Mr. Bryan in this delegation is there?

Mr. BONNIWELL. There are a lot of wet delegates who feel pledged to the liquor people in Pennsylvania.

Senator REED. What else about liquor?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In Northampton County——

Senator REED. Give us the particular town.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Easton, Congressman Styles's district —— in Northampton County, I was informed only yesterday that the Federal agents collected contributions from the hotel keepers themselves for the Palmer campaign.

Senator REED. Who gave you that information?

The CHAIRMAN. I doubt, Senator——

Senator REED. He said he was informed. Let us get the name.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Well, I want to——

Senator REED. I do not want to get rumors in here.

The CHAIRMAN. We are getting so much rumor, which we are trying to keep away from. That is pure rumor.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Is this a rumor, that Mr. Francis E. Walter saw a check which one saloon keeper gave to Parke Davis, the Palmer leader for his district, for this purpose?

Senator REED. What was the name of the witness you mentioned a minute ago? You gave his name.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Francis E. Walter.

Senator REED. Where does he live?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In Easton.

Senator REED. What is the name of the man who gave the check?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I do not know.

Senator REED. Who was it saw the check?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Mr. Walter, and Parke Davis is the Palmer leader of the twenty-sixth congressional district, in complete charge of the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any further information?

Mr. BONNIWELL. If you will call Judge John M. Gorman, one of the leading judges of Pennsylvania, of Wilkes-Barre, he will tell you a story of an orgy in relation to liquor in those two counties that will open your eyes. Why, the brewers have had some of the real beer seized for investigation purposes and have been told where the barrel was, and have had a barrel of near beer substituted at night so that when the chemist examined it he declared it near beer. We have convicted two enforcement officials for blackmailing saloon keepers. Another was held on a charge of assault and battery with intent to kill. That is only a part of it. We have a Post Office Department about which several complaints have been made. Mail of mine that was sent on May 12 did not reach me until May 20. In other words, my mail was held up until a day after the primaries.

The CHAIRMAN. May 12 to 20, is that unusual?

Mr. BONNIWELL. It was in this campaign, because all the other mail was delivered.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this just campaign material?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Personal letters and campaign material. My circumstances are such that I had to depend largely on 1-cent stamps, so it was easy to ascertain the contents of an envelope and to suppress it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who could have given orders to suppress that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I was the chairman for Michael J. Ryan at the time Mr. Ryan was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor. When I myself became a candidate for governor in 1918, one of the smaller postmasters, who has since resigned, in the western part of the State, warned me not to use a corner card on my envelope. I asked him why, and he said, "If you do, particularly near the end of the primary campaign, your mail will not be delivered in a lot of places." Now, I tested that. I took a trip up the State from Altoona to Erie. I was making short one-hour or two-hour stops. I would send part of my mail ahead, to tell the voters I would be there in plain envelopes, and some of it with corner cards, and where the envelopes with corner cards were used in many cases they did not arrive until the next day.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In 1918. That has nothing to do with this. I was nominated for governor and did not follow it up. I have a letter from Pittsburgh dated May 12 that did not reach me until the 20th.

Senator REED. This year in the campaign?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of the primary?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The 19th of May.

Senator REED. You were nominated by the Democratic Party in 1918?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes; against the Palmer machine.

The CHAIRMAN. You have quite a bit of feeling, you and the Palmer machine.

(At the request of Senator Reed, the witness's answer was stricken from the record.)

Senator REED. Have you held any office in Pennsylvania?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I am a judge of the municipal court of Philadelphia now.

Senator REED. How long have you held that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Since 1913.

Senator REED. Do you know of other counties in the State where saloons were permitted to open, or liquor was permitted to be sold, the law being relaxed during the time of or immediately prior to the Palmer campaign?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes. It commenced in Lackawanna County, it spread then to Luzerne, and then down into Schuylkill County. Only a week before the primaries, or nine days before the primaries, it crossed into Northampton, and those were the great democratic counties of the State, a very large democratic majority there. This work there was as effective as it was in the other counties, Carbon County—you see, Senators, those four counties, Lackawanna, Luzerne, Schuylkill, and Carbon, jut into one another, like an inverted angle. You cross roads into all four of them at times without being sure which one you are in. Summithill, one of the main distributing points, is in Carbon County. Orwigsburg, a distributing point, is just across in Schuylkill County. Coming on down in some degree into Berks and Lackawanna Counties, and the far west became very loose in the way of liquor about two weeks before the primary.

Senator REED. Let me ask you, who are the enforcement officers for the whole state?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The chief enforcement officer is W. Wayne Hyndman. Hyndman was State senator.

Senator REED. Where does he live?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In Clarion. He was defeated for election and then appointed an enforcement officer. He was of course one of the very close and valued friends of the Palmer organization, one of their spokesmen.

Senator REED. Now, is there only one officer for the State?

Mr. BONNIWELL. He is the State enforcement officer.

Senator REED. Does he have deputies under him?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator REED. For each county?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I think they are divided into internal revenue districts.

Senator REED. Is there more than one in each district.

Mr. BONNIWELL. For instance, I noticed that Leo A. Dailly, enforcement officer for Philadelphia, had resigned. That is the only information I have on it. I do not know just what system they follow. I know in Philadelphia we have as alleged enforcement officers men from Scranton. For instance, there is an ex-pugilist there named Connors, who is now under heavy bail for nearly killing a man in one of the Philadelphia saloons.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the saloons running in Philadelphia openly?

Mr. BONNIWELL. They are open. Of course the bulk of them, I will say probably more than half of them, are obeying the law under very great temptation because their neighbors are doing the other thing.

Senator REED. Judge, are you a prohibitionist?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I am an old-fashioned Democrat.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some.

Mr. BONNIWELL. There are some, and you will find that out before election is over. I believe that the State has the exclusive right in domestic concerns. I made my campaign on that issue. I made it without money, and in spite of the Palmer machine I won in the primary by 15,000.

The CHAIRMAN. For national committeeman?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No. The nomination for governor in 1918.

Senator REED. I merely asked you in order to get your viewpoint at this time. You then are not what is known as a prohibitionist?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No.

Senator REED. What you say then about the saloons being opened, you are not saying from the prejudiced standpoint of a man who may be a very strong prohibitionist?

Mr. BONNIWELL. On the contrary, I am opposed to the eighteenth amendment, and I am opposed to any restrictions upon personal habits and liberty. At the same time I do not think any self-respecting citizen can justify a violation of law no matter how much he opposes it, when there are legal means to obtain a redress.

Thereupon, at 12.50 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS.

The committee met at 3.10 o'clock p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess, Senator Selden P. Spencer (acting chairman) presiding.

TESTIMONY OF JUDGE EUGENE C. BONNIWELL—Resumed.

Senator SPENCER. Judge Bonniwell, I notice here a letter. There seems to be no date to it.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Which letter is that?

Senator SPENCER. A letter without date advocating the eligibility of Mr. McAdoo for President.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Were any questions asked you about that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Not about that particular letter.

Senator SPENCER. How many of those went out eventually?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Two hundred and sixty thousand.

Senator SPENCER. Was that in connection with any organization the interests of Mr. McAdoo?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, sir; if by that you mean an organization that had any relation to Mr. McAdoo himself. I stated before the committee, sir, in the morning session, that Democrats in Pennsylvania were opposed to the methods of the Palmer organization, prepared for a contest in district national delegates, including the contest for national committeeman. There being a presidential primary, it was our belief that the selection of a candidate of real character and standing would be of benefit to our ticket. I have already detailed to the committee my meeting with Mr. McAdoo at my request, January 2, and Mr. McAdoo's declaration that he was not a candidate, and did not know any circumstances under which he would become an active candidate, and his exhortation that we should do as he advised in his Georgia letter, send uninstructed delegates to the convention in order that at the convention they might act for the good of the party. That was the only meeting I had with Mr. McAdoo in any manner, shape, or form, or our committee, have any assistance of any sort from any friends of Mr. McAdoo. Our contest in Pennsylvania was exclusively from within Pennsylvania by men personally interested and desirous of building up a proper Democratic organization.

Senator SPENCER. Did that organization have its origin mostly in the desire for Mr. McAdoo or in the opposition to Gen. Palmer?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The organization was one in opposition to Mr. Palmer extending over a period of two or three years. As you will see I think from the letter I have here, and our platforms, all of which were printed, do not carry Mr. McAdoo's name.

Senator SPENCER. The letter to which I called your attention does mention Mr. McAdoo's name.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Were there any other letters that carried Mr. McAdoo's name?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Nothing except an open letter to the voters of Pennsylvania.

Senator SPENCER. How many of those were sent out?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I should say 2,000. Here is a copy of that. [Indicating.]

Senator SPENCER. Was a copy of that presented this morning?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No.

Senator SPENCER. The cost of this publicity in connection with Mr. McAdoo is about how much?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The cost of the publicity was an item of our State-wide fight that we did not calculate. We had to put in the paragraph in relation to McAdoo, and if we had not put that in we would have put in something else. We counted his name as an asset, not a liability.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, your State-wide campaign was in opposition to Gen. Palmer, and McAdoo was an incident?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Your conversation with McAdoo did not discourage you in your efforts to secure his nomination?

Mr. BONNIWELL. We deferred our conferences in the hope that he would change his mind, but he continued to say to Michigan and other places that he did not desire to have his name on the ballot, and, inasmuch as under our law you can not put a name on the ballot without having his signature, it precluded our doing so.

Senator SPENCER. What is the date of the letter?

Mr. BONNIWELL. About May 12.

Senator SPENCER. 1920?

Mr. BONNIWELL. 1920.

Senator SPENCER. Your conversation with Mr. McAdoo was in January?

Mr. BONNIWELL. January 2.

Senator SPENCER. And there was nothing in your conversation with Mr. McAdoo on January 2, or what you heard about that time or since, that discouraged you from actively advocating the selection of delegates for him or in support of his candidacy for President?

Senator REED. Senator, I think that was all gone over this morning in the very greatest detail.

Senator SPENCER. The witness just said it was not.

Mr. BONNIWELL. I said that you had not asked me about the letter.

Senator SPENCER. That is what I am asking you about now.

Senator REED. So as to save time—you can go on and get the witnesses' testimony—but in the morning he stated that he went to New York and had a talk with Mr. McAdoo and Mr. McAdoo had said that he was not a candidate and that he would not permit them to print his name or file his name as a candidate, but that there was a great deal of McAdoo sentiment in his State, and Judge Bonniwell and his crowd advocated McAdoo and tried to get a delegation for him nevertheless.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Precisely.

Senator SPENCER. Is that your recollection of it?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Of this letter you sent out about 260,000 copies?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. And no inquiry was made this morning in connection with that letter?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No.

Senator SPENCER. Did you keep any separate account of the expense incidental to that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. You see I am asking for election as national committeeman. I am filing an account covering all my expenses.

Senator SPENCER. What is the aggregate?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The aggregate of all expenditures?

Senator SPENCER. Was that given this morning?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No. The aggregate is \$14,857.44, practically all of my disbursements to a penny.

Senator SPENCER. Is that the aggregate?

Mr. BONNIWELL. That is the aggregate.

Senator SPENCER. Including the sending out of the 260,000 of these letters?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir. I sent them out with 1-cent stamps. I could not get any more money; therefore had to do it at that rate.

Senator SPENCER. Was that letter to which I have referred sent out before or after this letter of May 18, entitled "An open letter"?

Mr. BONNIWELL. That letter was the first.

Senator SPENCER. And the other one went within a few days?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Are those the only two letters in which Mr. McAdoo's name was mentioned especially?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes; except the ballot which carried the name at the head, and we distributed as many stickers—we bought 200,000 stickers and distributed them as best we could, but that distribution—our county organization was ineffective.

Senator SPENCER. How many ballots did you send out?

Mr. BONNIWELL. One with every letter. There was a total of 309,000 letters. I sent a special letter in a certain county.

Senator EDGE. What was the result of the ballot in Pennsylvania? You may have had that this morning, but I was not here. The result of the ballot in Pennsylvania after this activity?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The official count is not completed in Pennsylvania. The last return that I was able to get was only in relation to the national committee with 4,700 and some precincts out of 7,118. I think Mr. Duffy had 48,000 votes and I had 39,000.

Senator EDGE. About 60 per cent of the ballot. That does not include all the larger precincts?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I could not say. Philadelphia is not in that—that is, not officially. Luzerne is not in it and Allegheny is not all in.

Senator EDGE. What proportion of the total ballot does that include?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I would say it is close to 70 per cent. Now, the result of the stickers, however, was that Mr. McAdoo ran in Philadelphia only 200 votes less than Mr. Palmer, although his name had to be stuck in. In Berks County there was the same result. Palmer led by only 179 votes in a total ballot of over 6,000.

Senator REED. Is there anything else that you wanted to add to the testimony you gave this morning with reference to the claim that Government officials were engaged in promoting the campaign?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I should like to present for the committee's consideration authoritative articles printed by two of the most responsible papers in the country, the Philadelphia Record and the Philadelphia North American.

Senator REED. We will look at them before we receive them.

Mr. BONNIWELL. These papers, several of them, contain signed articles by special writers. They give the names, the places, and in some cases the name of the enforcement officer who received \$5,000 from a whisky seller.

Senator REED. Let us see the articles. We do not want hearsay put in this record. We have had enough experience in trying to run down newspaper articles. [Laughter.] Have you any knowledge of the facts contained in these articles except what you get from the articles themselves?

Mr. BONNIWELL. You understand how you seek information in discussing political affairs. Your lieutenants come in, and say, "You are up against it there. They are flooding those fellows with liquor. So and so gets all the whiskey he wants. He is running wide open and he says he will not be interfered with," and so on. Now that is the only information that you can get short of a detective going into a place. There is nobody that attempts to deny it.

Senator REED. Judge, you know the line between hearsay evidence and that character of evidence which is based upon a man's knowl-

edge as the manager of a business. He does not see everything that goes on in his business, but his employees and agents during the course of the business from time to time report conditions, the conditions of trade, for instance, conditions of credit. That kind of evidence, if it is closely enough confined, can be received. The committee does not want mere rumor. It does not want mere hearsay. But I think the committee will hear what you are willing to say is the fact based upon reports made to you from time to time in the progress of this contest, in so far as it depends on the presidential contest.

Senator SPENCER. And based upon your own personal experience and observation.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Take, for instance, I think it was in February, I was State president of the Sons of the American Revolution, and was in attendance at the State annual banquet of the society in Pittsburgh, and returned home to find that a gentleman had been insistently calling upon me and said that he would remain in town until I returned in order to see me. He had left his card at my house. His name was Henry J. Butler. He called upon me the next day and said he was the manager for A. J. Casey, the business manager of Scranton. He said he was authorized by Mr. Casey to see me to tell me that he was with me in my contest for the national contest for my delegates; that Mr. Casey proposed to actively interest himself in the contest in my behalf; and that I could depend on his aid. Mr. Casey, in addition to being a part of the large liquor business, runs the Casey Hotel in Scranton. I had met him there very recently in relation to the Irish convention. Within two weeks I was advised from the papers that Mr. Casey was a candidate for delegate at large on the Palmer ticket.

Senator REED. I do not believe I have stated the rule so as to make myself clear.

Mr. BONNIWELL. It is difficult, as I can understand.

Senator REED. Anything that you are willing to state as a fact based on your first-hand knowledge or that you are willing to state as a fact based upon the reports which came to you in the course of the prosecution of this campaign, but we can not receive it on the mere statement that A said it to you. What do you say is the fact, what are you willing to say is the fact, based upon your own personal knowledge or upon reports that were made to you, and which were so verified that you are willing to say it is a fact?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I will say this with an abiding conviction that the support of men of the type of Casey and Cusack and a multitude of lesser supporters, men who were my supporters two years ago, are not my supporters to-day, were taken up by an agreement whereby they were willing to take liquor from bond and sell it without fear of prosecution.

Senator REED. An agreement with whom?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Necessarily with the enforcement officers.

Senator REED. Who were they?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Well, I have stated that as far as I know Grady is an officer in Scranton, Leo Cresson is another enforcement officer, and Wayne Hyndman is another enforcement officer. I am neither gifted with second sight nor have I a detective agency that could insist that this was actually done, but the fact remains that it is so.

The fact remains that the State of Pennsylvania is saturated with liquor without protest and under Hyndman.

Senator REED. What effect has that had in the political fight?

Mr. BONNIWELL. It ripped away from me scores of men, men in election precincts who were for me prior to the letting down of the bars.

Senator EDGE. Did you say that some of these men ran as delegates who are occupying positions as enforcement officers?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, I did not say that.

Senator REED. Did you ever have any talk with Casey about this matter?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Not after I learned that he had accepted the nomination on the primary ticket.

Senator REED. Do you know it to be a fact what was testified this morning in regard to the open saloons in Scranton, Pa., and other conditions described, in the language you said of somebody else, that it was the wettest place on earth?

Mr. BONNIWELL. The mayor of Scranton made that statement yesterday.

Senator REED. Have you been there; and do you know that liquor was openly being sold?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Who was it that you said was the enforcement officer? I see that Attorney General Palmer is here, and I am giving this more for his benefit than anything else.

Mr. BONNIWELL. The enforcement officer of the State is W. Wayne Hyndman, a State senator from Clarion.

Senator REED. Has he any connection with General Palmer?

Mr. BONNIWELL. He was a part of his political machine, yes.

Senator REED. And what is the name of the United States district attorney in the district?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Roger Burnett.

Senator REED. Where is the office of the United States district attorney?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In Scranton.

Senator REED. You say that this condition in Scranton is open and notorious?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What was the statement you started to make a while ago about some hotel man paying some money——

Mr. BONNIWELL. Why, a man named Burgin, of Philadelphia, met some friends from over the State, I think in March this year. Judge Shell, of Pittsburgh, Senator Hoffman, of Monroe, and one or two others of my friends were in the parlor of the hotel, and this man Burgin told them that he was an attorney in Scranton, where he had been robbed of \$5,000. Subsequently, the Philadelphia Record got the story and published the story, and it is here and it is one of the things I want to give you. In the story this man makes the charge that Grandy, the revenue man, the chairman of the Lackawanna county committee, enforcement officer, made the deal and took the money, and he did not get either his whisky or his money.

Senator SPENCER. Are not those enforcement officials appointed through the Internal Revenue Department?

Mr. BONNIWELL. There is no appointment made in Pennsylvania of the slightest importance that is not viséd by Mr. Palmer.

Senator SPENCER. You mean to say that that is your belief in the matter?

Mr. BONNIWELL. That is our experience.

Senator SPENCER. But, as a matter of fact, appointments are made through the Internal Revenue Department?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Unquestionably.

Senator SPENCER. The enforcement officers are not directly connected with the Department of Justice?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Except so far as they are a political part of the State machine?

Senator EDGE. Is that unusual in political organizations?

Mr. BONNIWELL. It is unusual in this regard, that never in the palmiest days of Quay and Martin in Pennsylvania was there a condition that approached this.

Senator REED. I feel that the Attorney General is entitled to ask the witness any questions that he desires, and I invited Attorney General Palmer, after consultation with the chairman of the committee, who was the only member of the committee then present, because the testimony has been of so direct a character and so unusual.

Senator EDGE. I would say very frankly that I think you are entirely justified. I would like to see any of these presidential candidates who take any exception to some of the testimony that we necessarily get into the record that has not been entirely verified, who desire to have anything to say about it, I am very glad to see the general admitted.

Senator REED. General Palmer, would you prefer to see the transcript of this testimony, or do you want to say anything or do anything.

Attorney General PALMER. Mr. Chairman, I do not care to ask the witness any questions. But after he is through, I would like to be heard for a moment or two.

Senator SPENCER. Would you rather be heard now or after you read the transcript of the testimony?

Attorney General PALMER. I do not care to see the transcript. This is an old story. I have heard it many times. I know exactly what the witness said.

Senator SPENCER. We will hear you as soon as we have finished with this witness.

Senator REED. Was there any other newspaper article that you wanted to call attention to?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir. I want to hand you a signed article, signed by William S. Dutton, Philadelphia North American, of May 31, "Wholesale whisky traffic bears stamp of official sanction."

I also want to offer an article from the Record of Saturday, May 1, which shows this man still on duty despite the charge.

Senator REED. Which man?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Grady, the enforcement officer.

I offer an article of April 15, of the Philadelphia Record, entitled, "Floods of booze wet Palmer boom."

I offer the Philadelphia Record of May 13, "Liquor dealers' forces to aid Palmer's friends."

I want to offer an editorial in the North American of Monday, May 3, "Licensed liquor lawlessness."

And I might also add relative to my statement of the situation in western Pennsylvania, copies of the Pittsburgh Press and the Pittsburgh Chronicle that two of the deputy United States marshals were arrested conveying two truck loads of whiskey through Ohio.

Senator SPENCER. Judge, you are now presiding over the municipal court in Philadelphia?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You have been on the bench for some years?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Since 1913.

Senator SPENCER. I want to ask you, Judge, if you know of a single incident where a man was promised immunity for his violation of the liquor law because of his support of Gen. Palmer or because of any political reason?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Senator, if I answer that as a judge I must say no, because such a promise would necessarily have to be made in my hearing.

Senator SPENCER. These gentlemen who were with you two years ago and who are not with you this time, your inference is that their change in attitude comes from some immunity in connection with their violation of the liquor laws, but is at a mere inference or is that anything more than a mere inference?

Mr. BONNIWELL. It is an established fact.

Senator SPENCER. To your mind, I see.

Mr. BONNIWELL. But really not to my mind. It is an established fact to the community I live in. There is no well-informed man in Pennsylvania that does not know about it and talk about it.

Senator SPENCER. That will be a question of opinion. But as we are looking at the question from the evidential side of the thing, you do not know, I understand you to say, of a single instance where a man has been promised directly or indirectly immunity from prosecution for violation of the liquor law because of his support of any candidate or for any political reason?

Mr. BONNIWELL. But I do as a matter of indisputable fact, for a multitude of men have gone unpunished, without prosecution and still are unpunished. Our roads have been worn into ruts by trucks by men undoubtedly supporting Mr. Palmer.

Senator SPENCER. Do you yourself know of any enforcement officer in Pennsylvania who was appointed or retained in office at the request of the Attorney General?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Well, I know this, I know that no appointment of any sort—

Senator SPENCER. I can speak to you as a judge because you quite understand what is in my mind.

Mr. BONNIWELL. If you mean specifically such and such a man was appointed, no.

Senator POMERENE. Judge, I am sorry I was not here. I had another committee engagement and I could not be here this morning. I want to know a little more about this, to satisfy my own mind. In the first place, in a general way, what is the jurisdiction of your court?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Why, it has all the jurisdiction—you are not familiar with our police courts, either?

Senator POMERENE. No; I am not.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Our municipal court is not what is termed a minor court. It is minor only in this, that it has coexistent juris-

Mr. BONNIWELL. I have come to show you gentlemen a condition in the State of Pennsylvania that cries to Heaven.

Senator POMERENE. Now, let us see about this. You have made a charge here that certain officials who had imposed upon them the duty of enforcing this liquor law have not been enforcing it, and that they have been supporting Palmer. Can you give a specific instance of your own knowledge wherein they or any of them are conniving at this infringement of the law? Do you know of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I simply know the law is not enforced.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of your own knowledge that any officer charged with the enforcement of this law is in effect conniving at its violation?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I am satisfied that every enforcement officer in Pennsylvania——

Senator POMERENE. Do you have any personal knowledge on that subject?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You are simply expressing an opinion?

Mr. BONNIWELL. And that of the majority of the people of Pennsylvania.

Senator POMERENE. Are you authorized to speak for them?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I know how they universally discuss it.

Senator POMERENE. No matter. You have made some reference to the United States attorney at Scranton. Have you any evidence of any particular incident of his conniving at the violation of this law?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Simply that the wheels of justice are idle.

Senator POMERENE. The fact is that you think there are certain violations of the law up there, and that because there is a United States attorney and because he is not succeeding in enforcing the law, you think he is conniving at it?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I say the facts speak for themselves.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I think they do.

Now, let me ask you, you and Gen. Palmer have been political rivals for a number of years, have you not?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I would not say so. When I was nominated for governor he became my rival.

Senator POMERENE. And for some reason or other you claim he did not support you?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No; he avowed he did not.

Senator POMERENE. He was open and above board about it, was he?

Mr. BONNIWELL. He was.

Senator POMERENE. And whether he was justified or not, you apparently have a good deal of feeling toward him growing out of the fact that he did not support you?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Senator, suppose I had all the feeling in the world growing out of it. How does it alter the salient facts in this case?

Senator POMERENE. It would not alter the salient facts if we were furnished with the facts, but we are simply having reports of facts. That is the difficulty about the situation as I see it.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Is this committee going to sit for a period of two or three weeks?

Senator POMERENE. I can not tell you. I am only one member of the committee.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Well, if it does, I have no question that I can bring you legal evidence in that time of every statement made here.

Senator POMERENE. If there is evidence of these violations of law any good citizen will be glad to have these offenders brought to justice.

Mr. BONNIWELL. And to whom would he present his complaint?

Senator POMERENE. I do not know your authorities up there.

Mr. BONNIWELL. The Pennsylvania authorities have no control under the Federal act, and he has got to present his complaint to the Attorney General's office.

Senator POMERENE. This complaint can be presented, I take it, to the court and to the United States attorneys quite as well. There is no man sitting here in Washington that has absolute control of criminal or other jurisdiction throughout the several States.

Now, let us see, you have had a number of other contests, have you not?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Well, now, State wide, or what do you mean?

Senator POMERENE. Well, you were recently a candidate for delegate?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. District or State wide?

Mr. BONNIWELL. District delegate and national committeeman at the same time.

Senator POMERENE. You were defeated?

Mr. BONNIWELL. On the official count I am in the lead 130 votes.

Senator REED. For what?

Mr. BONNIWELL. District delegate.

Senator POMERENE. To the national convention?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was your name presented in any other capacity at this primary?

Mr. BONNIWELL. For national committeeman.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, for national committeeman?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And the National committeeman, under your primary system—

Mr. BONNIWELL (interposing). Is elected by the State at large.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). Is elected by the State at large; that is, by the Democratic votes?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who was the candidate against you?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Joseph Guffey.

Senator POMERENE. And what was the result?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Oh, I forgot that you were not here. The official count in Pennsylvania is not finished. The last advice that I was able to get from Mr. Thorne—that was yesterday, prior to coming here—was of 4,700 and some election districts that had reported out of a total of 7,100.

Senator POMERENE. Seven thousand one hundred?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir; 7,118. Mr. Guffey's vote at that time was 47,000 or 48,000 and mine was about 40,000.

Senator REED. You said 7,100.

Senator POMERENE. You mean 71,000, do you not?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No; 7,118 election districts.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, I misunderstood you; I thought you meant votes at the election. Mr. Guffey had how many?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Between 47,000 and 48,000, and mine were between 39,000 and 40,000; and that is from practically between 65 and 70 per cent of the State.

Senator POMERENE. And as a result of these different contests, there has grown up a good deal of feeling between you and the Attorney General?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you this question further: You have spoken of one Casey—A. J. Casey.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The proprietor of a hotel, and a wholesale liquor dealer at Scranton?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever have any talk with him about your candidacy for national committeeman?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I did, in November.

Senator POMERENE. In November?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And did you see him after that?

Mr. BONNIWELL. No; I did not see him after that.

Senator POMERENE. And at that time, did he promise to support you?

Mr. BONNIWELL. He certainly did, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any personal knowledge as to the reason why he changed his view, if he did, and supported someone else?

Mr. BONNIWELL. In the first place, he did change his view, because he went on the Palmer ticket; he is a Palmer delegate at large.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BONNIWELL. Probably elected in this primary.

Senator REED. What is his business?

Mr. BONNIWELL. Both he and his brother run the Casey Hotel, and he and his brother ran one of the largest wholesale liquor places up there.

Senator POMERENE. You have had no talk with him since?

Mr. BONNIWELL. None whatever.

Senator POMERENE. And you have no personal knowledge as to why he changed his view?

Mr. BONNIWELL. None whatever.

Senator SPENCER. Is that all, Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Palmer, we will be glad to hear from you now.

Attorney General PALMER. Mr. Chairman, I want to be heard very briefly. Ordinarily I would not dignify the statements of a witness of this character by any public appearance to deny them. But, Mr.

Chairman, my good name is more important to me than any office on the face of the earth, and when my personal and official integrity is attacked by men who have made a habit in my State of character assassination I feel that I am entitled to say a word in my own defense before a committee which, in the nature of things, must not know Pennsylvania politics.

If these statements were made by Judge Bonniwell in Pennsylvania, I would, of course, not answer them; they have been made by him repeatedly wherever he could gain an audience, and by hostile newspapers who have supported him and opposed me throughout the State constantly. I would not reply to them there because in Pennsylvania Judge Bonniwell's word is no evidence of the fact—

Senator REED (interposing). Wait just a minute. We struck out of the record, Mr. Attorney General, a statement of Judge Bonniwell of somewhat similar character with reference to yourself.

Attorney General PALMER. I have no doubt of it.

Senator REED. I hope we will not, and I do not think we ought to go into that, because if we do, we are going to fail—I make the suggestion; that is all.

Senator SPENCER. There is a difference: Judge Bonniwell was under oath and was making statements of fact as evidence. Attorney General Palmer is not under oath, but is making statements which, by mere courtesy of the committee, we are willing to hear.

Attorney General PALMER. I am perfectly willing to be sworn.

Senator SPENCER. It is not necessary.

Senator POMERENE. I am going to suggest that, as every other witness has been sworn, I feel that under the circumstances the oath should be administered to Attorney General Palmer.

Attorney General PALMER. I have no objection.

Senator EDGE. I should think that was entirely proper. (The witness was duly put under affirmation, according to law, by Senator Spencer.)

Attorney General PALMER. And may I have what I have already said included within the affirmation, Mr. Chairman?

Senator SPENCER. It may be so regarded.

Senator REED. But I wanted to see if we could not keep out of purely personal issues.

Attorney General PALMER. Senator, I shall try to be as polite as the circumstances will permit. I have some reputation in my State for courtesy and politeness, although I do not hesitate to tell what I think in the presence of men who make false statements about me.

Let me say first, Mr. Chairman, that all of this talk which was repeated here this morning by Judge Bonniwell was spread broadcast throughout Pennsylvania during all of this campaign before May 18 by newspapers, and by letters and by personal agents of Judge Bonniwell and his organization for the purpose of defeating me and the delegates to the national convention who were pledged to my support, and the national committeeman whom I was favoring, Mr. Guffey, and for the purpose of electing Judge Bonniwell as national committeeman, and as delegate to the State convention, and the entire slate of 76 men whom he chose for the position of delegate to the national convention.

The Democrats of the State knew the whole story, listened to it from top to bottom, and the result was that not a single delegate supported by Judge Bonniwell was elected; not one.

He says the official count is not completed. But I know, as he knows, that the result of that election is that 74 of the 76 delegates are delegates who were upon what was known as the "Palmer ticket," and none of them was upon the Bonniwell ticket.

The result of that verdict of the people of Pennsylvania was also that Mr. Bonniwell was defeated for national committeeman, and so far as I know every single candidate in every county and district whom he espoused was repudiated by the voters, after this very stuff that he now presents here was poured into the ears of every Democrat in Pennsylvania.

And the reason for it is plain. The State knew, as you gentlemen have since learned, that these charges were not built upon facts, but upon animosity growing out of a political contest which has been raging in Pennsylvania for many years, and in which Judge Bonniwell always was defeated, and suffering under the sting of those defeats has come to the point that he has burned his bridges behind him and accused not only his old opponents but all of his former friends of political treachery and other crimes. And they knew that animosity existed, because—and I feel that the committee must know the facts about the motive which actuated Judge Bonniwell in coming here—because in 1918, Judge Bonniwell was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for governor. He received a majority of the votes in opposition to Joseph F. Guffey, who has now defeated him for national committeeman.

Senator POMERENE. At the primaries?

Attorney General PALMER. At the primaries. After his nomination by our party; after I had publicly announced, though I had opposed him for the nomination, that I would support him as the nominee of the party, because he had received a majority of the votes, the organized liquor traffic of my State came to me, through its authorized representatives, to detail to me how he could be elected by the support of the liquor traffic.

And to my amazement they told me face to face, and man to man, the story of his nomination; how it was dictated by the leader of the party which we fight in Pennsylvania; how it was born in the office of the leader of the Republican party, and how there was communicated to Judge Bonniwell the wish of the Republican organization that he should be the candidate, through the organized liquor managers, the men who came to me to tell me the story.

Senator REED. Now, I was going to say, Mr. Attorney General—

Attorney General PALMER (interposing). I am talking about motive now.

Senator REED. I understand. But we have been trying to shut out that character of testimony. I do not object to your stating it; I think you ought to be permitted to state it; but of course, if one side states it, the other side will have to be permitted to state it.

Mr. BONNIWELL. I think Mr. Palmer should be given the fullest latitude; but I will ask you gentlemen that I may have five minutes for rebuttal.

Senator EDGE. You were speaking now of what you were informed by somebody that somebody else had informed them. You understand that that is not exactly legal evidence, of course?

Attorney General PALMER. Oh, no, I am not, Senator; I am telling you what the man who took the message to Mr. Bonniwell to become

a candidate for the nomination with the support of these elements told to me personally.

Senator POMERENE. You are giving your reasons, as I understand it, for the course that you marked out for yourself?

Attorney General PALMER. Exactly. And whether that course was right or not, the point is this: That I believed it. The evidence was presented to me in such shape that I could not fail to believe it. And as the party leader in my State—I was the national committeeman, and by reason of that position, the party leader—I went to the State committee of my party and exposed the whole business. I repudiated the candidate of the party, a thing I had never done before in the history of my political life; and I asked the Democratic organization of Pennsylvania to repudiate him, which they did in that State committee, with two opposing votes only.

Senator EDGE. I do not want to interrupt you, but I must ask you questions as they come up.

Attorney General PALMER. Yes; certainly.

Senator EDGE. Who was the Republican nominee running against Judge Bonniwell at that election?

Attorney General PALMER. William C. Sproul.

Senator EDGE. You do not mean to infer that the Republican organization of Pennsylvania was opposed to William C. Sproul, do you?

Attorney General PALMER. I mean to say this, Senator Edge, that the Republican Party in Pennsylvania, so far as the liquor traffic dominated it, sought to beat Gov. Sproul at the beginning, through the nomination of Mr. Bonniwell. And you know why. The intimation has been made by Judge Bonniwell that that conduct upon my part was based upon the fact that Gov. Sproul is my personal friend. That is an imputation upon both Gov. Sproul and myself, that is founded merely upon a long-time college friendship which has had no more to do with his political conduct than upon mine, or than my friendship, for instance, with Senator Edge has made him a Democrat—and he and I have been friends since boyhood.

Senator EDGE. Yes.

Attorney General PALMER. There is absolutely nothing in that, of course, and the gentleman knows that perfectly well. I mention that circumstance simply to show that the man who was thus treated by his party organization, under my leadership, has allowed it to rankle in his bosom ever since and he has—I state the fact; I am not making any charges—he has, day in and day out ever since, tried to poison the minds of the people of Pennsylvania with slanders about me.

Now, the chief story that he depends upon here is the one which is an imputation against my official character—that is, that in some way, the campaign of my friends in Pennsylvania was advanced by agreements to grant immunity to persons who violated the Volstead Act in our State. And for proof, generally speaking, he relies upon two papers, whose statements were printed during the campaign—newspapers, which if believed by the people of our State, would have destroyed me a long time ago.

The fact is, Mr. Chairman, that not only is that allegation untrue, but I defy Judge Bonniwell, or any living soul in Pennsylvania, to produce the slightest particle of evidence to prove it to be true.

Judge Bonniwell says, to substantiate his statements, that my law partner is the United States attorney in the middle district of Pennsylvania. And he would have you draw the conclusion from that, that of course, the failure to convict any man of crime is because of my relations with him.

That is another falsehood. The district attorney is not my law partner, and never has been my law partner; and I have not the slightest business connections with him, or professional connections, neither have I ever had in all my life.

Senator POMERENE. What is his name?

Attorney General PALMER. His name is Rogers L. Burnett. Judge Bonniwell says also that two deputy marshals were arrested in Ohio for accompanying a convoy of liquor through that State, and because they were deputy marshals, and therefore officers of the Department of Justice, evidently I was granting immunity to somebody.

I saw that story in the newspapers also; and if Judge Bonniwell had been frank with you, he would have told you the rest of the story, which had been published in Pennsylvania: That immediately upon its being published, I suspended those two deputy marshals from the service, pending an investigation; and if the allegation be proven to be true, they will be fired incontinently from the service.

In addition to that, Mr. Chairman, so far from Mr. Burnett, for instance, the district attorney in the middle district of Pennsylvania, conniving at any law violations, it is a fact that, during the primary contests before the election, there were dozens of arrests made in that very district, under Mr. Burnett's direction, for violation of the Volstead Act. And arrests were made in other parts of the State.

But the real point I want you to remember is this: That the investigation and detection of the violations of the Volstead Act are not a part of the duties of the Attorney General. The Volstead Act specifically declares that all the investigation work, and all the detection of violations, shall be vested in the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The entire appropriation for that, running into millions of dollars, is available by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and not by the Department of Justice. The appropriation made to the Department of Justice to enforce the Volstead Act during the present fiscal year was \$100,000; and even that the House of Representatives has denied in the new bill, because there is no duty upon the Department of Justice in the premises. All that the department does is to prosecute these crimes when the evidence is turned over to us by the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department. They are a common or garden variety of misdemeanor, as far as the Department of Justice is concerned.

So that if it be true that there were these violations of the law, they are not chargeable to the Department of Justice. I could not grant immunity if I would; and I openly and publicly stated, when these stories were printed in the newspapers in a way to go all over Pennsylvania, that any man who thought that he would be protected in the commission of a crime by reason of his supporting either me or my friends would find himself sadly mistaken. I gave everybody notice.

This is the fact about this Volstead Act, Mr. Chairman: It is a pretty hard thing to enforce: it is a hard thing to detect the violations of. But the truth is that there happened in Pennsylvania just the

same thing that has happened in New York, and in many other States—in nearly all the States: Advantage was taken of that provision of the law which permitted the Internal Revenue Bureau to grant permits to withdraw whiskey from bond for medicinal purposes. Wholesale druggists are permitted to withdraw those liquors upon their statement that they propose to make a medicine of a certain kind, which must meet the approval of a pharmaceutical bureau in the Treasury Department, and upon their filing a bond of a certain amount. Applications for those withdrawals are made through the State prohibition officers direct to Washington, and they are there granted. Whatever liquor has flowed in Pennsylvania, or anywhere else in the country, has been because these permits have been granted by the Bureau of Internal Revenue in Washington. The State prohibition officers, whom Mr. Bonniwell says that I appoint—because, as he says, I appoint everybody in Pennsylvania—have nothing to do with it, except to act as a conduit to pass those permits to Washington, where they are approved or disapproved; and certainly nobody will say that I have any control over the Treasury Department, or over the Bureau of Internal Revenue, or that I had the slightest thing to do with the appointment of either the Internal Revenue Commissioner or the national prohibition enforcement officer.

They have granted those permits, and the result of it is that an immense quantity of liquor has been taken out of bond and has been made into medicinal preparations, perhaps other honest preparations, and perhaps other and fake preparations; I do not know. And undoubtedly a large proportion of that whisky has gotten into beverage purposes. But it would take millions of dollars to detect and investigate those violations of the law; and, as I said to you, that is a job that is not up to the Attorney General of the United States or to the Department of Justice.

I repeat, therefore, Mr. Chairman—and that is all I came down here to say—that these stale charges, which have reverberated throughout Pennsylvania in this campaign, and have received the overwhelming condemnation of the voters of that State, are so palpably false upon their face, because of the fact that I have had no connection with the business, that they ought not to be listened to by this committee, and they ought not to be allowed to be spread through the country by men who seek to destroy my reputation without an answer being made and put alongside of them.

Judge Bonniwell has said that the fact that Mr. Casey supported me is evidence that I was conniving at some kind of a crime. I do not think he will go so far as to say that Andrew J. Casey is a violator of the law; he is one of the most prominent citizens in Pennsylvania. He may possibly think that Mr. Casey was for him until I got him away, in some kind of fashion; but the truth is that Mr. Casey has been a supporter of mine since I have been in Pennsylvania politics; a friend of mine since my boyhood, and of my father before me; he would have been with me in this fight, no matter who had been against me, or no matter what the issue was. There were wet men; there were men in the liquor business, or who had been in the liquor business, who supported me in this campaign. There is no question about that. I think there were some other things considered than the matter of liquor and prohibition in Pennsylvania in the issue which

was presented when Judge Bonniwell attempted to take that State away from one of its own sons.

I did not ask a single man to be a candidate for delegate in my interest—I will modify that to this extent, that I did say to one judge upon the bench, when he asked me if he should be a candidate, that I would personally be gratified to see him a delegate to the convention. With that exception, I asked no man to be a candidate; I made no pledge or promise to any candidate for delegate, or to anybody else, to secure the slightest particle of support in this fight in Pennsylvania. I was not in the State during the entire campaign until election day or the day before election, when I went home to vote. I never was in a campaign in my life in which I took less part.

Because I went upon the theory that, if Pennsylvania wanted to repudiate me, that would save me a lot of trouble in the future and settle the question; and I was going to put it up to my friends and neighbors in my State without debate from me. I listened to these things and saw this stuff printed all over Pennsylvania, without answering them. I just want you to know, Mr. Chairman, that in Pennsylvania, instead of a majority of the people knowing that this thing is true, the majority of the people have already said it is utterly false.

Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF MR. EUGENE C. BONNIWELL—Resumed.

MR. BONNIWELL. Now, Mr. Chairman, without desiring to enter into any debate, and simply as a matter of personal privilege, may I say a word or two concerning this alleged conspiracy as a Democratic candidate for governor?

Senator REED. I think he is entitled to be heard.

Senator SPENCER. All right, Judge Bonniwell; you may proceed.

MR. BONNIWELL. All right, sir. You will note that the eminent Attorney General prefaced many of his remarks with the statement "So far as he knows;" at the outset, he speaks of, "So far as I know," he received 74 delegates in Pennsylvania." There are at least 9 delegates elected against Mr. Palmer in Pennsylvania to date, who will not vote for him under any circumstances. However, that is a mere minor argument in connection with the matter.

Mr. Palmer, predicated his authority upon the statement of John Sinott, president of the Pennsylvania Distillers, asserts that John Sinott called upon him in Washington, in July of 1918, and told him that, in conjunction with Senator Penrose, they had conspired to nominate me as governor of Pennsylvania on the Democratic ticket, and that thereafter they had spent \$50,000 or more, and that they had achieved their nefarious end. Mr. Palmer concealed that knowledge within his own bosom until the middle of December.

Mr. Palmer sought in between that time to persuade me to abandon my determination to run my own campaign, he sought to arrange meetings with me, and when I refused to trust myself in his hands to be betrayed, then he called together the men in his control, the State committee, and produced the story.

Now, sir, the story is false from its inception to its conclusion. Mr. Sinott branded it as a lie from beginning to end. Senator Penrose issued a public statement that the statement as it related to

him was a wanton falsehood; that he had no part of interest in the Democratic Party, and took no part or interest in it. And I answering it, named the seven Democratic judges of character and standing throughout the State of Pennsylvania who came and asked me to be the candidate, and at whose solicitation I was the candidate. Now, that is all I desire to say on that subject.

Senator REED. How much were you beaten in that election?

Mr. BONNIWELL. I was beaten by 230,000.

Senator SPENCER. By the Republican candidate?

Mr. BONNIWELL. By Mr. Sproul. And, gentlemen, I polled 307,000 votes, or 44,000 more votes than the Attorney General could get running for United States Senator against Senator Penrose four years before. So that the effect of it upon the people of Pennsylvania could not have been depressing in this very primary, so far as the returns are in, I have carried practically every Democratic county in Pennsylvania; my losses lie in the rum-ridden coal counties.

Now, I do not desire to debate the rest of the proposition. I simply want to put myself square. But I say to you, sir, that when this man, no matter what his office is, seeks to have you believe that my political career has been anything but one of fidelity to my party, I answer him that the fact that I have carried Philadelphia in three consecutive primaries, against this man, is the best answer to it. I carried Philadelphia in this very primary, defeated as I am, by more than 2,000 majority, without an organization and without money.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN HENRY ROSSETER, OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

(The witness was duly sworn according to law by Senator Spencer.)

Senator SPENCER. What is your full name?

Mr. ROSSETER. John Henry Rosseter.

Senator SPENCER. And where is your home?

Mr. ROSSETER. San Francisco, Calif.

Senator SPENCER. You are interested in the campaign of whom?

Mr. ROSSETER. Senator Johnson.

Senator SPENCER. Were you his manager there, Mr. Rosseter?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who was his manager?

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. McCabe and Mr. Carnahan.

Senator POMERENE. Please give the full names.

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. Alexander McCabe; I am unable to answer as to Mr. Carnahan's initials; I think they are H. L., however.

Senator SPENCER. What was your connection with the campaign?

Mr. ROSSETER. Chairman of the finance committee.

Senator SPENCER. Of where?

Mr. ROSSETER. California.

Senator REED. For Senator Johnson?

Senator SPENCER. For Senator Johnson, yes. How much money was raised in connection with the finance committee of which you were chairman?

Mr. ROSSETER. Approximately \$115,000; I think maybe \$2,000 less than that.

Senator SPENCER. Have you the list of the subscribers to that fund?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, Senator; I have not. I was summoned while up in New York and was not aware of this call. I can tell you some of the details of it, however.

Senator SPENCER. The books, I understand, are on the way?

Mr. ROSSETER. According to what I have read in the papers. I have not been in touch with any of the organization at all.

Senator SPENCER. Will you tell us as much as you can remember?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. These books were in the charge of Mr. McCabe, were they?

Mr. ROSSETER. I imagine they were in the charge of the treasurer, Mr. Greenbaum.

Senator POMERENE. You did not keep them yourself?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have direction or supervision over their keeping?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. What is your business in San Francisco?

Mr. ROSSETER. Shipping, and export and import merchant.

Senator SPENCER. Are you connected with any companies that own water transportation?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Which one?

Mr. ROSSETER. The Pacific Mail Steamship Co.; I am vice president and general manager of that.

Senator SPENCER. That deals in transportation between California and the Orient?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. What is the name of that company?

Mr. ROSSETER. The Pacific Mail Steamship Co.

Senator SPENCER. That is a very large company—I mean in capital stock?

Mr. ROSSETER. It has no par value, but it has a capital of about \$10,000,000.

Senator SPENCER. Does it have traffic arrangements with the Southern Pacific?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. It has no relation in transportation with the Southern Pacific?

Mr. ROSSETER. None whatever, except that after the abandonment of the Pacific mail service we purchased the controlling interest held by the Southern Pacific and restored the service.

Senator POMERENE. Controlling interest in what?

Mr. ROSSETER. In the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. held by the Southern Pacific.

Senator POMERENE. That was due to some legislation?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. When was that purchased?

Mr. ROSSETER. It was either the end of 1915 or early in 1916.

Senator SPENCER. Up to that time the Southern Pacific had had trans-Pacific mail service?

Mr. ROSSETER. They operated the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. by the control of the stock; they owned 110,000 shares.

Senator SPENCER. And you bought it up?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I think he refers to the act which was passed by Congress which prevented transcontinental railroads from having an interest in water transportation; was it not something of that kind?

Mr. ROSSETER. Well, it did embarrass them, so far as the Panama Canal operations were concerned; and while I know nothing of the real reason, it was a common report at that time that they abandoned the service because of the so-called Fureseth act, or the seamen's act.

Senator SPENCER. Will you tell us as far as you can remember the large contributors?

Mr. ROSSETER. May I relate it just as I can remember it?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; do that.

Mr. ROSSETER. After returning to San Francisco from Washington in January, I was invited by Mr. McCabe to join the finance committee of Senator Johnson, and as a fellow townsman and lifelong friend of his, I very willingly acquiesced.

Senator SPENCER. You were in the Government service prior to that?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. During the war?

Mr. ROSSETER. Until the 11th of November, 1919; and I returned home in January; and it was at that time that this conversation took place.

Latterly, they urged upon me to accept the chairmanship of it, and with some reluctance, I also agreed to that.

I then asked Mr. McCabe, "How much money are we expected to raise for a nation-wide campaign?" Well, apparently, they had not given any thought to that, but surmised that it should be \$100,000. "Well," I said, "As a business man, I would like to see a budget on that; how is \$100,000 to be expended? Is that enough, or is it too much?" So they had no budget.

I myself prepared an outline. I have endeavored to jot it down from memory. I have brought none of the papers with me, but I thought it might be of interest.

We set out to make a fight in 10 so-called primary States; and we estimated that that would average \$3,000 a State, or \$30,000 for the various organizations in primary States. The New York headquarters I estimated for four months would run in the neighborhood of \$5,000 a month, including telegrams and telephones and hotel accommodations, etc.—\$20,000. For traveling expenses of the representatives to be sent out from California—as this was strictly a California organization and we were to send representatives throughout the country—I estimate traveling expenses at \$10,000. Printing and postage—I found afterwards that I underestimated that. I had that down as \$15,000. San Francisco headquarters, \$10,000.

Senator EDGE. May I ask you right there this question? I had to leave the room for a moment: In estimating \$15,000 for postage—and what else was it?

Mr. ROSSETER. Printing.

Senator EDGE. Printing and postage; in estimating that you did not estimate on any publication of a general pamphlet of any character to be circulated on \$15,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. Well, I am afraid, as I say, that there is where I very seriously underestimated it; I was not experienced in such matters, and I concluded that our publications would be limited to circular letters to be sent to different people.

Senator EDGE. I see; it did not contemplate a general circular?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, sir, and it was quite insufficient, as it turned out. San Francisco headquarters, \$10,000; that was four months also, at \$2,500 a month.

For the campaign throughout California—at that time we anticipated that it was strictly a “favorite son” movement—I estimated \$10,000 to be sufficient. Sundries, including buttons, we put down at \$10,000. That added up \$105,000.

So I conferred further with Mr. McCabe, and I said it was very plain to me that we should have an objective beyond \$100,000, and our objective was made \$125,000.

I then organized the committee. The first theory of the committee was that we should get 100 subscriptions of \$1,000 each. I found that was impossible. I then undertook to find out how many contributions we could get beginning at the maximum of \$2,500. I got eight.

Senator EDGE. Will you give us later who they are?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir; I will come back to that. Well, at this stage, if you wish, I will give the names. Among the eight, I will mention myself——

Senator REED (interposing). Suppose you go on your own plan and then come back to the contributions, so that we will have them all together.

Mr. ROSSETER. All right, Senator. We endeavored, as far as I was concerned—I being very busy and having spent several years here in Washington and desiring to take charge only of the attainment of a fixed objective—I wanted to be out when we arrived at this ultimate figure; and I therefore declared that on the smaller subscriptions I would not participate in that. That is why I endeavored to get these certain round guaranties.

It finally resolved itself into a committee of ten, each of the committeemen undertaking to raise among their particular friends, or among the people who were assigned to them for interview or solicitation, \$10,000—\$10,000 to a committeeman.

Under that arrangement, I myself participated under a so-called guaranty or underwriting for \$10,000, intending personally to contribute \$2,500.

Mr. Crocker was on the committee, but limited his subscription to \$2,500.

Senator POMERENE. What is his first name?

Mr. ROSSETER. William H. Crocker. As time went on and the situation developed and Mr. Hoover came into the campaign, we found that a great many people whom we had confidently relied on for fairly liberal contributions were contributing to the Hoover campaign.

The net result of that was that my contribution—I notice in the papers that Mr. McCabe testified here that I had contributed \$2,500.

That was what I agreed to do. But to make up my quota, it was subsequently necessary for me to make up my quota of \$10,000, and I had to raise my subscription by \$7,500. So far as I know, that is the largest single subscription.

Senator SPENCER. Give us some more of the \$2,500 subscriptions that you got.

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. Crocker, \$2,500; Mr. Fleishacker, \$2,500.

Senator SPENCER. Who is Mr. Fleishacker?

Mr. ROSSETER. He is president of the Anglo-London-Paris Bank.

Senator POMERENE. \$2,500?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir, \$2,500; that was subsequently raised to \$5,000. But I am giving you now the \$2,500 subscriptions.

Senator SPENCER. It was subsequently raised to \$5,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir. Mr. Miller, of the Owl Drug Co.; I can not at this moment recall his initials—\$2,500.

Senator SPENCER. \$2,500?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir. How many is that?

Senator SPENCER. Four.

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. J. B. Smith.

Senator SPENCER. What does he do?

Mr. ROSSETER. The King Coal Co. of Utah—he has an agency for a Utah coal company.

Senator POMERENE. \$2,500?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir; afterwards raised to \$5,000. Capt. John Barnison; so far as I know, however, he did not subscribe finally.

Senator REED. He did not pay?

Mr. ROSSETER. He did not subscribe finally, on account of the Hoover campaign.

Senator SPENCER. So that he did not give anything?

Mr. ROSSETER. I think not; I am trying to figure the eight that we had at \$2,500. Oh, there is Mr. Neumiller, of Stockton, Calif.

Senator SPENCER. What does he do?

Mr. ROSSETER. He is an attorney.

Senator POMERENE. \$2,500?

Mr. ROSSETER. \$2,500.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Corcoran, of Los Angeles, was a large subscriber, was he not?

Mr. ROSSETER. So far as I know, Mr. Corcoran subscribed nothing; he subscribed nothing to me. I also should explain at this point that I think the southern delegates—that is, the delegates from southern California—that they got up a little pool of their own, to pay local expenses; that is, Senator Flint and Mr. Corcoran and —

Senator SPENCER. Senator Flynn?

Mr. ROSSETER. No; Senator Flint.

Senator SPENCER. And who else?

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. Corcoran. Mr. Miller—not the Miller previously named, but J. E. Miller.

Senator REED. Are these \$2,500 subscriptions?

Senator SPENCER. No; this is southern California.

Mr. ROSSETER. No; I was explaining as to that in parentheses. Mr. Corcoran, or none of them, subscribed anything to my committee.

Senator SPENCER. I suppose Los Angeles never allows San Francisco to do anything on a better scale than they do?

Mr. ROSSETER. That is not a new question, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you could tell, was that pool in southern California as extensive as yours? Do you know?

Mr. ROSSETER. It is merely hearsay, but I have understood that it was under \$10,000.

Senator SPENCER. The total?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes; but that is merely hearsay.

Senator SPENCER. You really do not know how much they raised down there?

Mr. ROSSETER. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. But you do know that there was an association down there that raised money and spent it without connection with your association?

Mr. ROSSETER. This is how I know it: When the Hoover campaign developed in California, we found our original estimate inadequate in the matter of the California campaign, and otherwise, and we asked the southern California people to take care of themselves. Subsequently, the treasurer told me that they were unable to do that to the extent of some \$3,000; and my recollection is that he told me that their expenses were \$13,000. So that, by inference——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Who would be able to give that information specifically?

Mr. ROSSETER. I imagine the treasurer, who is sending on all the books, will be able to give you that.

Senator POMERENE. What is his name? I am speaking now of southern California.

Mr. ROSSETER. Oh, as to southern California, I do not know. Mr. George Corcoran might possibly be able to tell.

Senator SPENCER. This amount that you named is up to what date?

Mr. ROSSETER. Up to the time that I left California; that was the 18th of May.

Senator SPENCER. The 18th of May?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes; I had just failed to reach the \$125,000 at that time.

Senator SPENCER. You had failed to reach \$125,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir; \$113,000, I think it is.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. McCabe when he was here told us that, in his judgment, the amounts contributed up to May 4 would not exceed \$125,000 in San Francisco, in connection with your committee.

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now, your judgment would corroborate that, and you would think it was a little under that?

Mr. ROSSETER. So far as my committee was concerned, it was under that?

Senator SPENCER. He said he thought \$25,000 had come in since May 4; would you know anything about that?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes; those were the small subscriptions which I did not know anything about, and which I did not handle.

Senator SPENCER. You did not handle those?

Mr. ROSSETER. The \$5, \$10, or \$25 subscription I had nothing to do with.

Senator SPENCER. You had nothing to do with those?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So that the total that you know about would not exceed \$115,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. That is correct—\$115,000.

Senator SPENCER. And whatever was raised in southern California you would not know about?

Mr. ROSSETER. I would not know about that.

Senator SPENCER. And then there were also some very small amounts in connection with the San Francisco campaign committee?

Mr. ROSSETER. As to which I am not able to testify.

Senator SPENCER. As to which you are not able to testify; and in regard to the small amounts, you mean amounts under—

Mr. ROSSETER (interposing). Under \$100.

Senator SPENCER. Under \$100; you took in from \$100 upward?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes; and I did really take in smaller sums than \$100; but they were sent in by mail to me: that was just incidental.

Senator SPENCER. I see. Your original plan was to confine Senator Johnson's finances to a comparatively few rich men, and raise the money in amounts of at least \$1,000 each?

Mr. ROSSETER. I tried to get it originally from 100 men who, like myself, were friends and associates of his.

Senator SPENCER. And who were quite able to give \$1,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. And who were able to give \$1,000.

Senator SPENCER. Your plan at the start was not to get any general subscriptions from the people, but to get a subscription from those who could afford to give at least \$1,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir; that was my plan.

Senator SPENCER. That was your plan?

Mr. ROSSETER. That was my part of it.

Senator SPENCER. That was your part of it?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And that, I understand you to say, Mr. Rosseter, was to secure approximately \$100,000 or more?

Mr. ROSSETER. \$125,000.

Senator SPENCER. \$125,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. For the nation-wide campaign.

Senator SPENCER. You hoped that by those large subscriptions of rich men you would be able to secure the amount you started out to raise, namely, \$125,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. You found that did not quite work?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. And those from whom you expected to get \$1,000 you had to solicit, and did receive a larger amount from many of them, yourself heading the list with \$2,500; is that right?

Mr. ROSSETER. That is right, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. Something was said when Mr. McCabe was here——

Senator REED (interposing). Did you mean to say that you got that from many of them, or from several of them?

Mr. ROSSETER. Which—the entire fund, do you mean?

Senator REED. No; the Senator asked whether you had found that your plan to get \$1,000 each from 100 men failed and you had adopted another plan; and then he asked you if the result of that was that many of them had given more, and you said, "Yes." I want to know whether you meant "many" of them, or "several" of them?

Mr. ROSSETER. Several of them, Senator. I might say, if you will allow me, that I was very reluctant to approach a campaign where there would be large contributions; and I imposed as a second condition that no subscriptions should be over \$2,500; but on account of the Hoover campaign, where money people whom we had confidently relied upon disappointed us, it happened, as in my own case, where, to make up my guaranty, I had to come back and increase my subscription twice.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, you were the worst offender against your own rule?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, Senator, as it came down.

Now, Mr. Crocker, I might say, in order to clear the record exactly, and Mr. Fleishacker increased their subscriptions; Mr. Crocker by \$1,500.

Senator SPENCER. Making it \$4,000 in the aggregate?

Mr. ROSSETER. Making it \$4,000 in the aggregate; and Mr. Miller made it \$4,000 in the aggregate; Mr. Fleishacker, \$4,000.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Fleishacker, you said before, made it \$5,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, I did; but it is \$4,000.

Senator SPENCER. It should be \$4,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, it should be \$4,000; \$2,500 and \$1,500. Mr. Neumiller, who was down for an original guarantee of \$2,500, ultimately sent me \$6,000, which included all of the subscriptions of the district known as the Stockton and San Joaquin County district. He constituted himself a subcommittee for those counties, and ultimately sent me \$6,000.

Senator POMERENE. That is in addition to the \$2,500?

Mr. ROSSETER. No, Senator; including that.

Senator SPENCER. Do you remember any others who gave \$1,000 or over?

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. Mahoney—Andrew Mahoney—\$1,000.

Senator SPENCER. And who was Mr. Mahoney?

Mr. ROSSETER. He was, and maybe he is still, police commissioner of San Francisco. He is in the lumber and coastwise shipping business; he is an old friend of Senator Johnson.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Crocker is a delegate to the national convention, is he not?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you are a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And Mr. Fleishacker also is a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Are there any others of those whose names you have mentioned who are delegates?

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. Neumiller is a delegate.

Senator SPENCER. All of those men are men of large means; they were characterized here once, I think, as millionaires to whom the money they gave was a small matter and could easily be given.

Mr. ROSSETER. Well, I am afraid I must be excluded from that list. I have a good deal of newspaper repute as to that; but I do not think it would be good at a bank.

Senator SPENCER. I have no doubt that is a matter of regret to yourself.

Mr. ROSSETER. I admit the "soft impeachment."

Senator POMERENE. Well, a million dollars is not much in California, is it?

Mr. ROSSETER. Well, Senator, it depends.

Senator POMERENE. Never mind, you need not answer the question.

Senator SPENCER. You had nothing to do with the funds in the East, except that you sent on from \$20,000 to \$25,000?

Mr. ROSSETER. I disbursed no money at all; I simply turned it over; my obligation was simply to raise this money and turn it over.

Senator SPENCER. So that you do not know anything about the disbursing of it?

Mr. ROSSETER. Not personally, except that I would say that I disbursed about \$300.

Senator SPENCER. Your connection began and ended with the raising of the money?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And then you turned it over to Mr. McCabe and his associates?

Mr. ROSSETER. No; I turned it over to Mr.—the name always slips my mind; I have testified to it before.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Greenbaum?

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. Greenbaum.

Senator SPENCER. He was the treasurer of the committee of which Mr. McCabe and Mr. Carnahan were managers?

Mr. ROSSETER. So far as I know, Mr. Carnahan and Mr. McCabe O. K'd the disbursements. I have heard that.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know anything about the amount of money that was raised by Mr. Hoover's friends in California?

Mr. ROSSETER. I am unable to testify as to that.

Senator SPENCER. You have no information as to that?

Mr. ROSSETER. None at all.

Senator SPENCER. Can you give us any fair information with regard to the comparative activities of the two campaigns in California?

Mr. ROSSETER. Well, we in the Johnson committee were quite aghast at the comparative lavish expenditures; that is merely a passing impression.

Senator SPENCER. Along what line?

Senator REED. Of whom?

Mr. ROSSETER. Of Mr. Hoover.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you say the "Johnson Committee." Do you mean to include yourself in that?

Mr. ROSSETER. The finance committee; yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Along what line?

Mr. ROSSETER. Advertising.

Senator SPENCER. Do you mean in the public newspapers?

Mr. ROSSETER. The public newspapers; yes, sir; by wagon—painted floats. I have no doubt that a great many of the men connected with the headquarters were similar to those connected with the Johnson headquarters; they were volunteers. But I have heard, particularly in Los Angeles, that a great many were paid; but on that point I have no personal knowledge.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any solicitation, Mr. Rosseter, by your committee, or under your control, of the administration men—I mean those that held offices in California, except Mr. Mahoney, who, I think, you said was a police commissioner?

Mr. ROSSETER. Well, that is under the municipal government.

Senator SPENCER. Yes; that is true.

Mr. ROSSETER. I had on my committee the names of—well, two men that I can recall; whether they were then in the State organization or not I can not say; but at one time they were Johnson appointees—Mr. Stearns—both of these men are unknown to me; I know that their names were on my committee, however; Mr. Stearns, and I am sorry to confess that the other name has slipped my mind.

Senator SPENCER. Were they large contributors?

Mr. ROSSETER. Mr. Stearns contributed nothing to my fund; the other gentleman sent me \$500; I should remember his name.

Senator SPENCER. You say he contributed nothing to your fund; did he contribute in some other direction?

Mr. ROSSETER. He may have contributed to this small collection that I spoke about.

Senator SPENCER. I see.

Mr. ROSSETER. Which, generally speaking, did not come to me unless it was actually sent to me through the post.

Senator SPENCER. Were there other independent organizations in California at different places—at Sacramento, for instance—where there was a certain Johnson interest?

Mr. ROSSETER. Stockton is the only one I know of.

Senator SPENCER. Where?

Mr. ROSSETER. Stockton, Calif., San Joaquin County.

Senator SPENCER. Which you have spoken of—of Senator Flint and Mr. Corcoran?

Mr. ROSSETER. Senator Flint is in Los Angeles; but I spoke of Mr. Neumiller sending me \$6,000 from San Joaquin County.

Senator SPENCER. Yes, you did; \$2,500 of his own and \$3,500 that he had collected otherwise.

Mr. ROSSETER. I am not aware that it was his own, or whether it was his guaranty, but he undertook to get \$2,500, and ultimately he sent us \$6,000.

Senator SPENCER. Well, you think there was an organization in Stockton?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir; there was.

Senator SPENCER. And this was the sum that the Stockton organization sent to you?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, sir; \$6,000.

Senator SPENCER. Whether they raised or spent anything independently you do not know?

Mr. ROSSETER. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. And you do not know what independent activity they had in connection with the campaign?

Mr. ROSSETER. Except that they held meetings, for which the treasurer paid. I think you will find that whatever meetings were held in Stockton the treasurer paid for, and they sent the contribution to me.

Senator SPENCER. You would not know, except as you have testified here, of the raising of money by any activities independent of

your committee by friends of Gov. Johnson in California or in the West outside of that which came directly to your committee, would you?

Mr. ROSSETER. Outside of my general knowledge of these small collections that I spoke about, which were handled by Mr. Theodore Roach.

Senator SPENCER. Did you come across evidence of any such interest?

Mr. ROSSETER. By hearsay. I heard that they had a great many dollar contributions. On one occasion I was told that there were more than 100 on that day that I happened to be at headquarters of dollars that had come in; just how extensive that was I am not in a position to say.

Senator SPENCER. I have no more questions.

Senator REED. I see in your hand—I do not know where you got it: you may have brought it here, or you may have picked it up from the table—but I see in your hand a pamphlet entitled, "What Hoover Means."

Mr. ROSSETER. Somebody handed that to me as I started down here.

Senator REED. You do not know to what extent that document was circulated?

Mr. ROSSETER. No; I was quite surprised to see it moved right into my place as I sat here.

Senator SPENCER. It did not have any effect on you, did it? [Laughter.]

Mr. ROSSETER. No, Senator.

Senator REED. Do you know of a single dollar that was raised, or spent, or that was proposed to be spent in the Johnson campaign for any other purpose than an appeal to the judgment and conscience of the voter?

Mr. ROSSETER. That was the motive of our original committee, so that we could go out and make an appeal to the voter, particularly in the primary States.

Senator REED. There was no talk or arrangement for the raising of money for any other purpose than that?

Mr. ROSSETER. Absolutely not.

Senator SPENCER. But you do not know how it was spent?

Mr. ROSSETER. No; I do not. I know the purpose very well.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Just let me ask you one question, which has just occurred to me?

Mr. ROSSETER. Certainly, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Judging from what we hear, you are a man of means, and there are a number of these other contributors who are men of means. Now, for what length of time had these men—I am speaking of those who are men of substantial means now—had they been friends of Senator Johnson, personal and political, for some considerable time before they entered into this campaign?

Mr. ROSSETER. Testifying in my own case, I have, of course, known Senator Johnson all of my life; I have not entirely or always agreed with him, but I have been of the same political party. But, in my case, and I think in the case of others, we have an intense California feeling; we have a very great admiration for the Senator, and we felt

as though we wanted the rest of the country to have the same idea of him. And that went to the extent of some of the members of the committee thinking personal feelings—some feelings of personal animosity and unfriendliness.

Senator POMERENE. Had some of these gentlemen been his political opponents or enemies in the several years immediately preceding or while he was governor of the State?

Mr. ROSSETER. Yes, Senator, myself included; in 1916, I disputed with Senator Johnson for the Republican delegates to Chicago, if you will remember.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I did not know.

Mr. ROSSETER. We beat Senator Johnson in that primary.

Senator POMERENE. But whatever the differences were as between any of you and Senator Johnson, they were subordinated, in view of your State pride, as well as your desire for his nomination?

Mr. ROSSETER. And our admiration for the Senator.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Senator SPENCER. That is all; thank you, Mr. Rosseter.

Mr. ROSSETER. Thank you, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Are there any others that have been subpoenaed or telegraphed for that are here in the room now?

(Thereupon, at 4.45 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, June 3, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 4

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



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ATLEE POMERENE

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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon, presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, Reed, and Pomereene.

TESTIMONY OF MR. W. B. BURTT.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporter.

Mr. BURTT. W. B. Burtt.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. BURTT. I am assistant to Mr. William Cooper Procter, chairman of the Wood National Campaign Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you his assistant in the political work, or in a business way?

Mr. BURTT. In his office, in the Wood National Campaign Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation, when you are not in politics?

Mr. BURTT. Well, I am a business associate of some friends in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that business, Mr. Burtt?

Mr. BURTT. They are not in business right now, in any particular thing. They are interested in a number of things.

Senator SPENCER. What are they doing?

Mr. BURTT. They are in different—

Senator SPENCER. Give us the name of some of them. What are they doing?

Mr. BURTT. The oil business, and I do not know much besides that.

Senator POMERENE. Who are they?

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get that. You are connected with them in business?

Mr. BURTT. Yes. Mr. Ambrose Monell is my personal associate.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. BURTT. He is connected with the International Nickel Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he in the oil business, too?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a partner of his?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; I am not a partner of his. I am an associate of his.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an associate of his?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else in the oil business?

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by associates?

Mr. BURTT. I mean exactly what I say, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, we are here for business.

Mr. BURTT. I understand that, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And we expect these questions to be answered in the right way. Do you mean a stockholder?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; I am not a stockholder.

Senator POMERENE. In what way are you an associate of his?

Mr. BURTT. I was an officer in the Army, and I resigned from the Army in January, and I went into Mr. Monell's office as a personal associate of his.

The CHAIRMAN. As a sort of assistant or confidential man?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; as a sort of assistant or confidential man.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any stock in the companies?

Mr. BURTT. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. What are some of the large companies he is interested in?

Mr. BURTT. The only one I know personally is the International Nickel Co.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say something about oil.

Mr. BURTT. He told me he was in some oil business. What company I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing about this that you want to conceal from the committee?

Mr. BURTT. Nothing, as far as I know anything about it, but that is all there is.

The CHAIRMAN. You are working on a salary?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; with him.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been connected with the Wood campaign since when?

Mr. BURTT. Since January.

Senator REED. You said you were in the Army; were you in the Regular Army?

Mr. BURTT. I was.

Senator REED. What was your rank?

Mr. BURTT. Brigadier general in France.

Senator REED. You have been in the Army nearly all your life?

Mr. BURTT. All my life.

Senator REED. You are retired now?

Mr. BURTT. I am not; I resigned.

Senator REED. When?

Mr. BURTT. In January. The reason, Senator, I can not give you any other details is because I do not know. I have just resigned from the Army.

Senator POMERENE. Possibly I should explain to you so that we will understand one another, that we have been having a great deal of trouble here to get you here, and to get other witnesses here.

Mr. BURTT. I am very sorry.

Senator POMERENE. I am very frank to say to you that it has not left a very favorable impression upon my mind.

Mr. BURTT. I was absent visiting friends over the holidays, and I did not receive your notice until I returned on Tuesday morning. It was impossible to leave on Tuesday. I left as soon as I could.

Senator POMERENE. I want to do you ample justice.

The CHAIRMAN. I think Mr. Burtt has done pretty well in coming. He advised us that he could not come.

Senator POMERENE. Very well, I will withdraw my statement.

Senator REED. I thought the gentleman hesitated in a peculiar way, and we have had some witnesses, frankly, that have not been very frank with us, and I guess that accounts for the situation.

Mr. BURTT. I will be perfectly frank with you. I have nothing to conceal.

The CHAIRMAN. General, Mr. Sprague told us that he could not give us the list of distributors to whom money had gone, but that you could furnish that information. That is the reason we have you here, and we asked you to furnish that information to us.

Mr. BURTT. Mr. McChensney, Mr. Miller, and Senator Moses are the principal ones——

The CHAIRMAN. We have had them on the stand.

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement as to the amount of money you have sent to these gentlemen?

Mr. BURTT. I can only refer to the statement of Mr. Sprague about that. I have no record.

The CHAIRMAN. But Mr. Sprague told us you were the man to furnish that list, and that he could not do it.

Mr. BURTT. You asked me the amounts. The amounts were in Mr. Sprague's testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. And to whom the money was sent? Also give us that.

Senator POMERENE. Did you bring those sheets with you from Mr. Sprague?

Mr. BURTT. I have brought some paper with me; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That Mr. Sprague gave you to bring?

Mr. BURTT. That Mr. Sprague gave me to bring. They are the receipts for the contributions received by him. If you will excuse me, I will get those. These are the receipts which he told me were the receipts for contributions received by him, and which he stated to me he had stated to this committee he would send.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. BURTT. These are copies of the receipts given by him.

The CHAIRMAN. And they cover, as you understand it, receipts for all contributions?

Mr. BURTT. For all contributions received by him.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the check book showing the distribution?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; I have not.

Senator POMERENE. Or the returned checks?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; he did not give me those.

The CHAIRMAN. How was the money distributed? When it was sent to a State, for instance, was it not sent by check?

Mr. BURTT. Usually; yes, sir. These are the requests that were sent from Mr. Sprague's office to Mr. Sprague for the funds that were sent out for all purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Say that again.

Mr. BURTT. For all purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. These statements now are what?

Mr. BURTT. These are the duplicates kept in Mr. Sprague's office of the requests for funds sent to Mr. Sprague. That is what they are headed, "requests for funds."

The CHAIRMAN. What have you complying with those requests?

Mr. BURTT. I have nothing to show for them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a list of the people to whom funds were sent?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, take the State of Indiana. A certain amount is sent into Indiana, or any other State. What have you to show to whom that money was sent?

Mr. BURTT. This shows in here, for instance, for Indiana, Leonard Wood National Campaign Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. In New York?

Mr. BURTT. These are supposed to be filed alphabetically.

Senator POMERENE. Alphabetically as to States or as to the persons making the requests?

Mr. BURTT. As to the persons to whom the money went.

Senator REED. General, you said those were the requests. As a matter of fact, do they show whom the money was sent to?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That is what we want to get.

Mr. BURTT. In each case?

Senator POMERENE. So it is a little more than a request? It is a complete record of the transaction, not only the request, but the fact that the remittance, if a remittance was made?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; in here is the number of the check entered on there that was sent in compliance with that. For instance, that is Robert Tyler, the man who had charge of the advertising in the State of Indiana.

Senator POMERENE. Let me read for the record this request. It is dated April 19, 1920. It is entitled, "Leonard Wood National Campaign Committee, Chicago, Ill.," and written in pencil, or ink, "Indiana." "No. 904. Request for funds." Dated April 19, 1920.

Mr. A. A. SPRAGUE,

*Treasurer Leonard Wood National Campaign Committee,
Chicago, Ill.*

DEAR SIR:

You are requested to issue check, payable to the order of the firm or individuals listed, to the extent of \$3,064.64, this fund to be used for payment of accounts by the candidate in Indiana, for which receipts will be returned later.

Special instructions: Send checks to Harry G. Hogan.

LEONARD WOOD.
R. T.

What does that mean?

Mr. BURTT. Robert Tyler.

Senator POMERENE. He is the man who——

Mr. BURTT. He was the agent of the candidate.

Senator POMERENE. And he was the man who signed the name "Leonard Wood" here?

Mr. BURTT. Exactly.

Senator POMERENE. The person making the request?

Mr. BURTT. That was in compliance with the law in Indiana.

Senator POMERENE. And this memorandum on the corner is number 656.

Mr. BURTT. That should be check number 656.

Senator POMERENE. Check No. 656, and the rest of it I will let you decipher. I can not at all understand it.

Mr. BURTT. "Eighty-five inclosures."

Senator POMERENE. Eighty-five inclosures?

Mr. BURTT. Eighty-five inclosures.

Senator REED. That means there were——

Mr. BURTT. Eighty-five of these receipts, and so on, that went with the original of this to Mr. Sprague. He has all of those originals with the bills or other things attached. For instance, when the pay roll came in, the pay roll was attached to the original, a white copy of this. For instance, only one is kept in my office. The original, with all of the inclosures, bills, and receipts and everything of that sort went to Mr. Sprague.

Senator REED. Those bills and receipts would show the items and the particular purposes for which money was spent.

Mr. BURTT. The particular purpose for which it was paid.

Senator REED. So that all that this large bundle or volume of requests, as we term them, will show us, is the aggregate amount sent to certain managers in the States?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator REED. But if you want to go beyond that and find what those managers did with the money, you would have to get the vouchers and itemized statements which they sent to your committee?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; to the treasurer. These were for purchases and so on that were not included.

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by these?

Mr. BURTT. These are requests for purchases of, for instance, printed material, and things like that.

Senator REED. Now you are referring to another bound volume of invoices?

Mr. BURTT. To requests for purchases.

Senator POMERENE. In a general way, state what those purchases were.

Mr. BURTT. They were bound, paper bound copies of the Sears' Leonard Wood book, for all sorts of office supplies, celluloid buttons, campaign buttons——

Senator POMERENE. It may have been, I suppose, advertising?

Mr. BURTT. It may have been things of that sort. I have copies of the largest part of the purchases that were made.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you a question or two about these Indiana expenditures. Do you know, generally, how much money was sent into Indiana?

Mr. BURTT. I do not. I think Mr. Joss stated, and the account showed, that Mr. Sprague put in, I think in the neighborhood of \$45,000, with some \$12,000 of unpaid bills, but I refer to my memory on that, and I cannot say definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice these were sometimes made out and sent to Mr. Hogan or others in a number of separate checks. Did you have to do with that, and do you know——

Mr. BURTT. Yes; there were a number of separate checks sent for funds that were to be used by him, as might be necessary, to purchase stamps, and we have made to the postmaster—I have forgotten his name—in Indianapolis checks for the purchase of stamps, and I think they were in the amount of \$4,100 or approximately that amount, and they were used. There were a number of them returned later. I think \$600 or \$700 was returned. One large batch amounted to \$1,000, I think, that was sent for postage.

The CHAIRMAN. Take, for instance, No. 904, which contains this statement:

These funds are to be used for the payment of accounts by the candidate in Indiana, for which receipts will be returned later. Send checks to Henry G. Hogan.

What does that mean, accounts by the candidate, or what?

Mr. BURTT. In Indiana the primary law required that the State committee should have only a certain amount of money which, in round numbers, if I remember correctly, was \$5,300. That was all that the State committee could expend under the law. The candidate, however, or his representative, could expend for postage, advertising, circularizing, telephone and telegraph an unlimited sum.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be, for instance, a candidate for delegate at large, or the district delegate, where there would be no limit to the amount of the funds?

Mr. BURTT. I know nothing about that, sir. I know nothing about the law except as it referred to the presidential candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say candidate, does that mean presidential candidate?

Mr. BURTT. Presidential candidate only. That was all we had to do with.

The CHAIRMAN. So these statements all the way through refer to the presidential candidate?

Mr. BURTT. Refer to Leonard Wood, the candidate in Indiana.

Senator POMERENE. How much of that money was sent to Indiana?

Mr. BURTT. I think all of it that was noted in Mr. Sprague's account.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I do not have in mind the figures. Your recollection accords with mine, that the amount——

Mr. BURTT. Approximately \$45,000.

Senator POMERENE. That the amount which could be expended under their primary law, which Mr. Sprague referred to as limited expenses, was something over \$5,000.

Mr. BURTT. \$5,300.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is approximately correct; and then that there was an additional sum, and you think it was about \$45,000?

Mr. BURTT. No; about \$40,000; because the total, as I remember it, was \$59,000.

Senator POMERENE. And that was to be expended by the candidate, and it is for that reason that these requests here are signed by Leonard Wood?

Mr. BURTT. By his representative.

Senator POMERENE. By his representative?

Mr. BURTT. Exactly.

Senator POMERENE. And there was about \$45,000 of that amount spent?

Mr. BURTT. About \$40,000.

Senator POMERENE. Now, who furnished those funds?

Mr. BURTT. The national campaign committee.

Senator POMERENE. So the funds were not, in fact, Gen. Wood's personal funds?

Mr. BURTT. No; the law, as I understood it, allowed the national committee to furnish those funds.

Senator POMERENE. Whatever the law may be, and the committee will perhaps have to pass upon that, the fact remains that while these requests for funds were signed by Gen. Leonard Wood, by his agent, the requests were paid out of funds which were raised and disbursed by the Gen. Leonard Wood National Headquarters?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. No. 985. The order speaks of \$9,030.10, funds advanced to the Emerson Beck Knight Advertising Agency. Did you make an agreement with the Emerson Beck Knight Advertising Agency of Indianapolis?

Mr. BURTT. That was in the Indianapolis headquarters. They arranged that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about that yourself?

Mr. BURTT. No, but all of our work was done through the regular advertising agencies that could be done that way.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice a telegram here from Mr. Hogan to Frederick A. Joss, April 27, Wood Headquarters, Chicago, reading as follows:

Must have \$9,030.10 for advertising in addition to requests already in. Copy ready to be mailed held up for lack of funds. May we put draft through? Most urgent.

HARRY C. HOGAN.

Do you know anything about that?

Mr. BURTT. Only that that was all referring to some requests they had already put in, and there was a slight increase over the request they had put in, and it was held up, and he was anxious to have it on account of the newspaper advertising. There was nothing unusual about that.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to expedite, or, rather, carry out in a business way the subject of funds, your campaign committee had printed the blanks headed, "Request for funds."

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those did you have printed, do you know?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how many are here in this, filled out?

Mr. BURTT. I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. And requests for funds were coming in so heavily that you thought it was better to have forms printed?

Mr. BURTT. Well, it was to prevent duplication of bills, and things of that sort, so that we would have a correct record of it. They were not started to be used until early in the——

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you a little about the checks——

Senator REED. Receipts.

The CHAIRMAN. And the receipts. Col. Ambrose Monell is the man you spoke of that you are associated with?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he contribute any more than this \$20,000?

Mr. BURTT. Not that I know of. If there is more, there is a receipt there for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know yourself about the contribution that Mr. Loeb sent in, who made those contributions?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Loeb himself made a personal contribution?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know, unless the receipt is there. I have never looked through that book, Senator. Practically no contributions were received through Mr. Proctor's office.

The CHAIRMAN. There seems to be a receipt from William Loeb, care American Smelting & Refining Co., for \$25,000. What is Mr. Loeb's business?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What is the date?

The CHAIRMAN. March 29, 1920. You do not know his business?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What is his first name?

The CHAIRMAN. William Loeb. Is that the Mr. Loeb who also sent in the collections from New York?

Mr. BURTT. It is the only Loeb I know of in the names connected with the book. I have met him once only.

The CHAIRMAN. William Rigley, jr. Is that the gum manufacturer?

Mr. BURTT. I think so. I have met him once.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a delegate from Chicago?

Mr. BURTT. I think he is; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. E. E. Smathers?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know him at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know his business?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know his business.

The CHAIRMAN. Col. Edgar, of Detroit. Do you know his business?

Mr. BURTT. I do not. I have met him. I knew him in the service.

Senator REED. Do you know the number of Leonard Wood receipts here?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know, sir.

Senator REED. In Indiana?

Mr. BURTT. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You will find they are all bunched together. C. B. Shafer, of Chicago, Ill. What is his business? \$10,000.

Mr. BURTT. I think he is in the oil business. I have met him once only.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what oil business it is?

Mr. BURTT. I think the Shafer Oil & Refining Co. is the name of it; I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are the oil fields in which Mr. Monell is interested?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know, except in an indefinite way. He said in Oklahoma and in Texas. I have not seen Mr. Monell but twice since then.

The CHAIRMAN. What oil business is Mr. Shafer in, do you know; what companies?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Or where they operate?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know that. I have been in the service all my life and know very little of the business world. I make that explanation so that you will not think I am trying to conceal anything, because I am not.

The CHAIRMAN. We know you are not. We are simply trying to get the facts and doing the best we can at it.

Senator POMERENE. All of those Indiana funds that were sent from the national committee were requisitioned in the manner of the one about which you were interrogated specifically?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; every one.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, all of them were signed by Leonard Wood, by the initials?

Mr. BURTT. By his agent.

The CHAIRMAN. These funds were kept in what bank?

Mr. BURTT. I think the Merchants Loan & Trust Co.

Senator POMERENE. Was that all the funds of the Leonard Wood national campaign committee?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; I think Mr. Sprague—I can not remember—but I think that Mr. Sprague kept them in the Merchants Loan & Trust Co.

Senator POMERENE. Were there any funds kept in any other bank by the national committee?

Mr. BURTT. Not that—well, I do not know about that. Mr. Sprague would know about that.

Senator POMERENE. Were any of the funds kept by any of the individual officers or representatives of the National Wood Campaign Committee, in their own name, or in any other bank?

Mr. BURTT. There were several checks—well, I can not say about that. I think that Mr. Stebbins had a fund, and I think that all of the agents had funds where they disbursed funds. Senator Moses—I do not know where he kept his, but Mr. McChesney is the treasurer, I think, had funds that were deposited with him by the national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Why was that?

Mr. BURTT. Well, because he had charge of the Illinois headquarters, and they were deposited there for him.

Senator POMERENE. And he kept a separate account for the campaign in the State of Illinois?

Mr. BURTT. He did, yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That was Gen. McChesney who appeared here before us the other day?

Mr. BURTT. Yes. I do not know that he personally had such an account, but he had a treasurer, as I understand it, who did have that account. I am not able to state whether he personally kept an account or not, but I know that the treasurer in New York did. I know that Senator Moses, or whoever he had as treasurer, kept an account of that kind, and in each State I imagine they had the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything showing what you sent to Senator Moses?

Mr. BURTT. I think there are some things in here.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have any funds deposited to your own account, on which you checked?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, my personal funds, and my expense account; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Where did you keep that account?

Mr. BURTT. In the Great Lakes Trust Co.

Senator POMERENE. Were you checking on that for campaign expenditures?

Mr. BURTT. In certain cases where I sent money and it was impossible to give a check immediately, I had to have money deposited, and I sent the check. In that you will find certain checks that were sent to Indiana and to Ohio, that were sent by my own checks, where I had to have Mr. Sprague's check deposited to my credit, and then drew a check and sent it.

Senator POMERENE. How much did you send to Indiana in the way that you have indicated, that is by your own check?

Mr. BURTT. I think by check, \$9,030, that I remember there. That was due, and I think that Mr. Sprague was out of town, and I had to send this check to cover the amount that was there. That was required at once to be paid. That was returned to me.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have funds sufficient of your own on deposit in your bank to your account, out of which you could pay that amount?

Mr. BURTT. I did.

Senator POMERENE. Did any portion of the funds which you at that time had on deposit to your own credit come from the Gen. Wood's national headquarters?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; a part of it did.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, they would advance to you from time to time funds upon which you could check, in the event that the expenditures of the campaign required it to be done?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You say also that you sent certain funds to the State of Ohio?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. By your own check?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; I think so.

Senator POMERENE. To what amount?

Mr. BURTT. I think the accounts are there.

Senator POMERENE. Do you want to refer to them?

Mr. BURTT. I would like to.

Senator POMERENE. If you will just refer to them. Let me suggest that you put a slip of paper in so that we can get at them in the event I should want to refer to them later.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they bunched there, according to the States?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; they are alphabetically arranged, according to the accounts. There is the mark, Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. Gen. Burtt refers to No. 416 in the book labeled "Requests for funds." This is dated March 16, 1920, addressed to Mr. A. A. Sprague, treasurer of Leonard Wood national campaign funds, and reads:

DEAR SIR: You are requested to issue check payable to the order of W. B. Burtt to the extent of \$20,000, these funds to be used for headquarters expenses.

Special instructions: Returned check signed W. B. B., person making request.

Those are your initials?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And approved by yourself as treasurer?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; and the original itself is approved by order of Col. Procter.

Senator POMERENE. By the way, I notice that order No. 416, which I have just read, is followed by order No. 435, followed immediately by that. Where are the intervening orders?

Mr. BURTT. They are probably scattered all through there for other purposes.

Senator POMERENE. I see; they are not in their numerical order, but in the order of the——

Mr. BURTT. Alphabetical order.

Senator POMERENE. I understand you now. This order 435 is dated March 18, 1920, three days thereafter, to W. B. Burtt for \$20,000, these funds to be used for expenses at headquarters, and that also you say went to Ohio?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. "Approved by order W. C. P.—W. B. Burtt." This is followed by order No. 490, dated March 27, 1920, addressed to Mr. Sprague, and requests the issue of a check payable to W. B. Burtt, for \$10,000. This also went to Ohio?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And while the request itself is not signed it is approved by W. B. B. Those are your initials?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. This is followed immediately by Order No. 926, dated April 24, 1920, addressed to Mr. Sprague, treasurer, also requesting that a check be issued to W. B. Burtt for \$10,000, and signed by W. B. B. That also went to Ohio?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. There were, then, these four orders? Were there any more?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; not unless they are there.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I do not know. The next one is a small order, \$13.68.

Mr. BURTT. That may be something else.

Senator POMERENE. That is Postal Telegraph.

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. So that, as we understand it, these sums were paid to you, as indicated by these orders, and out of the funds thus given to you, you, from time to time issued your own checks drawn against your own account, as you felt the condition of the campaign might require?

Mr. BURTT. No, not exactly that. Those were deposited in some cases, and in some cases they were indorsed directly to the parties. I can not remember as to those particular cases, but I think that Mr. Price, or Mr. Morgan, who has been here, has stated that he received that amount.

Senator POMERENE. In any event, this money went into Ohio?

Mr. BURTT. It did, and it is accounted for in this Sprague account as the amount that went to Ohio.

Senator POMERENE. He furnished us a statement of that.

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir, this is the amount.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you pay for the account of the Wood campaign any funds other than those that you received from the national headquarters of the committee?

Mr. BURTT. I did not quite understand that, Senator.

(The question was read by the stenographer.)

Mr. BURTT. You mean by that did I pay my personal funds?

Senator POMERENE. Did you pay your own personal funds, or did you receive other funds from other sources?

Mr. BURTT. I did not. I might have paid here and there a chip of fifty cents of my personal funds around headquarters.

Senator POMERENE. A substantial amount, I mean.

Mr. BURTT. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you receive funds from any other source than the national headquarters for the Wood campaign, and which you disbursed for that purpose?

Mr. BURTT. Do you mean by that, Senator, that someone gave me money for something?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BURTT. I did not.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any other source that is in your own mind?

Mr. BURTT. No. I do not know what the Senator is quite driving at.

Senator POMERENE. There is nothing obscure about it. Let me explain to you just what I want. Thus far you have said to us that you issued your own checks on your own account; that you received funds from time to time, as the record now shows, from the National Wood Headquarters, and you have said that you have paid no expenses out of your own funds or personally, I mean, except the modest amounts that you have indicated?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, what I am wanting to find out is whether or not you had funds from any other source that were contributed for the purposes of the Wood campaign and which you used.

Mr. BURTT. No. In most cases I have simply deposited the checks and immediately drawn another check against it for the same amount, or in many cases I did not deposit the check, but indorsed it immediately to the man who was waiting for it.

Senator POMERENE. I understand you. Now, then, there were other active administration activities about the National Wood Headquarters. Did any of them have funds which they received from the treasury of the national committee and which they disbursed in the way that you have indicated that you received and disbursed them?

Mr. BURTT. No; not that I know of. The publicity department, which paid for advertising, buttons, and things like that, or these books—some of these were paid directly by them on funds received by them and accounted for to the treasurer by receipts, and so on, exactly the same——

Senator POMERENE. Who would do that in connection with the publicity department?

Mr. BURTT. Mr. Edgar Clark and Mr. Gardiner.

Senator SPENCER. Did any money go to Missouri?

Mr. BURTT. I think Mr. Sprague said in his account some small amount of \$1,600, something like that.

Senator SPENCER. Is it in that account?

Mr. BURTT. If it is, I would have to know the name of the person.

Senator SPENCER. Will you look at it while we are talking to Mr. Duell?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. See if you can find it. I would like to know how much, and to whom it went.

(The witness was thereupon temporarily excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES H. DUELL.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. DUELL. Charles H. Duell.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home?

Mr. DUELL. My legal residence is Yonkers, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. DUELL. Lawyer; a member of the firm of Duell, Warfield & Duell.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you associated with the Wood campaign when Mr. King was managing it?

Mr. DUELL. In the early stages. My real connection dated from Mr. Ambrose Monell for a short period of time.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the contributions during that time, and the expenditures during that time?

Mr. DUELL. No; I can not.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know anything about the receipts or expenditures of that money, Mr. Duell?

Mr. DUELL. On the question of receipts and expenditures I might tell you this, Senator, that my connection with Wood's campaign was on the financial side.

Senator SPENCER. Entirely?

Mr. DUELL. Well, apart from the minor conferences in Chicago during December and January, my connection was financial. I will bring it right up to the point. They date from the month of November when I met Mr. Ambrose Monell, who has had business in Wall Street, the gentleman mentioned here this morning.

Senator SPENCER. What does he do?

Mr. DUELL. To the best of my knowledge and belief, Mr. Monell is connected with the International Nickel, the Midvale Steel, and the American Bank Note. "Who's who in America" will show that

Senator SPENCER. You mean on the boards?

Senator REED. He said his connection was from November, 1900, to when?

Senator SPENCER. 1919?

Mr. DUELL. Until the change in the management of the Wood campaign, which occurred in January of the present year.

Senator SPENCER. Since then you have had no connection with it?

Mr. DUELL. No connection at all.

Senator SPENCER. Your connection lasted only two or three months?

Mr. DUELL. A very short time I was working with Mr. Monell at his request.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Monell was a friend of Mr. King's too?

Mr. DUELL. Yes, I think so.

Senator SPENCER. When Mr. King ceased his connection, you ceased your connection?

Mr. DUELL. I ceased my connection.

Senator SPENCER. Did Mr. Monell cease his connection?

Mr. DUELL. Of my own knowledge, I could not state, but I understand he has continued right along.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Monell is on the boards of these corporations; is that your statement, or is he an officer?

Mr. DUELL. I can not give you that exactly. You will have to look it up in "Who's who in America," or something like that; but he is identified with corporations in Wall Street.

Senator SPENCER. In what capacity was he acting?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Monell was the quiet collector of the Wood money in the early stages.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know how much he collected or how much was collected through him or how much was collected through Mr. King?

Mr. DUELL. I will put it in this way: Initially the theory of Mr. Monell as to the Wood campaign was to underwrite either a half million or a million dollars, to underwrite Wood just as you would a stock company. That was the theory—that so many men would underwrite so much.

Senator SPENCER. Either pay it or raise it?

Mr. DUELL. Either pay it or raise it.

Senator SPENCER. All right; go on.

Mr. DUELL. And that that would be the best way in which to raise the money, just the same as you would have an underwriting of a company.

Senator SPENCER. How much was underwritten, as far as you know?

Mr. DUELL. Of course after the change in the management the plans were changed, but the first plan was to raise half a million dollars. Mr. Monell asked me to raise half and he would get half. Then a meeting was arranged at his house, 16 East Sixty-second Street, at which meeting Mr. Robert Cassatt, of Philadelphia, Gen. Wood, Mr. Monell, and I were present.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the Pennsylvania Railroad man?

Mr. DUELL. Of Philadelphia, Pa.

Senator REED. Where was that meeting held?

Mr. DUELL. In Mr. Monell's house.

Senator REED. Who was present?

Mr. DUELL. To the best of my recollection, Gen. Wood, Mr. Cassatt, Mr. Monell, and myself. There was an aide or something of the General's, but that was substantially all.

Senator SPENCER. Were there some others?

Mr. DUELL. There may have been some others, but that is the main group.

Senator REED. Where was that meeting held?

Mr. DUELL. 16 East Sixty-second Street, New York. That meeting was held on the night that Gen. Wood spoke at the Roosevelt Memorial at the Carnegie Hall. It was immediately after that meeting.

Senator SPENCER. That meeting was when?

Mr. DUELL. I presume that was along toward the end of November.

Senator SPENCER. Had it been prearranged?

Mr. DUELL. Yes. At any rate, it was at the time of that Roosevelt meeting.

Senator SPENCER. You think it was some time about the last of November, and the meeting had been prearranged?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Cassatt was asked to raise half a million dollars.

Senator SPENCER. At that meeting?

Mr. DUELL. Yes; in the presence of these men. I might say this, in all fairness to Mr. Cassatt, that he thought that he was very busy with his own matters, and while he was for Gen. Wood he did not feel that he would be the best, under all circumstances, to undertake to raise a sum like that, so that Mr. Cassatt finally declined to raise the money.

Senator SPENCER. He never agreed to do it?

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Cassatt declined to raise any money and as far as I know, he never has and has not had the slightest connection with it.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Duell, what actually was raised or underwritten, what definite amount? This plan that you have indicated here was proposed. Now what actually was raised by you or Mr. Monell, or Mr. King, that you know of, or what was actually underwritten?

Mr. DUELL. After I had met Mr. Monell—I did not come in contact with him in the beginning—there was some element somewhere collecting money, and finally I met Mr. Monell on some side street in New York, and he was the man that was raising the money.

Senator SPENCER. How much did you raise?

Mr. DUELL. I went to Mr. E. E. Smathers, whose contribution has already been mentioned in connection with the investigation, and just as he states, as it has been published, he made this contribution of \$20,000.

Senator SPENCER. Was that in response to your solicitation?

Mr. DUELL. That was in direct response to my solicitation.

Senator SPENCER. What else was raised by you or given by you or underwritten by you?

Mr. DUELL. Well, Mr. Smathers and myself had luncheon at the Recess Club, at which Col. Billesby, of Chicago, was present, and as a result of that meeting we persuaded——

Senator REED. Who were present there?

Mr. DUELL. Just the three of us, Mr. Smathers, Col. Billesby, and myself, and as a result of this luncheon, Col. Billesby joined with me in supporting at that time the general for his nomination.

Senator SPENCER. We may get into all of this later on. How much money was actually raised by you, or given by you, or underwritten by you?

Mr. DUELL. That must be absolutely confined to Mr. Smathers's contribution.

Senator SPENCER. That is the \$20,000?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. You did not give anything yourself?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator SPENCER. You did not underwrite anything yourself?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator SPENCER. But you were instrumental in securing the \$20,000 from Mr. Smathers, of which we have heard?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any amount that was given or underwritten by Mr. Monell, any definite amount?

Mr. DUELL. Well, would I be supposed to tell what Mr. Monell said to me?

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Monell has testified to his own contribution.

Senator SPENCER. The luncheons you had are interesting.

Mr. DUELL. At this particular luncheon there were just the three present. That led to the plan for the raising of money. It all started from that. Mr. Byllesby, in turn, got Mr. Sprague into it.

Senator SPENCER. Did Mr. Monell raise any money that you know of, or give any money?

Mr. DUELL. Other than what Mr. Monell——

Senator REED. How much money was raised altogether? Do you know how much was raised through your organization?

Mr. DUELL. I had no particular organization. I was working with Mr. Monell.

Senator SPENCER. Through your efforts? What I want to get at is just what you raised during the time you were connected with it.

Mr. DUELL. That was limited, Senator, strictly to Mr. Smathers' contribution.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any additions by Mr. Monell?

Mr. DUELL. Only what Mr. Monell told me himself.

Senator SPENCER. What did he tell you?

Mr. DUELL. He was quite willing to undertake \$250,000. I think he spoke to me of different sums of \$25,000 that he had given, but he did not tell me to whom.

Senator SPENCER. You mean whether it was to the Wood campaign or not?

Mr. DUELL. Well, to the Wood campaign: yes.

Senator SPENCER. That is, he told you he had given different sums of \$25,000?

Mr. DUELL. Yes; different sums of \$25,000.

Senator SPENCER. How many of them?

Mr. DUELL. He did not say; and he did not tell me to whom.

Senator SPENCER. This was some time before January, 1920?

Mr. DUELL. It was.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know how much it would aggregate?

Mr. DUELL. No; I have not the remotest idea.

Senator SPENCER. Was there anything underwritten by Mr. Monell, in addition to that?

Mr. DUELL. Well, I have stated his theory of the campaign——

Senator SPENCER. We have got his theory. I mean what was actually done.

Mr. DUELL. Was underwriting——

Senator SPENCER. Was what?

Mr. DUELL. That his theory was underwriting——

Senator SPENCER. You told us that. What was actually done? Did he underwrite anything?

Mr. DUELL. For so many men to underwrite a million dollars, \$100,000 apiece.

Senator SPENCER. Did he do that?

Mr. DUELL. This was before the change in the management came, and of my own knowledge I honestly can not say.

Senator SPENCER. You do not know?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know, other than just by rumor, hearing in the meeting to which three or four men were——

Senator REED. What was that meeting?

Mr. DUELL. That was at the Hotel Plaza.

Senator REED. Who was there?

Mr. DUELL. I was not present. This is absolutely hearsay.

Senator REED. We want to know who you heard was there.

Mr. DUELL. Mr. Monell, Mr. Proctor, and Col. Byllesby.

Senator REED. Anybody else?

Mr. DUELL. I do not remember.

Senator REED. Whom did you hear about that from?

Mr. DUELL. Well, that was the general undercurrent of gossip that was going around.

Senator REED. When was the meeting held?

Mr. DUELL. Well, along in, I should say, December.

Senator REED. You were still connected with the campaign at that time?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. In December?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. In your connection with the campaign you learned of this meeting, and of the men who were there? Did you learn in your connection with the campaign how much money was there raised or pledged?

Mr. DUELL. \$400,000.

Senator SPENCER. Did you learn of that in any other way except by gossip?

Mr. DUELL. No other way. As a matter of fact, I can not say whether Mr. Monell told me that, or who it was, but I have that distinct impression of this meeting.

Senator REED. I want to make a distinction here. There is a thing that is called gossip, which is just general talk that runs around through a community and nobody can trace the source of it, and it is not evidence of anything, but just rumor. There is another kind of information that a man gets who is engaged in a movement. He knows what he does himself, and he knows from talking with his associates and keeping track of the movement what is generally going on. Now, did you learn of this meeting in your connection with the Wood movement, and was it stated to you by men who were engaged in that movement, or did you pick it up as mere rumor on the street?

Mr. DUELL. No; I learned of it in my general connection with the Wood movement, in my work with Mr. Monell. I can not recall on my absolute oath whether it was Mr. Monell who told me this, or who it was, but I do——

Senator REED. Was it some one who was connected with this movement that gave you this information, or was it outside rumor?

Mr. DUELL. No; it was undoubtedly some one that had some interest in the Wood movement.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk it over with King?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk it over with Monell, Proctor, or Byllesby, or Gen. Wood?

Mr. DUELL. No; I do not remember any distinct talk with them on that.

Senator REED. Do you remember a reference to it when you were talking about how you were going to raise funds, how much you had, and how much you were going to get, how much you hoped to get?

Mr. DUELL. Well, Mr. Monell certainly did not tell me everything, because he was kind of collecting quietly, and how much he kept to himself, and how much he told others, of course, I do not know.

Senator REED. Do you know of any other meetings to raise money, or anything else about the raising of money?

Mr. DUELL. No; that sums up my connection.

Senator REED. Now, let us go back a little way and see if I can get this a little in order. What is your business?

Mr. DUELL. I am an attorney, a lawyer.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. DUELL. New York City, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, a member of the law firm of Duell, Warfield & Duell. My father was formerly a judge of the court of appeals in this district.

Senator REED. Pardon me. I live so far out in the interior that I do not know much about the New York bar. Who first asked you to interest yourself in the Wood campaign. How did you get into it?

Mr. DUELL. You mean prior to my financial connection with it?

Senator REED. Your connection with it at all.

Mr. DUELL. At the Coffee House in New York City, at which I was merely invited to attend this dinner by Mr. Charles Hanson Towne, who was then the editor of McClure's Magazine.

Senator REED. Was there any special object of that meeting?

Mr. DUELL. There were features of it which at the time I went I did not know. My summing of that dinner was a general discussion of different candidates, and the availability of Wood. It was absolutely in the embryonic stage.

Senator REED. But it was rather favorable to Wood?

Mr. DUELL. Well——

Senator REED. Would you call it a Wood meeting?

Mr. DUELL. I think, really, Senator, that dinner could best be described a meeting to talk over the candidates. There may have been, as you indicated, an undercurrent there for Gen. Wood, but I do not know that you could call it a Wood meeting.

Senator REED. Can you tell us who was present at this dinner?

Mr. DUELL. Just writers—15 or 20 people.

Senator REED. Mostly writers?

Mr. DUELL. Mostly writers. There may have been Republicans and Democrats there.

Senator REED. Who gave the dinner?

Mr. DUELL. That I do not remember. I just know that I was invited to come.

Senator REED. Mostly they were writers?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. This was at the Coffee House?

Mr. DUELL. The Coffee House is quite a luncheon and dinner club on West Forty-fifth Street, New York, a very nice place where many of the writers and people like that meet each day, just like India House, in London.

Senator REED. Was that started by the sons of Theodore Roosevelt?

Mr. DUELL. I do not believe so. I think you are referring to the coffee business that one of Col. Roosevelt's sons started. This has no connection, as far as I know.

Senator REED. Well, I thought perhaps I had some information.

Mr. DUELL. They call it the Coffee House. That is the name of it. They are not in business. It is just a dining place.

Senator REED. Well, at that meeting, at which the editor of McClure's magazine was present, and a number of other writers, they sort of went over the Republican candidates for president? Did anything else come out of that meeting?

Mr. DUELL. No, Senator, not to my knowledge. As a matter of fact, I left the meeting before it was over. They were leaving, going out to different——

Senator REED. When were you next asked to take any interest in the campaign?

Mr. DUELL. Well, there is a gap between there and my meeting with Mr. Monell.

Senator REED. When Mr. Monell met you what did he ask you to do? What was his suggestion?

Mr. DUELL. The first meeting with Mr. Monell was with relation to the meeting with Mr. Cassatt, to whom I have referred.

Senator REED. Mr. Monell, of course, asked you if you were interested in the Wood campaign, and if you would render some help. That was talked over, I suppose, or in some way or other you got into this Wood campaign? That is what I am trying to find out.

Mr. DUELL. You know how things catch you up and you get interested.

Senator REED. You talked about the Wood campaign raising money to Mr. Cassatt?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. And that meeting with Mr. Cassatt was——

Mr. DUELL. I spoke of that, Senator, to show you my connection with Mr. Cassatt, and how I first came to really know him.

Senator REED. Do you know how he came to come to you?

Mr. DUELL. No, I do not, other than he may have thought I knew a lot of people and might be able to help him.

Senator REED. Had you, up to this time, met Mr. King?

Mr. DUELL. I met Mr. King about the same time.

The CHAIRMAN. I have just received a telegram from Mr. Horace Stebbins which I wish to insert in the record.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

MONTREAL, QUEBEC, June 3.

Senator KENYON,
United States Senate, Washington.

Have just received word am desired testify before your committee. Leaving for New York to-night. Please telegraph me 31 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York City, if can testify Friday. Have planned leave for Chicago Saturday.

HORACE STEBBINS.

(Whereupon, at 11.30 o'clock a. m., the committee took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the expiration of the recess.

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES H. DUELL—Resumed.

Senator SPENCER. Senator Reed, will you resume the examination of Mr. Duell?

Senator REED. Mr. Duell, I think we had gotten along to the meeting that you had with Mr. Monell and Mr. Procter and Mr. Byllesby.

Mr. DUELL. No, not Mr. Procter—Col. Byllesby and Mr. Smathers and myself. That was the luncheon at the Recess Club.

Senator REED. You discussed money there?

Mr. DUELL. In a general way.

Senator REED. Which one of these dinners was Gen. Wood at?

Mr. DUELL. Now, I must make a slight correction there—at Mr. Monell's house, Mr. Monell, Mr. Cassatt, and myself; Gen. Wood came in after the meeting, the Roosevelt memorial meeting at Carnegie Hall.

Senator REED. Yes. Well, you still were discussing matters there. you discussed them there with Gen. Wood, did you not?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. You discussed some financial matters—that you were trying to raise some money?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. You discussed in his presence the proposition of underwriting, and how you proposed to get at it?

Mr. DUELL. Right in the room.

Senator REED. You all discussed it there together?

Mr. DUELL. I can not remember just which one said this or that but it was sitting in the room---

Senator REED (interposing). I understand; but I simply want to know whether he was present at the meeting.

Mr. DUELL. He was at the meeting.

Senator REED. At which you discussed the proposition of raising money under Mr. Monell's process of underwriting? Is that correct?

Mr. DUELL. That is correct.

Senator REED. And you had the proposition before you by which \$500,000 of underwriting was to be undertaken; is that correct?

Mr. DUELL. That is correct.

Senator REED. And that was one underwriting; and you proposed to have other underwritings of sums of \$500,000?

Mr. DUELL. I can not answer as to that.

Senator REED. But this fund of \$500,000—

Mr. DUELL (interposing). That was the one that Mr. Cassatt declined to raise the money; we went no further—

Senator REED (interposing). Yes; but Mr. Monell went on with it!

Mr. DUELL. Well, it was shortly after that that I dropped out and went to Europe. I have been in Europe now, for several months.

Senator REED. When did you go to Europe?

Mr. DUELL. At the end of February.

Senator REED. When was it that you understood that \$400,000 had been actually underwritten?

Mr. DUELL. Along in December, I should say; December or January; along about that time.

Senator REED. And Mr. Monell told you that he had raised several sums of \$25,000?

Mr. DUELL. Not quite in that way.

Senator REED. Well, how was it that he said that?

Mr. DUELL. He remarked to me that he had given different sums of \$25,000. It was a passing remark. I do not recall where he got it.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, he did give \$100,000, did he not? Can you answer that question, Gen. Burtt?

Mr. BURTT. I think there was one loan that Col. Procter spoke about, or Mr. Sprague spoke about, the other day; I think I noticed that in reading their testimony. But he never contributed, so far as my knowledge of the campaign goes, other than the campaign contributions as shown in that book.

Senator REED. Well, he made a loan of \$100,000?

Mr. BURTT. That is the only contribution made by Col. Monell that I know of.

Senator REED. And he took one of those uncollectable notes that nobody was to pay?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know anything about that.

Senator REED. Well, you do know, do you not, that those notes were signed by the chairman of the finance committee as the chairman.

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator REED. Yes; you signed some of them yourself, I believe?

Mr. BURTT. I did.

Senator REED. That is signed Mr. Procter's name—that is signed the committee's name by yourself, did you not?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir.

Senator REED. I may be in error about that.

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; I did not have that much connection with the committee. You have confused me with Maj. Sprague, I think.

Senator REED. Perhaps I have.

Will you tell us, Mr. Duell, how much money you knew of being raised in addition to the \$20,000 which you say you yourself got?

Mr. DUELL. I testified this morning, Senator, to the contribution made by Mr. Smathers in the amount of \$20,000.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Smathers had what connection with the railroad, and what railroad was it?

Mr. DUELL. None. Mr. Smathers is an independent man. I do not believe Mr. Smathers has any Wall Street connections at all; he is an oil man.

Senator REED. An oil man?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. I see. What is the connection of Mr. Monell?

Mr. DUELL. Well, Mr. Monell is financing the primary for Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Well, what is his business?

Mr. DUELL. Well, I can not testify directly as to that; you can get that from "Who is Who in America." Mr. Monell is well known in Wall Street, and is connected with many corporations. I could not get into the details of that to tell whether he is a director of this corporation, or connected with that.

Senator REED. I understand. But I understood somebody to say that he had something to do with some nickel company.

Mr. DUELL. I believe he was president of the International Nickel Co.

Senator POMERENE. Who was that?

Senator REED. Mr. Monell. Mr. Cassatt—what is his business connection?

Mr. DUELL. He is a banker in Philadelphia.

Senator REED. What is his connection with the railroad?

Mr. DUELL. I do not know. I have not any personal knowledge of Mr. Cassatt.

Senator REED. When they were talking there in the presence of Gen. Wood, of raising \$500,000 by underwriting, did Gen. Wood protest, and say that was too much money, or anything of that sort, or did he acquiesce?

Mr. DUELL. I do not remember any remark by him at the moment.

Senator REED. You do know that this scheme was arranged in advance of Gen. Wood's coming from the Roosevelt Memorial meeting?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. And it was understood that Gen. Wood would meet with you after the meeting; that is correct, is it?

Mr. DUELL. That is correct.

Senator REED. The sole purpose of this meeting was to raise funds for the campaign—or its chief purpose?

Mr. DUELL. I presume so, yes; I do not know.

Senator REED. That is what you understood, did you not, and you were there?

Mr. DUELL. Yes.

Senator REED. I have no further questions.

Senator SPENCER. Are there any further questions?

Senator POMERENE. Well, I did not hear the witness's testimony.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Duell wanted to catch the 3 o'clock train, if the committee is through with him.

Mr. DUELL. I have tried to aid the committee in every way I could. I have been out of it so many months now that I do not remember—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). I take it, from the few questions asked by Senator Reed, that you testified to a conference at which Gen. Wood was present, and at which there were discussed methods of raising a campaign fund of \$500,000. Is that right?

Mr. DUELL. That is generally correct, Senator; but that was confined more to the point of interesting Mr. Cassatt in the campaign, that he would undertake to raise this half a million dollars, which he took under advisement and later declined to do. And I do not know Mr. Cassatt.

Senator POMERENE. You were present at this meeting?

Mr. DUELL. Yes; I was present at that meeting.

Senator POMERENE. Were you present at any other meeting at which Gen. Wood and other friends discussed the question of finances?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator REED. Are you at the headquarters in Chicago?

Mr. DUELL. No.

Senator SPENCER. He stopped last January?

Mr. DUELL. No; I am out of politics and practicing law, and I am going back to Europe after the convention.

Senator REED. I have asked everything that I think of.

Senator SPENCER. He was only in for a couple of months; he went in in November, and then when Mr. King dropped out, he dropped out also.

Senator REED. Do you know how Mr. King happened to drop out?

Mr. DUELL. Well, Senator, was not Mr. King down here? I have not had any conference with Mr. King since I returned from Europe. I believe he was here testifying.

Senator REED. Yes; you do not know personally?

Mr. DUELL. No; about any private conferences I do not know. I can give you my personal opinion, but that would not be worth anything.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other funds that were contributed, or collected for Gen. Wood?

Mr. DUELL. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Senator SPENCER. That is all, Mr. Duell.

Mr. DUELL. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF MR. W. B. BURTT—Resumed.

Senator REED. Gen. Burtt, we have been trying to get the cash books of the Wood headquarters; did you bring that with you?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir. The only statement that I can make in regard to it is to refer you to the statement of Mr. Sprague, and to say that no other moneys have been contributed, so far as I know, except those that are accounted for by Mr. Sprague in that statement.

Senator REED. Well, why did not somebody bring us those books?

Mr. BURTT. In other words, the \$1,174,000, which includes what is contributed there, and the loans made by Mr. Procter and Mr. Monell—

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Pardon me; but will you give me that list of authorizations? I want to be looking over it while Senator Reed is questioning you?

(Mr. Burtt hands book to Senator Pomerene.)

Mr. BURTT. I want to make that very conclusive, to relieve you from asking questions with regard to any possible funds that may have been used in addition to, or different from, the statement made by Mr. Sprague here. In other words, it has been often the case, where one witness makes a statement that some funds were used, that some one else has given others, and they have piled one on top of the other; and the statement which Mr. Sprague has made is one which covers all of the contributions and all of the expenses, so far as I know anything about them.

Senator REED. I do not understand why not a single man who has been subpoenaed here has ever brought a book.

Senator SPENCER. He brought a book.

Mr. BURTT. I have brought you all the books that I have had anything to do with, and I brought you the books which Mr. Sprague said he told you he would send.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. BURTT. And these are the only ones that I have kept in any way, or had anything to do with. I want to add this statement: that Mr. Monell has never given me any money for the Leonard Wood campaign, or for my personal use for the Leonard Wood campaign, or for any other use.

The statement that Mr. Sprague made here contained all disbursements and all contributions, so far as I know anything about them. He showed me that statement before it was put in. I have not seen——

Senator REED (interposing). Was Gen. Wood around headquarters a great deal?

Mr. BURTT. Not very much.

Senator REED. Did you talk with him?

Mr. BURTT. A very few times.

Senator REED. What was he doing around headquarters?

Mr. BURTT. He came in to see Col. Procter, and others, and to meet people there sometimes when they came to see him.

Senator SPENCER. Did you find anything from Missouri in that?

Mr. BURTT. The only thing I can find there is the woman's organization and I think Mrs. Sherman is the one.

Senator SPENCER. At what place?

Mr. BURTT. I think in St. Louis.

Senator SPENCER. Is the full name given there?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; her name is there; I can find it in a second.

Senator SPENCER. Did you put a memorandum in there?

Mr. BURTT. No; but I can find it in a second [examining book].

There is nothing there that I can recognize as being in Missouri. The publicity is the main expense that we had there; the \$1,500 or so that is mentioned in Mr. Sprague's statement in regard to Missouri. I think went to the Leonard Wood League clubs and things of that sort; there was no one that I know of that ever came there from Missouri to the Wood headquarters. I remember no one who ever came from Missouri to the Wood headquarters.

Senator REED. I think the account shows \$10,000 sent in there.

Mr. BURTT. No; not sent into the State; it was spent in advertising, and things of that sort which went into the State—advertising that went into the State.

Senator REED. That is what I want to know about.

Mr. BURTT. Advertising in farm papers, and things of that sort; we carried an immense amount of advertising all over the adjoining States.

Senator REED. Where would that be shown?

Mr. BURTT. That would be in the publicity department; I have no record of that. There was no money, Senator, sent to agents or people like that—I mean any political agents, or people of that sort—that I know of. I am not trying to avoid—but you can readily understand that we have not kept a record of the immense publicity that we have sent out, like this [indicating]. That is extremely expensive to send out. This little folder [indicating] is exceedingly expensive to send out, where we circularize special lists, such as school teachers, and people of that sort. That thing [indicating] cost approximately 5 cents.

Senator REED. That little circular cost 5 cents, and then you held up a book.

Mr. BURTT. This [indicating] cost 80 or 90 cents. We have sent this only to prominent people, or special lists where we have had them. Those are the things that have cost a great deal of money. The campaign was originally planned and directed as a campaign of publicity, and the money has been spent in that way.

Senator REED. How much did you pay speakers?

Mr. BURTT. I do not remember that, but I think not more than \$5 to \$10 a day and their expenses.

Senator REED. Why is it that somebody has not got an account by which we can get the names of these speakers and the amounts paid. You had books down there that told all of those things, did you not?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; we did not keep books of those things. So far as I know, it was not kept in that way. Speakers were going from one primary State to another; they were only used in the primary States. Some were paid by the local organizations; some were paid from our headquarters; some by the women's department.

Senator REED. Well, those who were paid from your headquarters, how were they paid?

Mr. BURTT. They were paid from expense vouchers, which I recognize there [indicating]—women organizers who went out.

Senator REED. Well, I would like to have the names of these paid speakers and organizers; that is what I want to get at; if you will take this book and tell who they are.

Mr. BURTT. I know very little about it.

Senator POMERENE. Just leave that slip in this book, as I want to call your attention to a little matter in it when Senator Reed gets through with his questions [handing book to witness].

Mr. BURTT (examining book). I do not know whether I can identify the speakers in, there or not; that is a matter that I had nothing to do with.

Here [indicating in book] is Mrs. P. L. De Voist; whether she was a speaker or an organizer for the women's department I do not know.

Senator REED. Was she paid?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator REED. How much?

Mr. BURTT (examining book). One account here [indicating] is \$28.51; another one is \$53.91; another one is \$76.51; another is \$74.50; another is \$221.13. Here is another one [indicating] Mrs. Lucian C. Sprague, \$58.53, \$88.09, and \$46. Now, a great majority of these will be found, probably, in the expense accounts that were turned in by the treasurer's man who paid in cash there at headquarters; but whether they were anything except a receipt that he took I do not know.

Senator REED. Now, who was that man?

Mr. BURTT (examining book). Here are a couple more, Clarence D. McBride, \$15.86 Mrs. Rachel C. McCann, \$64.81; \$53.91, \$46.79, \$57.36; Cary B. Lewis, \$55.55.

Senator REED. Gen. Burtt, you want to catch that train, do you?

Mr. BURTT. Very much.

Senator REED. Are you willing to trust that book to us and leave it here behind you for a couple of days.

Mr. BURTT. I would rather not do that; I am perfectly willing to trust it to you; I do not mean that; but it is the only thing I have here.

Senator POMERENE. Well, it would be left here in the hands of Senator Kenyon; he can return it just as soon as we are through with it.

Senator REED. It will save going through the matter in detail and enable you to catch your train. Let me ask you one thing: How can we discover who are the speakers and who are not, from that book?

Mr. BURTT. That is impossible.

Senator REED. Who had your list of speakers?

Mr. BURTT. Mr. John Weaver.

Senator REED. Do you know about what the expense of that speakers' bureau was?

Mr. BURTT. No; I do not.

Senator REED. Can you not approximate it? Was it hundreds of dollars, or thousands of dollars?

Mr. BURTT. Oh, thousands of dollars, I should say.

Senator SPENCER. If you had rather go through with that now you can do as you like.

Mr. BURTT. Well, I can not catch another train out of here, Mr. Chairman. I can not get any berth on any other train before day after to-morrow.

Senator REED. What time does your train leave?

Mr. BURTT. 3.10 p. m.

Senator SPENCER. Well, I think you have ample time.

Mr. BURTT. I would like to say again that Mr. Sprague's accounting of the funds were the only funds; I wish to disabuse your mind, Senator, of any idea that Mr. Monell contributed any money that did not go to the treasurer—that I know anything about. I mean by that that I am his personal friend, and I think I would have known had he sent any money anywhere since——

Senator REED (interposing). You are Mr. Monell's personal friend? Now what is his business connection?

Mr. BURTT. As I told you, I was with him in France for two years. I never discussed his personal business with him; I did not know he was connected with any corporations, or any business at all, when I was in France. After I came home I found that he had an office in the same building in connection with the International Nickel Co.

Senator SPENCER. What building is that?

Mr. BURTT. Forty-three Exchange Place, New York. I resigned from the Army and went into his office and had a desk in his office there; so far as I know, he is connected with that company, but with what others I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. Was he the president of that company?

Mr. BURTT. He was once; whether he still is or not, I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. Was he while you were there?

Mr. BURTT. No; he was not actively engaged in it, so far as I know; he had no active business connection with it at that time.

Senator REED. He had just got back from the war himself?

Mr. BURTT. Well, he had been home a year; he came home in January of 1919—or in December, I think.

Senator REED. Well I do not want to ask any more questions.

Senator POMERENE. I want to ask a few questions, and I will try to make them as short as I can, in view of the little time at your disposal.

(Witness hands book to Senator Pomerene.)

Senator POMERENE. You have looked over all of these requests for funds which relate to Indiana, have you not?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; I think they are all together.

Senator POMERENE. Well, as I looked through them a few minutes ago I saw at least one, and perhaps two, which were unsigned; was that an oversight?

Mr. BURTT. Entirely.

Senator POMERENE. And they should have been signed "Leonard Wood" by somebody?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, indeed; they were on the original that went to Mr. Sprague's office; you will find many of mine not signed.

Senator POMERENE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. BURTT. You will find a number of these that were not signed.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BURTT. But the original was; this [indicating] is just a copy that I kept.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BURTT. There are no expenses, except those that are——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Well, were any of those requests, or requisitions, as I prefer to call them, signed by Leonard Wood, except those for Indiana?

Mr. BURTT. No, there is no other State where the law requires candidates, or an agent, so far as I know, to have any such thing as that, and there is some question, as I understand it, as to whether the law in Indiana refers to presidential candidates or not.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I wish you would, for the benefit of the record, just explain fully the reason why those requests were signed "Leonard Wood by" somebody as agent?

Mr. BURTT. Because the advice we had from Mr. Joss, who was our representative for Indiana—and I understand he is a lawyer—was that, in compliance with what he believed to be the primary law of Indiana, a certain amount of money could be expended by the headquarters in Indiana; certain other funds which were supposed to be the funds of the candidate or his agent, could be expended without limit; the limit which the campaign committee, and which he believed himself was, as he stated in his testimony here, to a certain extent a moral limit to it, and that they should not exceed that amount. So that on his advice, and as I stated, on his legal advice, it was decided that we should have an agent there who represented the candidate, and whom he——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). That is, an agent where?

Mr. BURTT. In Indiana, or at our headquarters; he has been at both places, because he has had to be back and forth.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BURTT. And he has represented the candidate in the expenditure of these amounts for circularizing, for telephone and telegraph expenses, for advertising, for the candidate's traveling expenses, and for other expenditures of that kind, which were perfectly legitimate under the corrupt practices act of Indiana, and for that reason——

Senator POMERENE (interposing). Now, as I understand, then those requisitions were signed in the way they were, by Leonard Wood, per

an agent, so as to avoid what was regarded as the requirement of the Indiana statute?

Mr. BURTT. No, just the opposite of that, sir; in order to comply with the statutes of Indiana.

Senator POMERENE. In order to comply with the statutes?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. That is, that there was no limitation to the expenditures of the candidate?

Mr. BURTT. None at all, under the law, for certain specific things which I have enumerated.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; but did Gen. Leonard Wood contribute any of this money which was distributed in the way that you have indicated?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know about that; I mean I do not know whether Mr. Sprague has any contributions from Gen. Leonard Wood or not, but I do not think he has.

Senator POMERENE. Well, in any event, these requisitions were paid out of the funds of the national Wood campaign committee?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; they are so stated.

Senator REED. Just the same as all other expenditures were paid?

Mr. BURTT. Exactly.

Senator POMERENE. Yes and just the same as the contributions which were made to the Indiana State committee for Gen. Wood?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; they are all carried in there, in order to comply with the law of Indiana in that way, so that they would show how the distribution was made.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. So that we may understand one another, all the funds, then, that went to Indiana, whether they were paid to the committee, or to someone else, on the requisition of Leonard Wood, were all paid out of the funds collected and disbursed at the national Wood headquarters in Cincinnati?

Mr. BURTT. No; in Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. In Chicago—thank you—in Chicago, by Mr. Sprague as treasurer?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir, and in accordance with the law as we were advised about it.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. Just one other question, and then Senator Reed wants to ask you several questions: Were there any contributions made to the State of Texas?

Mr. BURTT. None that I remember of.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who had charge of the Wood campaign in Texas?

Mr. BURTT. I can not remember anyone now. The Leonard Wood League had branches there—that is, clubs and that sort of thing and someone in that—but Mr. Miller is the president of that and he knows about that.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who Col. E. H. R. Green is?

Mr. BURTT. I have heard of him.

Senator POMERENE. Does that refresh your memory as to whether he had anything to do with this campaign in Texas?

Mr. BURTT. I have never heard that he had anything to do with it.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Senator REED. Were you accompanied here by an attorney?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know Nathan W. McChesney?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; he was on the stand.

Senator REED. But he did not come here with you?

Mr. BURTT. He did not come with me. He intended to come, but for some reason he did not have time or something. He was chairman of the Illinois committee, and was here before this committee the other day.

Senator REED. Mr. George Sunday—did he have a separate bank account for expenses?

Mr. BURTT. He disbursed all of the funds in the publicity department.

Senator REED. Yes; he never made an accounting to Mr. Sprague, did he?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know whether he did; I think he did.

Senator REED. Did Mr. Sprague try to get an accounting from him, and was it put up to Mr. Procter, and did Mr. Procter say that Mr. Sunday did not have to account?

Mr. BURTT. I never heard of that.

Senator REED. You never heard of that transaction?

Mr. BURTT. No.

Senator REED. Do you know Mr. Harry Hooker?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator REED. Who is he?

Mr. BURTT. He has been acting as secretary for Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Secretary for Gen. Wood; how much money has been paid to Mr. Hooker?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know that any has; I never have heard of his getting—

Senator REED (interposing). Do you know whether Mr. Hooker ever made any contributions?

Mr. BURTT. I do not; not unless they are in that book [indicating]; whether they are in there or not I do not know.

Senator REED. If he made any, they are in this book [indicating] which is a receipt book?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; and any contributions made before Mr. Sprague was treasurer I know nothing about those, nor does he, I presume.

Senator REED. Do you know of any moneys being expended for any detective association—detective work?

Mr. BURTT. I do not remember now whether there was or not; I do not think so.

Senator REED. You never heard of that?

Mr. BURTT. Yes; I did.

Senator REED. Burns's Detective Agency?

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator REED. For what purpose?

Mr. BURTT. As a watchman in the headquarters.

Senator REED. Just as a watchman?

Mr. BURTT. That is the only thing I know of.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the Burns's Detective Agency being employed to follow up field managers, etc.?

Mr. BURTT. Nothing; that was never done.

Senator REED. Tracing Mr. Hitchcock?

Mr. BURTT. I never heard of it.

Senator REED. Do you know whether he paid any detective-agency much money?

Senator SPENCER. We ought not to go into those wild rumors.

Mr. BURTT. I do not know of any amount except the watchman in the headquarters.

Senator REED. But you did have a watchman from the detective agency in the headquarters?

Mr. BURTT. In the headquarters; that is the only place I ever heard of one. And I am certain that no one was paid for anything outside of that.

Senator REED. Do you know how much money went into the hands of George Sunday that he carried in the Great Lakes Trust & Savings Co.?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; I do not.

Senator REED. Was that where he carried his account?

Mr. BURTT. I think so.

Senator REED. How did he come to have a separate account?

Mr. BURTT. Because of his paying publicity bills, and of their constantly coming in, and it was not always practicable to get funds from Mr. Sprague, because he was out of town.

Senator REED. What is there in these books to show the funds paid to George Sunday?

Mr. BURTT. All the requisitions there are are in that book.

Senator REED. All the requisitions are in this book?

Mr. BURTT. I think so.

Senator REED. You are going to leave the book with us for a day or so, are you?

Mr. BURTT. If you insist upon it.

Senator REED. We will insist on either doing that or keeping you here.

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Would you rather leave the book than to stay here?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. The white sheets in this book are originals, are they?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; they are canceled for some reason.

Senator SPENCER. Was Leonard Wood himself treasurer of the Leonard Wood national campaign committee?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Is this signed, then [indicating]?

Mr. BURTT (examining book). By Tyler.

Senator SPENCER. By Tyler?

Mr. BURTT. As agent.

Senator SPENCER. Did you find in there anything that had been given to Missouri?

Mr. BURTT. The only thing that I can recognize here [indicating]—and I am not quite certain of that—is Mrs. John D. Sherman.

Senator SPENCER. Mrs. John D. Sherman?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; whether or not she worked in Missouri with the Missouri Women's Club in St. Louis, I am not certain.

Senator SPENCER. And what is the address?

Mr. BURTT. She does not say. She must have been in our headquarters.

Senator REED. Did you have an organization in Missouri?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir; we did not.

Senator REED. Not a branch organization?

Mr. BURTT. Not that I know of.

Senator SPENCER. Have you found anything?

Mr. BURTT. There are several here in this book [indicating], but they are all small amounts; I think they amount to about \$1,500.

Senator REED. What was the salary of George Sunday?

Mr. BURTT. I do not think he was paid a salary.

Senator REED. How did he come to be working for nothing; he is not a man of means, is he?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know; his father has some means, I think.

Senator REED. His father has some means?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You do not think that Billy Sunday would collect money from the churches and finance his son who is working in a campaign somewhere, do you?

Mr. BURTT. Well, he spoke for Gen. Wood somewhere.

Senator REED. He did speak for Gen. Wood?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. He made those speeches just about the time that his son became connected with the Wood organization, did he not?

Mr. BURTT. No, sir.

Senator REED. Now, did not young Sunday get \$500 a week?

Mr. BURTT. I do not know what arrangement he had about his expenses.

Senator REED. Who has the salary list?

Mr. BURTT. The only salary lists that I know anything about are those there [indicating]; they are in there.

Senator REED. Does that specify what is for salary and what is not?

Senator POMERENE. I will just have the record at this point show that the witness in his last answer was pointing to the book marked, "Requests for Funds."

Senator REED. That is, do the sheets and slips in this book show what is for salaries?

Mr. BURTT. Some do and some do not; because the register—there were not always carbon copies of them.

Senator REED. I suggest that we allow Gen. Burtt to go.

Senator POMERENE. All right; but before you go, Gen. Burtt, I will say that, due to two facts, first, the misfortune that we have had in getting witnesses here——

Mr. BURTT. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And second, your manner at first, I think I was unjust to you, and I want to apologize for that, and I want the record to show it. I think you have been very fair in your answers.

Mr. BURTT. I have tried to be; it was only diffidence, perhaps, that made me seem so at first.

Senator POMERENE. I want to do you that justice.

Senator SPENCER. Where do you want this book sent [indicating]?

Mr. BURTT. To the Leonard Wood National Campaign Committee.

Senator SPENCER. To the Leonard Wood National Campaign Committee, Congress Hotel?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; room 1158.

Senator SPENCER. Room 1158, Congress Hotel, Chicago?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Is that book needed day by day?

Mr. BURTT. Yes, sir; it is. I would like to have permission to have it, because of the duplication of bills that are coming in; you will probably appreciate that

Senator SPENCER. We will try to return it.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to suggest that anybody would try to collect pay twice from the Leonard Wood campaign committee, do you?

Mr. BURTT. I would hate to suggest that they would not; some of them did.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

Mr. BURTT. Thank you very much.

TESTIMONY OF MR. W. L. COLE, OF UNION, MO.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator Spencer.)

Senator SPENCER. Your name is—

Mr. COLE. W. L. Cole.

Senator SPENCER. And your home is—

Mr. COLE. Union, Mo.

Senator SPENCER. You are the chairman of the Republican State committee of Missouri?

Mr. COLE. I am.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Cole, the testimony of a Mr. Daugherty, who was connected with Senator Harding's campaign, indicated that \$1,250 had been handed to you out of the Harding campaign funds for use in Missouri. Will you tell the committee about that money—whether you received it, and if you did, what it was for and what you did with it?

Mr. COLE. I will; I would like to begin at the beginning and tell the whole story.

Senator REED. You may do so.

Mr. COLE. Sometime, I think it was in September or October of last year, I met Mr. E. Lynn Riley, in Kansas City. Mr. Riley asked me about whom I really favored as the candidate for the Presidency. I told Mr. Riley at that time that I was very friendly to Senator Harding, and when I said that Mr. Riley said, "I am very glad to hear you say that; the Senator and I are particularly warm friends." It went on until December. In December I was here in Washington attending the meeting of the national committee, as one of the delegation from Missouri, trying to get the national convention at St. Louis; some one, I do not remember who, introduced me to Mr. Daugherty.

Senator POMERENE. To whom?

Mr. COLE. To Mr. Daugherty, Senator Harding's campaign manager; introduced me to him at the Willard Hotel. He told me that he had heard of me from Mr. Riley, and he was anxious to meet me. Later in the day he requested me to come to the Capitol and meet the Senator. I came up here and met the Senator and had some talk with him, and said nothing particularly about his candidacy. While I was in the office he was talking to some friends there from Ohio, and he was debating the question as to whether he would be a candidate or not.

After my conversation of some 15 or 20 minutes with the Senator, I left and went back to the hotel. Mr. Daugherty met me in the lobby of the hotel that evening and said he was coming out to Missouri soon and wanted to meet me.

I went on back home. I had three or four or five letters from Mr. Daugherty between that time and the latter part of January. In the last letter before the time that I met him, he wrote and asked when he could meet me in St. Louis. He said he wanted to see me in person.

Senator REED. Who was this?

Mr. COLE. Mr. Daugherty. He had written me two or three letters asking me about meetings. He wanted the Senator to come to Missouri and have some meetings in Missouri. He wrote me and wanted me to meet him in St. Louis. He wrote me to let him know when I was in St. Louis. I wrote him when I would be in St. Louis, and I at once had a wire from him. I was then in Excelsior Springs conducting a campaign.

Senator SPENCER. When was this?

Mr. COLE. In the latter part of January or the first part of February. I had a wire from him saying he would meet me at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis on the morning of the day I had mentioned that I would be there.

Senator SPENCER. Up to this time there had not been any money mentioned?

Mr. COLE. No money had been mentioned at all. I met Mr. Daugherty in St. Louis, and he wanted to know what I thought of Senator Harding's chances in Missouri, and I told him I did not think at that time that Senator Harding had any chance in Missouri; it looked to me as if everything was set up for Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. When was this?

Mr. COLE. That was either the latter days of January or the first days of February. He kept on that for quite a while. I was with him three or four different times that day; I left him a time or two and went to my office; he came to my office in the city—that is, the Republican State headquarters—a time or two. Late in the afternoon he said, "Mr. Cole, we would like to get something out of Missouri if we can." I said, "I do not think you have a chance there, Mr. Daugherty, unless Mr. Reilly—" who was in the city that day, and who in the meantime had taken a position in some capacity as one of Senator Harding's managers——

Senator REED (interposing). That is, in reply to Mr. Daugherty, you said that?

Mr. COLE. In reply to Mr. Daugherty, I said, "I do not think you have a chance in Missouri, unless Mr. Reilly can get the two Kansas City delegates." He said, "We are going to do nothing in Missouri only through the organization; we are not going to come in here and try to perfect a Harding organization in any capacity at all; all the work that we do at all we will do through the local organization." He said, "What do you think the chances will be of getting a delegation which will be favorable to Senator Harding on second choice, so that if Gov. Lowden can not get the nomination it can be induced to go to Senator Harding on second choice?" I said, "Mr. Daugherty, I do not know; that may be possible." He said, "We would like you to investigate and find out what the sentiment in the State in that

respect may be." I said, "I have not time; I am busy in the campaign in the third congressional district." "But," he said, "We want you to do it; we feel that you are inclined to be friendly to the Senator, and we want you to try to find out the sentiment." And I said, "Mr. Daugherty, I have not told you that I would be for the Senator. Now, I do not know who I would be for."

And after talking some more, he said, "Won't you undertake to find out that sentiment?" And he said, "We will pay you for your time employed to do that, and your actual expenses." And I said, "Mr. Daugherty, I will undertake it, and I will render a bill to you for the amount of my expenses and my time." He said, "No; we do not want to do it in that way; if we did that, we would have so many of those bills coming in when the thing was over that we would not know where we stood. We want to pay as we go along." He said, "I will hand you a check for that purpose now." He immediately took his check book and wrote me a check for \$1,250. I said, "I will take this check on one condition; when I have done this work, I will render a statement of my expenses, and time employed, and if there is any left, I will return it to you." And he said, "Yes; and if you need more, let me know"; and that was the end of that conversation.

Senator SPENCER. Was anything said about the rate of compensation?

Mr. COLE. Nothing was said as to what I was to be paid for my time.

Senator SPENCER. That was left to your judgment, was it?

Mr. COLE. That was left to my judgment. And with that, we went down in the dining room—we went to the Jefferson Hotel and had dinner together in the dining room of the hotel, and he left. There were two or three others with him, Mr. Reilly—I do not remember who the others were. And he left. I went out after that and made a great many of these congressional districts and a good many other meetings over the State. The time was 23 or 24 days that I was engaged in that work. I have kept practically an account of my expenses. I have not had in detail. I have spent somewhere between \$525 and \$550, actual railroad fares and hotel bills and things of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. Between what amounts?

Mr. COLE. Between \$525 and \$550.

Senator POMERENE. Railroad fares?

Mr. COLE. And hotel bills and all my personal expenses in that traveling that I have done.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Cole, when Mr. Morse was on the stand, in explaining to the committee about the distribution of the Lowden campaign funds that he had received, he stated that \$500 had been sent to you. Will you tell the committee what the circumstances are in regard to that?

Mr. COLE. I will be glad to explain that. On the 6th day of January, our State committee had a meeting at Kansas City to issue a call for the State convention. You all will remember that Mr. Alexander, who had been a Congressman in the Third District, had resigned to accept a place in the Cabinet, and there had been a call issued for a special election in that district, the Third Congressional District, which is the district in which Mr. Morse lives. Mr. Morse came to me in Kansas City, and in the clerk's office, where our committee met, and said, "I am going to offer a resolution to-day

to this committee directing you to come over here into the Third Congressional District and take charge of that campaign and conduct it." I said, "Mr. Morse, it is not the business of the State committee, as I see it, to run that congressional campaign." He said, "I want them to do it, and if the resolution passes, I will give you a personal check to go over there and start the campaign."

And when the committee met Mr. Morse offered the resolution; he was sitting in the committee as somebody's proxy; I do not remember whose; he was not a member of the committee. He offered a resolution to the effect that I, as chairman of the committee, should go over and open headquarters in Excelsior Springs and conduct the congressional campaign in the Third District. The resolution carried.

The meeting adjourned, and Mr. Morse came up and handed me his check for \$500. He said, "Here is a check; go over there and deposit it in the Excelsior Springs Trust Co., and use it in that campaign."

I took the check, and it was Mr. Morse's personal check. There was not a word said about Mr. Lowden, or Mr. Lowden's campaign fund, from that day to this, by Mr. Morse to me; there was never a word about its being Mr. Lowden's money, and I never thought it was until I saw a statement in the newspaper a day or two ago to the effect that it was Mr. Lowden's money.

Senator SPENCER. Did you think it was Mr. Morse's contribution?

Mr. COLE. I thought it was Mr. Morse's personal contribution to that campaign. And I had reason to believe that. I knew that Mr. Frost had been nominated at the instance of Mr. Morse, over the opposition of somebody in that district; he was Mr. Morse's personal candidate, and I presumed that Mr. Morse was personally interested in his candidacy, to the extent that he was willing to contribute \$500 to it.

Senator SPENCER. Was that the third district, in which Mr. Morse lived?

Mr. COLE. Mr. Morse lived in the third district; and the resolution provided for conducting the campaign in the Excelsior Hotel, and I went there personally and conducted that campaign within a few days after that time, until the time of the election.

Senator SPENCER. Was that town Excelsior Springs?

Mr. COLE. Excelsior Springs. That check was deposited over there, and most of it was drawn out on warrants or vouchers issued by my secretary—not by me personally—but most of it was drawn out before I got over there, in payment of the expenses of the management of that campaign.

Senator SPENCER. None of it was used, then, for Mr. Lowden's campaign?

Mr. COLE. Absolutely none. Mr. Morse never told me that it was Mr. Lowden's money.

Senator REED. How many districts did you visit?

Mr. COLE. I think I have visited about 14 of the 16, Senator.

Senator REED. On this business for Senator Harding?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you interview the delegates at the convention and the candidates for delegates to the convention that was to elect delegates?

Mr. COLE. I talked to a good many of them; whenever I had the opportunity. I do not say that I talked with all of them, because I come into contact with them all.

Senator REED. What did you do in the convention in order to get "second choice men" for Senator Harding?

Mr. COLE. I can not say I did anything, particularly, except that I tried to get the sentiment, and I talked to those delegates about whom they considered their second choice in case Gov. Lowden could not be elected.

Senator REED. You just tried to find out what the sentiment was?

Mr. COLE. I just tried to find out what the sentiment was.

Senator REED. You did not try to influence anybody?

Mr. COLE. I have not tried to influence anybody.

Senator REED. Did you have any other business at these conventions except to find out what the sentiment was for Harding?

Mr. COLE. That was practically all the business I had.

Senator REED. Did you not do anything else?

Mr. COLE. If I did, I do not know it. I had a talk at some of these meetings; that is all.

Senator REED. You had a talk, not for Harding?

Mr. COLE. Not for any candidate; simply to get the feeling.

Senator REED. And you did not take any part at all in the selection of delegates?

Mr. COLE. No, sir.

Senator REED. These district meetings, were they all held on one day, or on different days?

Mr. COLE. On different days. Do not understand that I attended all 14 of the district meetings. I attended, I think, seven or eight meetings; I was in some of the other districts and talked with some of the people, but not at these meetings.

Senator REED. Just trying to find out how folks felt about Harding?

Mr. COLE. That is all.

Senator REED. You did not try to find out how they felt for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. COLE. No.

Senator REED. Or for anybody else? You were not out there as chairman of the State committee looking out for anyone of any kind, except that you had started out for Senator Harding to find this information?

Mr. COLE. That is practically all.

Senator REED. You do not generally go and visit those meetings when they are being held.

Mr. COLE. That is the first time I was ever chairman of the State committee; I do not know; that is the first time I ever attended them. I never was chairman of the State campaign committee before when these meetings were being held; that is the first time I attended these meetings.

Senator REED. You had headquarters at St. Louis which were open continuously?

Mr. COLE. They have been open since the last election.

Senator REED. And you naturally were interested in the delegates to be selected to go to the national convention?

Mr. COLE. Somewhat.

Senator REED. Have you taken any side at all as between candidates for President?

Mr. COLE. If I have I do not know it. I am a delegate myself.

Senator REED. Well, your purpose was directed entirely to the problem to elect a man after he had been selected rather than to select him?

Mr. COLE. That is the principal object of my energy.

Senator REED. I think that is all.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you this: Out of that \$1,250, you have told us that you expended between \$525 and \$550 for railroad and hotel and traveling expenses?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And that would leave you with approximately \$700?

Mr. COLE. About that; the difference between \$525 or \$550 and \$1,250.

Senator POMERENE. Yes, whatever it is. Did you spend the rest of that money for any purpose?

Mr. COLE. No, sir; none whatever.

Senator POMERENE. You said that you have put 23 or 24 days' time in this matter?

Mr. COLE. Twenty-three or 24 days' time.

Senator POMERENE. And you feel that the balance, whatever that is, is a fair compensation to you?

Mr. COLE. I did not say that.

Senator POMERENE. I say, did you feel that?

Mr. COLE. No; I do not think that I felt that. I feel that that is really more than I ought to have as compensation for that time. I expect to see Mr. Daugherty in Chicago; I was counting on seeing him there and ascertaining from him what part of that I can count on for my services, and returning the rest to him.

Senator POMERENE. I see. Now, out of this \$500 that you received from Mr. Morse did you make any charges for your services in that matter?

Mr. COLE. No, sir; that was all spent in the campaign, trying to elect Mr. Frost as Congressman.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know anything about the expenditure of moneys by Gov. Lowden or his friends?

Mr. COLE. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Or by anybody else that was a candidate, or his friends?

Mr. COLE. I have heard a good deal of rumor out there.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know anything about any Wood money that came in there?

Mr. COLE. I have heard a good deal about that, but I do not know about it.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of anybody that was managing the Wood campaign or handling Wood money?

Mr. COLE. I do not know whether I can tell you the name or not; but I saw a young man from the Chicago office; I think he was in the sixteenth congressional district meetings and also around the fifteenth when I was there, the same young man.

Senator SPENCER. Do you mean some young man in the interest of Gen. Wood?

Mr. COLE. In the interest of Gen. Wood; I can not tell you his name.

Senator POMERENE. Was it Mr. Sunday?

Mr. COLE. I do not think that is the name.

Senator POMERENE. Was it Mr. McChesney?

Mr. COLE. It seems to me that that is the name. He is a young man, inclined to be just a little bit blonde; I could not tell you what his name is now; it has been six weeks ago, and I did not bother my head about it.

Senator REED. Ordinarily, you do not charge for political work, do you, Mr. Cole?

Mr. COLE. No; not ordinarily.

Senator REED. You do not ever do it, do you—take pay for political work?

Mr. COLE. Well, I have been giving my time without any pay for two or three years—all of it.

Senator REED. Yes; this time that you took pay to find out what the sentiment for Harding was—that is the only time you ever did that?

Mr. COLE. It is the only time, outside of a few times when I have made speeches and have been paid for that. I have been on two or three occasions given remuneration for making speeches; I do not know whether it was the State committee or the county committee.

Senator SPENCER. In the actual campaign?

Mr. COLE. In the actual campaign, yes; and my expenses.

Senator REED. You have not spoken to any delegates on behalf of Senator Harding?

Mr. COLE. I have not spoken to any delegates on behalf of Senator Harding exactly; I have asked some of them about who their choice would be in case they saw Mr. Lowden could not be nominated.

Senator REED. Just asked them?

Mr. COLE. Just asked them.

Senator REED. You did not try to influence them?

Mr. COLE. I did not try to influence them.

Senator SPENCER. You are a delegate yourself?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir; delegate at large.

Senator REED. Did you know of any of Gov. Lowden's money being expended in the State?

Mr. COLE. I do not know of any; I have heard rumors about Lowden money in the State. Personally, I did not know of any at all.

Senator REED. I want to distinguish between rumors that are just vague reports flying through the air, and the statements that some of the "boys" who are in the game make in reporting to you.

Mr. COLE. Nobody ever made any such report to me; they are just rumors in the air.

Senator REED. You did not know of any that was spent?

Mr. COLE. No, sir; and I did not know that the \$500 given to me was Lowden money until Mr. Morse made the statement which I saw in the paper the other day that it was.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

Are there any other witnesses that have been subpoenaed, either by subpoena or by telegraph, here this afternoon?

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN CLINTON PARKER.

(The witness was duly sworn by Senator Spencer.)

Senator SPENCER. What is your name?

Mr. PARKER. John Clinton Parker.

Senator SPENCER. Where is your home?

Mr. PARKER. Philadelphia.

Senator SPENCER. How long have you lived there?

Mr. PARKER. Twenty-two years.

Senator SPENCER. What is your business?

Mr. PARKER. Engineer.

Senator SPENCER. What?

Mr. PARKER. Engineer; I am also editor of a publication for engineers.

Senator SPENCER. What is the name of that publication?

Mr. PARKER. I control it; it is one that I founded about seven years ago, called "Le-Fax"; that is taken from the words "Leaf" and "facts."

Senator SPENCER. How do you spell it?

Mr. PARKER. L-e F-a-x. My business is to gather facts.

Senator SPENCER. That is a name of your own origin?

Mr. PARKER. Yes, sir. Now, I will say, just before I start in, that——

Senator SPENCER (interposing). Before you do start in, Mr. Parker, we are very anxious to get any facts in connection with the situation in Philadelphia, or in Pennsylvania, with regard to any of the Presidential candidates. But we want the facts that you know about yourself, and not mere rumors, not mere surmises of your own, but any definite facts that you have.

Senator REED. That he knows of his own personal knowledge.

Senator SPENCER. Yes; and the other things we are not here to make a record of.

Mr. PARKER. I have made it my business to meet and talk with all the candidates for President that would see me. I have practically talked with nearly all the leading ones, and there is only one that I could not get further than his secretary—the Secretary of the Treasury—and then going into the Railroad Administration, and I did not get to him. I have a paper here [indicating].

Last evening I had an amazing experience in Philadelphia. I was taking my mother to her church. I have an old Pierce-Arrow car that we used to test out free speech in this country. I am an experimenter; and I innocently passed a man in a new Packard car, and he started, and he tried to run into me——

Senator REED (interposing). What has that got to do with the presidential election?

Mr. PARKER. You make me nervous, and I just wanted to explain that——

Senator REED (interposing). You will make me nervous pretty soon.

Mr. PARKER. I have a statement here that I will submit to the committee, or I will read it.

Senator SPENCER. We will look at it. [Witness hands paper to Senator Spencer.]

Is the purport of what you are going to testify to set out in this paper?

Mr. PARKER. I am ready to answer any questions.

Senator SPENCER. Well, the information that you have, the purport of it is in this paper?

Mr. PARKER. There is just one point that I came down here about——

Senator SPENCER (interposing). I just asked you a question: Is the purport of the information you have and what you know set out in this paper [indicating]?

Mr. PARKER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Well, I have no questions to ask.

We will not bother you, Mr. Parker, with any questions. We are much obliged to you.

Senator REED. Mr. Chairman, I believe it was understood that this telegram from Mr. Roscoe C. Patterson, of Springfield, Mo., addressed to Senator Kenyon, was to go into the record.

Senator SPENCER. I have no objection.

Senator REED. I think it ought to go in; it is the explanation of this gentleman.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; it ought to go in. He has a right to explain his views about it.

(The telegram referred to is here printed in full as follows:)

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., June 3, 1920.

Senator WILLIAM S. KENYON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

I have never received at any time or from any person any money from the Lowden campaign committee and had no knowledge of the existence of such a fund in Missouri until the recent newspaper disclosures. Replying to the statement of Mr. J. L. Babler before the senatorial investigating committee, I desire to make the following statement: In 1913, as a member of the Republican State committee from the seventh district, I favored the election of Mr. Babler for chairman to succeed Mr. Politte Elvins, who resigned. From that time on until the meeting of the congressional convention at Sedalia this year Mr. Babler and myself were on friendly terms. During the year 1914 Mr. Babler, as the chairman of the Republican State committee, interested himself in trying to secure candidates for Congress in the various Democratic districts. In order to build up the Republican organization and the party spirit, he urged me at that time to become a candidate in the seventh district and told me he would use his influence to have my campaign financed by the national or congressional committee.

Again, in 1916, he urged me to become a candidate, and Mr. Holmes Hall, of Sedalia, Mo., called my by long-distance telephone from Babler's office in St. Louis and urged me to announce my candidacy for Congress, saying that if I would do so Mr. Babler would contribute \$1,000 toward my campaign expenses. He stated that he was then talking from Babler's office and before the conversation closed Mr. Babler took the telephone and reiterated what Mr. Hall had just told me. For business reasons I declined to make the race in both 1914 and 1916. In the latter part of 1919 I announced my candidacy for Congress without any promise for financial aid from anyone.

On January 7 of this year, while attending a meeting of the Republican State committee in Kansas City, I met Mr. Babler. We discussed politics in general and during the conversation Mr. Babler mentioned my candidacy for Congress and congratulated me on my announcement. He recalled that he had frequently before urged me to make the race and referred to the conversation he and Mr. Hall had with me over the telephone in 1916, and said that he still meant just what he said at that time. He then gave me his personal check for \$1,000 as a personal contribution toward my campaign for Congress. There was nothing whatever said that indicated that the money was from the Lowden campaign committee and I did not know that anyone was handling money in the interest of Gov. Lowden or for any other presidential candidate. I took the check on the statement that it was a personal contribution from

Mr. Babler and knew nothing to the contrary until Mr. Babler's testimony before the senatorial committee. I might add that Mr. Babler gave me the check on January 7, while the press has quoted Mr. Babler as saying that he had not received any Lowden money until late in February. I wish to say in justice to the delegates from the seventh congressional district to the Republican convention that there was a very radical difference between Mr. Babler and myself as to who the delegates to the national convention should be, with the result that the delegates selected, to wit, Messrs. Houston and Hedrick, were not the ones urged by Mr. Babler. As to Mr. E. L. Morse, I desire to state that I have never had any business, political, or financial relations with him at any time or at any place.

ROSCOE C. PATTERSON.

Senator REED. I want also to insert in the record, in relation to Mr. Ambrose Monell, this account of him given in "Who's Who in America."

Senator SPENCER. All right.

Senator REED. It just tells his connections.

(The following statement is from page 1915, of "Who's Who in America," 1918-19:)

Monell, Ambrose: Commd. col. Aviation sect. Signal Corps, 1917; resigned as Pres. Internat. Nickel Co. 1917 to enter Army; was dir. Am. Internat. Corpn.; Midvale Steel & Ordnance Co.; Internat. Motor Co.; Liberty Nat. Bk. of N. Y.; Am. Bank Note Co., Haskell & Barker Car Co., etc. v. p. Soc. for Relief of French War Orphans; Inventors' Guild, etc. Home, 16 E. 62d St., N. Y. City.

(Thereupon, at 3.10 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until Friday, June 4, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 5

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



**WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE**

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON S. RES. 357.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, *Chairman*.

SELDEN P. SPENCER.

WALTER E. EDGE.

JAMES A. REED.

ATLEE POMERENE

CHAS. A. WEBB, *Clerk*.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, and Pomerene.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HORACE C. STEBBINS.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

Mr. STEBBINS. Senator, may I make a statement before you ask me any questions?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, we will be very glad to have you do so.

Senator POMERENE. Give your business address and your connection with this committee.

Mr. STEBBINS. My business address is 44 Leonard Street, New York City; my house address, 31 West Fifty-eighth Street, New York City.

Senator POMERENE. State your connection with the committee.

Mr. STEBBINS. I have none, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you want to make a statement to the committee first, Mr. Stebbins?

Mr. STEBBINS. I would like to.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, with reference to the situation, we tried to get you, and have not been able to find you.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir, that is the point.

The CHAIRMAN. The first telegram we sent you was on May 24, I think, when Mr. Hitchcock was on the stand. Did you ever receive that telegram?

Mr. STEBBINS. I got it this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. You never had seen it until this morning?

Mr. STEBBINS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead and state what you want.

Mr. STEBBINS. By implication it would appear that I have been away in order to avoid testifying before this committee. Nothing could be more false than that. I had planned this trip into the woods of Canada for a month prior to my going. I left on a Friday to spend Sunday with my—I left on Sunday night for the woods and got in on Monday, and left Monday night, and was in the woods nine days, when——

The CHAIRMAN. For a campaign manager you thought it was all right to take to the woods?

Mr. STEBBINS. I was 20 or 60 miles from any telephone communication, or any communication of any kind whatsoever. I came out of the woods on Tuesday night, and on Tuesday night——

Senator SPENCER. Tuesday of this week?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, last Tuesday. On Tuesday night I got a telegram which was delivered in as far as it could be and sent the rest of the way by runner. It stated that it was desirable that I should immediately come here to Washington to testify before the committee. I left the next morning, as soon as I could get transportation to get out. I cut my vacation short three days, and when I got into Montreal in the afternoon of that same day I telephoned to Senator Kenyon. When I got to New York the next morning from Montreal I telephoned to Senator Kenyon——

The CHAIRMAN. You mean you telegraphed from Montreal? You said telephoned.

Mr. STEBBINS. I telegraphed from Montreal and telephoned from New York the following morning. I have never had a subpoena served upon me. I have never had a word of writing except the telegram I got when I got into New York yesterday morning. I have nothing in the world to hide, and the idea of my trying to evade this committee's meeting is ridiculous.

I just want to make that statement because I think it may clear up a few matters, and, as I say, I planned this trip a month before I left on it.

The CHAIRMAN. The only thing that aroused anyone's suspicion about it was that they could not find you, and your business partner did not know where you were, or the clubs in New York, but it is very nice if you can go off into the woods.

Mr. STEBBINS. I would like to add another thing, and I think it would be quite worth while if it could be taken up. My partner, my family, and my people have been persecuted literally by these subpoena servers and United States marshals. They absolutely declined to believe my partner's statement. When my partner told the United States marshal that he could not communicate with me, he was quite right. I was 60 miles from any——

The CHAIRMAN. Did he know where you were?

Mr. STEBBINS. Certainly not.

Senator SPENCER. All he knew was that you were in the woods of Canada?

Mr. STEBBINS. I can read a map quite well myself, but at times I did not know where I was myself, and his attitude in our office and at the house was exceedingly undesirable, and it is not necessary, it seems to me, that a man should take that attitude.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Stebbins, allow me to make a suggestion, as a member of the committee. I am frank to say to you that I was one of those that did not understand the why and the wherefore——

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Of your absence, and the failure of your party associates, particularly those engaged in the activities of the committee, to know where you were.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, necessarily, it appeared to me, as one of the committee, that the last week or 10 days of a campaign—and I

have had a little experience myself politically—are usually the most active days of a campaign, and I confess that if I were a candidate I would not quite understand it if those who were managing my campaign were away beyond reach.

The CHAIRMAN. And had taken to the woods?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; that is the situation about it, so there are two sides to that proposition. I am willing to accept your explanation of this——

The CHAIRMAN. But you were blaming the sergeant at arms?

Mr. STEBBINS. I am giving you that explanation, because there are not two sides to it.

Senator POMERENE. There are, from the standpoint of the knowledge we had.

Mr. STEBBINS. That may be assumed. That is all right, sir; that is assumed.

Senator POMERENE. I know it is, and that is subject to further explanation.

Mr. STEBBINS. All right, sir; I have given you my explanation. It may be possibly due to ignorance, because I have never been in a campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were blaming the sergeant at arms.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes; I consider his attitude in New York City was culpable. I think he had no business to tell my partner, for instance, that he was a liar, which he told him in so many words, and was requested to leave the office. I do not think that is necessary. But that is a detail which does not matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is a detail. You are here now.

Mr. STEBBINS. That is all there is to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you are the eastern manager—not the manager, but the treasurer, Mr. Hitchcock informed us—of the Leonard Wood campaign?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what is the scope of that work, Mr. Stebbins?

Mr. STEBBINS. I received the money that was spent through Mr. Loeb and his coterie of friends and people who were raising money. I received money which was sent to Chicago—the national headquarters in Chicago—financed on New York activities. We also carried on our endless-chain scheme of letters which we started last July, and——

Senator POMERENE. By “we” you mean your committee?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes; and those moneys were received by me, accounted for by me, and disbursed by me, only under the authority or order either of Col. Procter or Col. Miller.

The CHAIRMAN. Was all the money that you expended received from Chicago?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had contributions made to you that you did not send to Chicago?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Among those were the contributions from Mr. Loeb?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sprague here the other day had a statement showing \$225,000, as I remember it.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; I think that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Sent by Mr. Loeb to Chicago?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is something you would not have knowledge about, would you?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; that is the point I want to make clear.

The CHAIRMAN. These contributions Mr. Loeb sent to you had nothing to do with the Chicago headquarters?

Mr. STEBBINS. Oh, yes; indeed they did. For instance, I particularly desire that there shall not be a duplication of figures. The figures that Sprague sent to me would be necessarily accounted for as Sprague's expenditures. The figures that Mr. Loeb and his friends collected and reported to Chicago as being sent to me would be also accounted for by Chicago as having been sent to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not quite clear on that. Take this \$225,000.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that sent by Loeb to Chicago, or did a part of it go to you?

Mr. STEBBINS. A part of it went to me.

The CHAIRMAN. The \$225,000 represents what he sent to Chicago, and also what he sent to you?

Mr. STEBBINS. That is the point, exactly. I particularly desire that there shall not be a pyramiding or duplication of figures.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to get the facts.

Mr. STEBBINS. That is correct.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, when any money was sent to Chicago, Mr. Sprague charged himself with it, and then when he sent it back to you he credited himself with that amount?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; exactly.

Senator POMERENE. And then, when you received it you charged yourself with it?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator POMERENE. And as you disbursed it you credited yourself?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us clear up this other question. Did you receive anything from Mr. Loeb, or anyone else, that did not go on through to the Chicago office?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us a list of the contributions to your fund here in the East that did not go to the Chicago office.

Mr. STEBBINS. Well, sir, I have not brought the list of contributions, but I will state that a number of them——

Senator POMERENE. Let me suggest, would it not be better if he would give to us primarily a statement of his receipts, and then his disbursements, so that we can have that in mind?

The CHAIRMAN. We want to get it clear so that there is no duplication of figures. Suppose you give us all your receipts and their source, whether it be from Chicago or others.

Mr. STEBBINS. Shall I proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STEBBINS. I received from Mr. Loeb, from February 20 until May 17, inclusive, \$130,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that come from Chicago; is that in the \$225,000?

Mr. STEBBINS. The \$225,000 that Sprague testified to.

Senator POMERENE. A part of it?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes. It did not matter. All moneys raised here, barring two rather odd circumstances, were accounted for to the national treasurer, Mr. Sprague, and Mr. Loeb, as I understand it, would say to Sprague that \$25,000 has been sent to-day to the eastern treasurer, so that they must not be duplicated.

Senator POMERENE. He sent him a credit memorandum, then, and not a remittance?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; a memorandum stating that the cash had been sent to me.

Senator POMERENE. That is what I mean.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. So that this \$130,000 really never got to Chicago?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; that came directly to me, simply a memorandum. Now, from Chicago—from the headquarters—I received \$77,490.

The CHAIRMAN. It extended over some period of time?

Mr. STEBBINS. From February 19 to March 27. The ways and means committee of New York City raised and sent to me about \$40,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the ways and means committee?

Mr. STEBBINS. I think there were 100 members, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was chairman of it?

Mr. STEBBINS. Herbert L. Satterlee.

The CHAIRMAN. That was composed of a number of prominent men in New York City?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us some of their names.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; I think I can.

Senator POMERENE. Would your books show those names?

Mr. STEBBINS. I do not know the hundred, sir. I have no knowledge of Mr. Satterlee's committee, except as I remember them. I can tell you a good many of them if you choose to have it.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us a few of the names.

Mr. STEBBINS. David M. Goodrich.

Senator POMERENE. Give their business, as you go along.

Mr. STEBBINS. The Goodrich Rubber Tire Co.; Grenville Clark, lawyer; Elihu Root, jr., lawyer; Harold B. Clark, banker; Archibald G. Thatcher, lawyer; Langdon G. Marvin, lawyer; Dean Sage, lawyer; Ambrose Monell, International Nickel Co. Those are the men who sat near me at that luncheon. I am sorry I can not give the—

Senator POMERENE. What luncheon?

Mr. STEBBINS. They had a luncheon every week, this committee, in an effort to raise funds for the campaign. I attended but once, and, as I remember it, those men sat near me.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the total amount this committee raised during the campaign?

Mr. STEBBINS. I think I stated \$40,000.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say they sent that to you.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir. But it was arranged with Mr. Proctor and myself that instead of them raising money for any particular, specific purpose, that it was to be circumscribed in the manner that moneys raised by them should be sent to me for the general uses.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have any funds to be particularly used from New York, outside of——

Mr. STEBBINS. No; we financed the New York committee.

Senator POMERENE. That is, what is known as the eastern national headquarters looked after this, you mean?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes; furnished the New York City committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have separate headquarters in New York City?

Mr. STEBBINS. They had two rooms.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were they?

Mr. STEBBINS. In the Imperial Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that separate from the Gen. Wood headquarters?

Mr. STEBBINS. No; on the same floor.

The CHAIRMAN. It was all a part of the same thing?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir. Mr. Stark, who went to Plattsburg with us, was exceedingly kind, when we could not get the rooms last July, and gave us three rooms rent free.

Senator POMERENE. He was the manager of the hotel?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This \$137,000 and \$40,000 represent the moneys you received? Did you receive any more?

Mr. STEBBINS. \$133,000, \$77,490, \$40,000, and \$21,390.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. STEBBINS. Those cover 1,800 subscribers.

The CHAIRMAN. 1,800?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; in amounts from \$1 to, I think, the highest \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the subscription of Mr. Bridge? He testified the other day here that he sent you \$1,000.

Mr. STEBBINS. Who?

The CHAIRMAN. Bridge. Do you know a man by that name?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; I do not. I received yesterday a check for \$1,000 from Mr. Ogden Reed, but I returned it because it was not possible to indorse it. I do not remember Mr. Bridge.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not receive any subscription, outside of that, from Mr. Bridge of that kind?

Mr. STEBBINS. Except those that are included in the \$40,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That came from the ways and means committee of New York City?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir. The largest subscription in that was \$2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that from, do you know, Mr. Bridge?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; I do not know the name.

Senator POMERENE. Do these four items you have given me embrace all the moneys you received?

Mr. STEBBINS. There is an item of \$15,000 received on February 16 from Mr. Monell.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that included in any of these?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that separate and distinct from any? That did not go to Chicago?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; it came to pay some very pressing bills. Mr. Monell gave me the money to pay them.

I want to be sure that there is no error in our figures. Further than that, we had two organizations. I have been keeping two sets of books. We started this Leonard Wood League last July, which very aptly was considered a Boy Scout proposition. Then when we got into the campaign and it developed to such an extent that we could not handle it at all, it got to be so big that it was immediately apparent that we needed political advice, and at that time the campaign committee was organized. I think that was in January, Senator. But we were raising money—had been raising money for the Leonard Wood League—and we considered that it was distinctly confusing to raise money for the Leonard Wood League and the Leonard Wood campaign committee; that it would be a most confusing thing to try to raise money for the two things which all led toward one aim.

Senator POMERENE. In order to keep this clearly in my own mind, you have just said, as I understood you, that you kept two sets of books?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, you were appearing in the same capacity for each of these two organizations, I take it.

Mr. STEBBINS. I was treasurer of the Leonard Wood League—I am treasurer of the Leonard Wood League, and I am now eastern manager of the Leonard Wood campaign committee.

Senator POMERENE. Do these funds of which you have given us a memorandum include the funds that you received as the treasurer of the two organizations?

Mr. STEBBINS. I shall be very glad to differentiate, if you like. I have it right here.

Senator POMERENE. I wish you would, so it would help us a little to avoid confusion.

Mr. STEBBINS. The Leonard Wood League disbursements were \$158,554.57; cash received, \$156,271.05.

Senator POMERENE. That is in addition to these?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; this includes all the above.

Senator POMERENE. That is just what I want to avoid, misunderstanding, if I can. That is why I am so specific about this matter. You have given in these five items you have given me all of the funds you have received in your capacity as treasurer of the two organizations?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In order to make the state of your account correct, then, this \$156,271.05 would have to be deducted from these five specific items you gave us in order to give us the correct statement of the account of the two organizations?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; you are correct.

Senator POMERENE. I understand you.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; you are correct. I am now giving you a resumé of the details which I gave you before. Now, the Leonard Wood campaign committee. Cash received—this, of course, includes what I told you Mr. Loeb sent to me and his committee from all sources—\$280,213; expenses, \$279,359.01.

Senator POMERENE. Up to what date?

Mr. STEBBINS. June 2; as of the night of June 2.

Senator POMERENE. That includes the receipts and disbursements as of June 2?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir. I hope it is very clear, Senator, that I have given you now a resumé, a total, which includes my first figures to you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the total received from both committees?

Mr. STEBBINS. \$280,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And the \$156,000?

Mr. STEBBINS. And the \$156,000; yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is around \$436,000?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir. The point I wish to be very clear about is that that sum has been accounted for by the money which Mr. Loeb gave me, which was sent to Sprague, and by the money that was sent to me, which is, of course, in his own expenditures.

Senator POMERENE. That would make the total receipts of both organizations, then, \$281,880?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; you have got about \$460,000.

Senator POMERENE. Then I have missed something.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Leonard Wood campaign committee \$280,000 odd were received; in the Leonard Wood League \$156,271 were received, which makes around \$440,000.

Senator POMERENE. Then you misunderstood one of my questions or I may not have understood your answer. I asked you the question was this \$156,271.05, which you said was the cash received by the Leonard Wood League, included in these five items you gave us before, and I think we misunderstood one another.

The CHAIRMAN. He says these five items cover——

Mr. STEBBINS. I think we have got the cart before the horse. The other was included in that. The five items were partially included in that last figure.

The CHAIRMAN. But those five items only amount to \$281,880.

Mr. STEBBINS. But the campaign committee——

Senator POMERENE. Will you allow me to look at those papers? I think I will be able to understand it.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE (after examining papers). Then your total was \$436,434.40?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That did not include the \$20,000, did it?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think, to make it clearer, we ought to find out how much of that is not covered by Mr. Sprague's statement.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir. I will give you that right away, sir: \$130,000 plus \$77,490——

The CHAIRMAN. Is not covered by Sprague's statement?

Mr. STEBBINS. If you will add \$130,000 and add \$77,490 the difference is what has not been accounted for through Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. The \$130,000 and the \$77,490 did not come through Chicago.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All that is accounted for in Sprague's statement?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; that is corrections——

The CHAIRMAN. The \$40,000 is not accounted for?

Mr. STEBBINS. I beg pardon, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The \$40,000 you gave us there is not accounted for in the Chicago matter. I am probably going at it in a different way from you.

Mr. STEBBINS. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. The \$77,490 is not accounted for?

Mr. STEBBINS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And the \$130,000 is not accounted for?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else?

Mr. STEBBINS. No; nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. This \$77,490 you deducted from this \$456,000?

Mr. STEBBINS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. This \$77,490 should be added to what Sprague gave us to get at the moneys received from both headquarters?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator POMERENE. I was doing some figuring here while Mr. Stebbins was making his last explanation. The \$130,000 and the \$77,490, that you received from Chicago, those two items would be accounted for by Sprague?

Mr. STEBBINS. That is correct.

Senator POMERENE. And the rest are not accounted?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. So, that if we were to add \$228,994.40 to what Sprague has accounted for, it would give the total receipts of the two headquarters?

Mr. STEBBINS. Well, I have not added these up in that way, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. I am just telling you how I am getting at it. This \$130,000 and \$77,490 makes \$207,490. Now, taking that from the receipts which he gave us of \$456,484.40 leaves a balance of \$228,994.40, which we must add to the Sprague account.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree to that, Mr. Stebbins?

Mr. STEBBINS. I would like to say I am not quite sure whether—I can not tell you how Sprague has kept his books. I am under the impression that Mr. Satterlee made an accounting to Sprague for the money he raised in New York. I can not tell you that as a fact. I am sorry——

The CHAIRMAN. I want to know the item you are referring to.

Mr. STEBBINS. That is the \$40,000 item.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no showing of that account in Mr. Sprague's testimony, but it may be it has been done. How could we get that?

Mr. STEBBINS. You can only get that from Mr. Satterlee. I can not tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sprague had his book here, showing the receipts, which does not show that.

Mr. STEBBINS. I have got every receipt and every payment in this book here.

The CHAIRMAN. But have not the Sprague one? For instance, Mr. Loeb gave a contribution of \$25,000. You would not have that, would you?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir, I would have that. These are all the bills that were paid, and the receipts.

The CHAIRMAN. Moneys received, not the bills paid, now. The question is whether that \$40,000 has been accounted for, or whether

we should, in trying to get at the amount expended, add that to what we already have.

Mr. STEBBINS. I am exceedingly sorry I can not tell you what Mr. Satterlee did in regard to his committee. Mr. Iselin was chairman of that New York committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know Mr. Bridge?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir, I never heard of him.

The CHAIRMAN. He testified here the other day that he sent you a contribution of \$1,000, and he received an acknowledgment from you. That was the 7th of May. Where does that appear here, anywhere?

Mr. STEBBINS. It would be lumped in the deposit for that day, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that be in the \$40,000?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It appears from the testimony that he — your receipt. Just take the testimony. It is not long.

Mr. STEBBINS. \$1,000 receipts are rather rare. That is very possible, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that accounted for?

Mr. STEBBINS. It would be accounted for in the deposits which I made in the bank.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have any record of the individuals?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir, I have a record of everybody who gave a dollar.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you Mr. Bridge there?

Mr. STEBBINS. No. There were over 1,800 contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. You have them all?

Mr. STEBBINS. I have the names of every one: yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, but I have them in my office. I had no idea you wanted 1,800 names.

The CHAIRMAN. No, I do not suppose we do.

Mr. STEBBINS. The large contributions——

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we really want, the large contributions.

Mr. STEBBINS. I should not call that large, as large as the subscriptions that came through Chicago, through Mr. Loeb's committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a list of those contributing to the Loeb committee?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, I know nothing about that committee whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where Mr. Loeb raised \$225,000, who subscribed that?

Mr. STEBBINS. No; I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where Mr. Loeb is?

Mr. STEBBINS. No; I tried to get him on the telephone yesterday, and they simply said he was out of town and did not know when he would return. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you see him?

Mr. STEBBINS. Before I went away I saw Mr. Loeb, about three weeks ago, I should say, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you not furnish us a list of subscribers of \$1,000?

Mr. STEBBINS. Well, Senator, there were very few. You can put my name down as one. There were 1,800 contributions that went through my hands, and I signed a letter acknowledging the receipt of moneys to 1,800.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the largest subscription that you can remember?

Mr. STEBBINS. From those?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STEBBINS. I think my own, and Mr. Sprague stated that he gave \$1,000, but—well, I think Mr. David M. Goodrich gave \$2,500. I remember that subscription. Mr. John Pratt gave \$2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. STEBBINS. He is a lawyer. There were exceedingly few of \$1,000 and over, exceedingly few.

The CHAIRMAN. But you have these records, and if there should be any need for them they could be produced?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Will you not send us a transcript of your books, showing who those contributors are and the amount of their contributions?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have not been asking for any under \$100.

Senator POMERENE. No; I am not particular about that, but those principal items you got, and then later if we should want to confer with you further, we can do that?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; they are in my office.

Senator POMERENE. That will perhaps save you some trouble, as well as the committee.

Mr. STEBBINS. Do you desire a list of the contributions of \$100 and over?

Senator POMERENE. And over, giving the addresses as near as you can.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; I will try to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stebbins, you were attending these luncheons that you spoke of. Don't you know about the contributions to the fund Mr. Loeb raised, or any of them?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; I have not the faintest idea of them.

Senator POMERENE. Would your record show that?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Have you no communications from Mr. Loeb that would show that?

Mr. STEBBINS. No; I have never had any communications from him. I have telephoned him. I have copies of my letters acknowledging receipt of money from him.

Senator POMERENE. Would those letters from him show who the contributors were?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The letters would say simply so much for account of Wood campaign fund, or something of that kind?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; this is what happened. I have no knowledge of that whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Loeb's business?

Mr. STEBBINS. He is a lawyer; Wm. Loeb, jr.

Senator POMERENE. Formerly secretary to President Roosevelt?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These luncheons, as I understand you, were held to talk over the question of financing the campaign?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who generally attended those luncheons?

Mr. STEBBINS. I should say about from 30 to 50 of the 100.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this the committee of 100?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; that was the idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you hold these luncheons?

Mr. STEBBINS. I think they were held at the City Club.

The CHAIRMAN. You discussed this question of financing the campaign?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were subscriptions taken at the luncheons?

Mr. STEBBINS. The luncheons were to stimulate interest in the campaign, and to make an appeal to every member to secure subscriptions, as he could.

Senator POMERENE. There was nothing unusual about these luncheons. That is customary for gentlemen to meet when they have got a common enterprise, whether they are professional or business men——

Mr. STEBBINS. Certainly.

Senator POMERENE. To meet at luncheon at some convenient hour, so that they can talk it over?

Mr. STEBBINS. For instance, my firm has a firm luncheon every Tuesday of the heads of the departments, and we all talk over our business matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a lawyer, Mr. Stebbins?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; I am in the mercantile business.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. STEBBINS. Cotton.

Senator POMERENE. You said a moment ago—I may not have the name strictly accurate, and if I have not you will correct me—that you had a New York City campaign committee up there?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. With two rooms in the Imperial Hotel. That was correct, was it?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator POMERENE. Did they raise funds for the campaign, independent of those that you have testified to?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Were you the treasurer of that committee?

Mr. STEBBINS. Mr. John H. Iselin was the chairman of the——

Senator POMERENE. Give the title of the committee.

Mr. STEBBINS. Of the Greater New York—I think that is right—campaign committee.

Senator POMERENE. Wood campaign committee?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; the Greater New York Wood campaign committee. Mr. John H. Iselin.

Senator POMERENE. What would be his address?

Mr. STEBBINS. I think it is 41 Wall Street, New York City.

Senator POMERENE. What is his business?

Mr. STEBBINS. He is a lawyer. I think that is correct, but that ought to be corroborated.

Senator POMERENE. How much money did they raise?

Mr. STEBBINS. They raised about \$40,000; that I spoke of in my previous testimony.

Senator POMERENE. Was that the item?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You called it then the ways and means committee of New York?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. When you said about \$40,000?

Mr. STEBBINS. Well, the ways and means committee was the financial end of the campaign committee of Greater New York.

Senator POMERENE. You meant, then, so far as you knew, this \$40,000 was the fund raised by this Greater New York headquarters?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; exactly.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other funds there raised?

Mr. STEBBINS. I testified to the amount of \$21,390, which was raised by very small subscriptions.

Senator POMERENE. You told us about that, but you accounted for that as treasurer of the eastern headquarters.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir; I accounted for that.

Senator POMERENE. What I mean now is do you know of any other funds which were raised or disbursed? I mean by that funds other than those which you have testified about here.

Mr. STEBBINS. There were none, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. In any event, you know of none?

Mr. STEBBINS. I know there were none, of my knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. Did you have a New York State headquarters for the campaign in the State of New York?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you know anything about the campaigns that were conducted on behalf of Gen. Wood in the State of Texas?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who had charge of that campaign?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who financed it?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You have no information on that subject?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; none whatever.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who financed the New Jersey campaign?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who?

Mr. STEBBINS. Well, the eastern headquarters—that is to say the New Jersey campaign was financed and handled by our office in New York City.

Senator POMERENE. Let us be clear about that. Of course, it has appeared here that funds were contributed by your headquarters to the New Jersey campaign.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. But do you know whether any funds were raised or used in the New Jersey campaign other than those which were raised or disbursed by your headquarters?

Mr. STEBBINS. My two partners live in New Jersey, and I know they raised among themselves money for furthering Gen. Wood's interests in New Jersey, but I think they were small amounts, and they did not go through my hands.

Senator POMERENE. Give their names, please.

Mr. STEBBINS. My partners?

Senator POMERENE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STEBBINS. Mr. Ridley Watts.

Senator POMERENE. And the other one?

Mr. STEBBINS. The other one is no longer a partner of mine, but he is going into Wall Street, Murray Coggeshall.

Senator POMERENE. He is in Wall Street now?

Mr. STEBBINS. He is in that neighborhood. I do not know his address. Watts is at 44 Leonard Street.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did they raise?

Mr. STEBBINS. I think it was a very small amount, purely local.

Senator POMERENE. What is Mr. Coggeshall's address?

Mr. STEBBINS. Morristown, New Jersey. It is a very small matter.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know any one else?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know Col. Lewis?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of such a man as that?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. The inventor of the Lewis gun?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Did you hear at any time that he had raised any funds?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean by that that you have no knowledge of it, or that he did not raise any funds?

Mr. STEBBINS. I have no knowledge of the gentleman or of his activities, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we are not quite clear on what the eastern headquarters really were. How many States do you handle from the eastern headquarters?

Mr. STEBBINS. East of Ohio and north of the District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send money into these various States?

Mr. STEBBINS. I know nothing about the disbursements myself. They went through Col. Miller.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you turn over to Col. Miller?

Mr. STEBBINS. I do not know that exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that will show?

Mr. STEBBINS. No; not exactly; but I can tell you that I believe about 70 per cent of the moneys that were disbursed through my office went for publicity.

The CHAIRMAN. But you can not say how much went to him?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not have anything to do with the general operations, as I understand it—you just handled the funds?

Mr. STEBBINS. Absolutely. I was perfectly an automaton in the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any of it turned over to—who was the other eastern manager—Gould?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any of it turned over to him?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes; a small amount.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. STEBBINS. I can not tell you that.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not estimate it at all?

Mr. STEBBINS. I have not looked through the check book, but a small amount. I think Col. Miller has testified to that, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. You said that that twenty thousand dollars and odd fund was all of it in subscriptions of \$100 or under?

Mr. STEBBINS. Well, no, sir; I think there were a few subscriptions at \$200. I remember one at \$250, and it may be possible that Mr. Bridge's subscription may be in that. I can not remember.

Senator SPENCER. That is what I am after. Mr. Miller stated in his testimony that there was one contribution in that fund of \$1,000; that may be Mr. Bridge's.

Mr. STEBBINS. That may be Mr. Bridge's; that is very possible. I perfunctorily signed these receipts. They were coming in 100 a day. I did not pay any attention to the amounts generally. They were very small.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you send us down from your books a statement of the amount you have turned over to Mr. Miller and Mr. Gould?

Mr. STEBBINS. I can get it from the bank; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Will you allow me to amend that, Senator? Suppose in this statement of your disbursements that you give us a memorandum also of the disbursements, the items over and above \$100?

Mr. STEBBINS. Senator, may I ask you now if you really want that? Senator, you would have about 500 items which have to do with printing almost entirely, stationery, stamps——

Senator POMERENE. Well, certainly, I do not care anything about that, but other funds that were given to other people for distribution, something of that character, or for services, something of that character.

Mr. STEBBINS. Or sent to another State, we will say?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; something of that kind. When it comes to the matter of your printing or items of that character, I do not care anything about that.

Mr. STEBBINS. And a list of the contributions of \$100 and over?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. STEBBINS. And a list of moneys—I will put it cash—sent to Mr. Gould or Mr. Miller?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; and other individuals, etc., to be used according to their discretion.

Mr. STEBBINS. Or by their direction, because that is the only way I disbursed any money.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. STEBBINS. Sent to Gould or Miller or elsewhere by their direction?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; or other States.

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you sent certain funds to Senator Moses here at Washington headquarters, did you not?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; I have never sent Senator Moses any money whatsoever.

Senator POMERENE. Unless my memory fails me, the Chicago office——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chicago office. He testified to that.

Mr. STEBBINS. Senator Moses was in the same position I was in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there some kind of an organization through the State of New York, in the different counties, raising money?

Mr. STEBBINS. No, sir; in New York it was very badly handled. I thought we could raise all the money we needed in very small sums, if we organized early, and had gone through just exactly what we did with this Leonard Wood League, where we got 1,800 contributions of very small sums.

The CHAIRMAN. When you had meetings out through the States, were they taken care of locally?

Mr. STEBBINS. Generally they were.

The CHAIRMAN. That seems to be the general custom?

Mr. STEBBINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as the committee is concerned, speaking for myself, I am entirely satisfied, Mr. Stebbins, that you were in no way trying to evade service.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is so, after hearing your statement. I was disposed to believe the contrary before, but I think I was unjustified.

Mr. STEBBINS. Thank you, sir. I wish very emphatically to go on record that I have nothing to hide and am not dodging investigation. I planned this trip a month ago.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The following telegram was received on May 31st by the sergeant at arms from Katherine W. D. Loeb:

OYSTER BAY, N. Y., May 31, 1920.

D. S. BARRY,

Sergeant at Arms, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Telegram for Mr. Loeb received by me in his absence. He has been away for several weeks on important business matter. Returns June 5th.

KATHERINE W. D. LOEB.

(Whereupon, at 11.15 o'clock a. m., the committee took a recess until 8 o'clock p. m.)

EVENING SESSION.

The subcommittee reassembled at 8 o'clock p. m., pursuant to the taking of recess.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WARREN GREGORY.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home, Mr. Gregory?

Mr. GREGORY. Berkeley, Calif.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. GREGORY. Attorney at law.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the management of the Hoover campaign in California?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; I was president of the Hoover Republican Club of California. I was not campaign manager, but I was president and am still of the club.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you known Mr. Hoover?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you been connected with him in the Food Administration work?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In any event, you were old friends?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; I was in charge of the commission for relief in Belgium. During the period of the war I was in Belgium, and I left Belgium the day that war was declared by the United States against Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any Hoover headquarters in California?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they connected in any way with the New York headquarters?

Mr. GREGORY. Only as the national headquarters would be connected with the local headquarters. If I may be permitted to make a statement, sir——

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to do that?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; I think it would simplify matters if I made a statement of this kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Make your statement, and then we will question you.

Mr. GREGORY. Certainly. I desire to say, Senators, that, first of all, your telegram from the Sergeant at Arms requesting me to come to Washington came to San Francisco at a time that I was absent. I was in the town of Sonora, which is a mining town about 130 miles from San Francisco. When I heard of that telegram, I immediately telephoned my office in San Francisco, requesting them to notify your Sergeant at Arms that I would come just as soon as I possibly could, and I was able to get an automobile, and I came to San Francisco and took the train the next morning, and am now here as quickly as I could get here.

The accounts which I have here with me are statements, certified by accountants, of the receipts and expenses of the Hoover clubs of California. There are two of these statements. The Hoover Republican Club of California, which was the main State organization, had its office and principal place of business in San Francisco. We soon found that it was not practicable to run the whole campaign over the whole State from San Francisco, and accordingly there was formed a club in Los Angeles, which had entire charge of the southern part of the State. It had a different set of books, and a complete and separate management, except that in a sort of way they were under the control of our club in San Francisco.

There is at the head of it Mr. E. D. Lyman. That Los Angeles club had charge of eight counties in Southern California, the voting population of which was approximately 500,000. Our club in San Francisco had charge of the remaining 50 counties of the State, which had a slightly larger population. The total registered vote of California this year is over 1,100,000, and, of course, the State is quite large, and the towns are remote, one from the other, so that the statements which I shall present have been prepared, one in Los Angeles for the whole of southern California, and the other for San Francisco and the whole of northern California.

In addition to that, San Francisco was selected by the National headquarters as being the western headquarters, as it were, of all the Pacific and mountain States, and a considerable portion of the moneys which were contributed by Californians for this campaign was used in the sending of literature, representatives, speakers, and so on, to some of the other States. That will, I think, explain the reason why I have made, or shall make here, two statements instead of one.

I desire also to state that the expense account which will be found here for the organization clubs was because of a legal requirement of the California law. I am not sure whether this law is peculiar to California or not, but there are two ways in which the delegates may be chosen, under the California law, and placed upon the ballot. One is where the candidate expressly affirms that he himself selects these delegates, which were 26 in number. In that event no further organization is necessary. That was the method which was adopted by Senator Johnson.

There is another method by which any organization, State-wide in character, which is created for the purpose of furthering the candidacy of any particular individual, may itself select delegates and file them with the Secretary of State, and it does not require any express approval by the candidate. The latter was the proceeding which we were obliged to take. We were advised that it was necessary, under the law, to protect our ticket so they would be successful, that this organization be a State-wide one. Prior to this movement having been started by Mr. Hoover's friends in California at all, there had been a few scattering clubs or organizations which had no relation one with the other, and the Hoover Republican club of California was started by a few friends of Mr. Hoover who had known him for a long time, for the purpose of coordinating these few detached clubs, in order to perfect the State-wide organization, so that the ticket could be filed. We formed or had formed about 150 clubs in towns and cities throughout the State, and that had to be done before the ticket, the primary ticket was filed, and that required some expense.

Now, with that brief statement as to the general plan under which this campaign was required to be taken, I will first of all make a statement concerning the expenses and receipts in the southern division, which I will call the Los Angeles division.

Senator REED. Let me interrupt you long enough to ask this question. That statement from the southern division of the State was handed to you by those who were in charge, but you did not personally——

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Conduct the business in the southern part of the State?

Mr. GREGORY. No.

Senator REED. And you speak only from the information that is given to you in this paper?

Mr. GREGORY. That is correct, Senator.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. GREGORY. And I wish to state furthermore, Senator, that I myself did not have charge of the finances of this campaign. I am simply speaking from the books.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the information in that paper?

Mr. GREGORY. I have the information from the certified public accountants, who examined and certified to the books, vouchers, and checks.

The total amount of contributions which were paid by the citizens of southern California, which, as I say, were about 500,000 in number, was \$27,764.35. The San Francisco club, the main club, sent from San Francisco to Los Angeles \$10,000. When the Los Angeles club was formed there were a few other small clubs in southern California which sent all the moneys that they had to Los Angeles, and that consisted of \$1,350. There were other receipts—I do not know what they are—of \$171.30, making the total of all the money that was received by the Southern California Club, \$39,285.65.

The total disbursements by the Southern California Club are \$35,557.84, so that they will have a cash balance on hand of \$3,727.81.

Now, more specifically as to how that money was spent. That is segregated here into the following items: Salaries of clerks, \$4,569.05. That consists of the clerks that were employed not only in Los Angeles, but also in the other various clubs in southern California, and I take it consisted of the usual clerical help which is employed in an organization of that kind.

There was stationery and printing, \$5,981.37. The printing, of course, and stationery, is the office work which pertained to all these various clubs.

The largest item is for advertising, printing, and distributing circulars and reprints, etc., amounting to \$13,058.44. There was one advertisement inserted, I am informed, in the Examiner, of Los Angeles, at a cost of \$1,200. The Johnson party had an advertisement of the same character exactly, the same size, and in the same paper. The Examiner is a Hearst newspaper there.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did it cost, \$1,200?

Mr. GREGORY. \$1,200. It was a large display ad in the Examiner. There were two advertisements in the Record, which I presume is a Los Angeles paper, of approximately \$600 and \$800 each. There were also 72 advertisements in various papers, at a cost of \$10 each.

Senator REED. You are now speaking of southern California?

Mr. GREGORY. Entirely. There were 160,000 circulars sent out, which required three of these stenographers for addressing, filling envelopes, stamping, etc. That makes up that item.

There are 773 precincts in the city of Los Angeles, and 223 of these precincts, which consist of the places where the population is most congested, the boarding-house district, were canvassed by paid workers. They had to be men.

Senator REED. How many were canvassed?

Mr. GREGORY. Two hundred and twenty-three. These men were paid \$4 per day, and it was not to solicit on behalf of the Hoover campaign, but to see whether these people were registered and were entitled to vote.

Senator REED. Excuse me, Mr. Gregory, you were not in charge down there?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; I am simply quoting from what is given me, Senator.

Senator REED. Is that in writing?

Mr. GREGORY. That has been given me by—I have no personal knowledge of this.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know. Do you think we ought to exclude this entirely, or take it for what it is worth? It is pretty difficult to bring the witnesses here.

Senator REED. I did not mean to stop the witness. I meant rather to ascertain the facts. You have said that you had not been personally in charge, and you were speaking from the papers. Now, you then proceeded to say that these workers had been paid \$4 a day. I could not see how you could get that from the papers, and I could not see how you could get from the papers the fact that they did not solicit votes, and I just wanted to bring the fact out.

Mr. GREGORY. I want to state, Senators, that I myself have no personal knowledge of this. It has been given to me by men who should have been in a position to know, but, of course, I will not pursue that inquiry further.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we will, Mr. Gregory, but, of course, we will have to take that evidence for what it is worth.

Mr. GREGORY. Certainly. I wish the record to show that I have no personal knowledge now of the facts I am stating.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would have this personal knowledge? It is such an expensive luxury to bring people from California.

Mr. GREGORY. Mr. Lyman would be the only one. I can have Mr. Lyman write you a statement as to that.

Senator POMERENE. What is his full name?

Mr. GREGORY. Edward. I do not know his middle initial.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you have him write us a whole statement of all the men employed, their names, and the amount per day, and the number of days?

Mr. GREGORY. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you do that?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, if that is not enough, we can bring him here?

Senator POMERENE. Let that come in the form of an affidavit.

Mr. GREGORY. Very well.

Senator REED. Does that information give you the number of days?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not give that.

Mr. GREGORY. I know I did not.

Senator REED. I interrupted you.

Mr. GREGORY. Shall I continue?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. GREGORY. Perhaps I had better put that this way: These men were employed from April 26 to May 4, and the average pay which each received was \$19.50, making a total of \$4,348.50.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what those men were doing?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; I know in the same way that I have already said, Senator. Those were men who were going around through the congested portion of the city to see whether or not the people who are registered from that place actually lived there. As I am advised, they had nothing to do with soliciting them to vote for anybody, and I am also advised that there was not anyone who was actively employed in soliciting on behalf of the Hoover campaign who was paid anything. They were all volunteer workers.

The CHAIRMAN. They were not prohibited from talking the virtues of the candidate?

Mr. GREGORY. I presume not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not have been anything out of the way, would it? There was nothing in the law against that in California?

Mr. GREGORY. The only law is that they shall not do it within 100 feet of the polls on election day.

The CHAIRMAN. These men went around to the boarding houses?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, long before election day. They had nothing to do with the polls.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they passing literature around?

Mr. GREGORY. I believe not. I do not know of any literature they passed. The only literature we had, outside of the pamphlet here which shows——

Senator REED. I do not think you are to blame, Mr. Gregory—we are to blame—but let us go on with the financial end of this, and keep it together.

Mr. GREGORY. All right. The statement has been made concerning the fact that students on election day were paid to watch the polls. I desire to say that in San Francisco about 150 students from Stanford University watched the polls on the evening of election day, and while we offered to pay to these young men their car fare, from Palo Alto to San Francisco, which amounts to \$1.90 a round trip, they did not take it, but the boys paid their own car fare. They did not receive any compensation of any kind in the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that there has been a telegram from the president of the Hoover club at Stanford University, denying that statement of Mr. McCabe's, which has been placed in the record.

Mr. GREGORY. I have not seen that. It is due to these zealous young men, I think, to say that they worked gratuitously.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the record.

Mr. GREGORY. There has also been a statement of the fact——

Senator REED. Can we not stick to the financial statement now, and take these other matters up later?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir. Regarding the automobile expense in Los Angeles, I am also advised that the actual expense for automobiles, including the day of election, was \$261.28. Four hundred and twenty-five cars were donated for service on election day. Their parking was paid by the club, and I understand what this sum was for. The city of Los Angeles has a great many automobiles, and the Hoover workers donated these automobiles.

I believe that completes the general statement of the main items connected with the Los Angeles office. It shows in a general way total disbursements of about \$35,000 for the work of campaigning over territory where there are about 500,000 voters in eight counties.

The CHAIRMAN. How extensive headquarters were maintained in Los Angeles?

Mr. GREGORY. I was not there myself, Senator Kenyon, but I know the rent they paid was \$1,487.50.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how long?

Mr. GREGORY. About 2 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were these headquarters?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know that. I was not there myself, and I did not see them.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about the newspaper support in Los Angeles.

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, there were two papers which supported Hoover, the Times and the Express, but most of the papers supported Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a great deal of free advertising, did you not, in the Times?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know about the free part of it, but we had two papers there which supported Hoover, and all the other papers supported Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything paid to those papers at all. The Times and the Express?

Mr. GREGORY. Nothing paid whatever, unless there were a few advertisements put in them—we found this, Senator, that where we had to advertise in papers which were hostile to us, it was not sometimes felt right to the papers which were friendly to us not to insert the same advertisement. We paid them wherever we could, but sometimes that had to be done. I do not believe it was done in Los Angeles. In fact, if it had been done, this expense would be very much heavier than it is. I do not think there was very much advertising done.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of your San Francisco office, were there any headquarters except Los Angeles?

Mr. GREGORY. Well no, there were no headquarters. There were clubs in California, in every town of the State, but they coordinated with Los Angeles in southern California.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they raise money?

Mr. GREGORY. I have gotten the amount which they raised. It was \$1,350.

Senator REED. You mean that is the amount they raised and sent in?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they raise and spend, do you know?

Mr. GREGORY. I think nothing practically. We considered that \$80 for each one of these clubs was the average of what they cost.

The CHAIRMAN. These clubs got out their work themselves, I suppose?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, what they did was to hire some little hall and have a telephone and somebody there in charge during this period of time, and I think we considered it cost us on an average of \$80 for the campaign, each one.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those clubs did you have?

Mr. GREGORY. One hundred and fifty, at least. That is just a jump at it. I think it was about 150.

Now, coming down to northern California, or rather, going up, I believe you gentlemen desire a list of the contributions. In the State of California I am advised by Mr. Lyman that there was only one \$1,000 subscription, and that was by Arthur Letts.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. GREGORY. I believe he is dry goods merchant, Senator Kenyon, but I am not myself very familiar there.

The CHAIRMAN. At Los Angeles?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir. Mr. S. P. Clark gave \$500; C. C. Chapman, who was one of the delegates, and was a large orange grower, gave

\$500. Dan Murphy gave \$500. I do not know who he is. W. H. Whittier gave \$500; S. A. Chandler, \$500; W. F. Howard, \$500; Henry M. Robinson, \$500. That is all of the subscriptions there which were \$500 or more.

The CHAIRMAN. Have any of these people, do you know, been connected with the Food Administration?

Mr. GREGORY. Not that I know of. I do not know any of these people.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had been food administrator in California?

Mr. GREGORY. Mr. Ralph P. Meritt. Mr. Meritt was our general campaign manager in California, and during the war had served without compensation, and he had been comptroller of the State University, and resigned that position before he took up this Hoover work.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he paid a salary?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir—that is not quite correct. Mr. Meritt was not paid out of any of these funds at all, but three or four of the friends of the Hoover movement agreed that Mr. Meritt should be paid whatever he would lose by resigning from the university for the time of the campaign, I think it was about \$500 a month, which those friends made up to him, but it did not come out of any of these contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. How many months did he act?

Mr. GREGORY. Two months.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be \$1,000.

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; but that I do not know. It did not come out of any of these funds, but I am sure it has been paid.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not included in any way in the subscriptions?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; we have always considered Mr. Meritt's services there did not come out of this fund.

Senator REED. What has been Meritt's position in the organization?

Mr. GREGORY. He was campaign manager for the State. The northern division, which, as I have said, took in all of that part of California which was north of what we call Tehachapi and consisted of 50 counties—the total expenses of that northern division were \$51,652.88. I will not take the time to read all of these smaller items, but there are two items here which comprise by far the larger portion of that. One is the preparation of copy, printing, and distributing circulars, reprints, and buttons, \$19,010.40. That was by far our largest expense, which was caused by this fact, that the papers in the northern part of California were very largely actively in favor of Senator Johnson. There was no leading paper around San Francisco which would help out the Hoover cause. We therefore were obliged to advertise in these papers, and we were especially obliged to get out circulars. We mailed about 300,000 circulars.

Now, when it is reflected that to send 1,100,000 voters in California one single letter would cost \$440,000, that is 4 cents a piece, one can see that it runs up into a pretty big figure, even by sending one single letter. We did not attempt anything of that kind, but we did send out about 300,000 letters. We were very much handicapped by this difficulty of getting out to the public. I never appreciated before what newspaper support meant. It was for that reason that we had to do this publicity work which consisted of sending these circular letters, distributing circular letters, the printing of circulars

and buttons. We had, I think, some 700,000 of these Hoover buttons. They cost \$9 a thousand in New York, and we later had to pay \$15 a thousand in San Francisco. I do not know why they were higher there, but they were.

The only other large item there is club organization, the total cost of which I have already spoken, referring to the organization and coordination of these 150 clubs. California is a very large State, and we had to do a lot of telephoning and sending of automobiles around, and it was that coordination of these clubs which cost this sum of money.

The other items are rather small in amount, and consist of office stationery, supplies, and expense——

Senator REED. What was the club organization?

Mr. GREGORY. \$13,133.48. We had to buy our office equipment for \$1,337.15. We did not pay any rent. We were fortunate enough to secure an old temporary building on the corner of Montgomery and Sutter Streets, which had been used for the Boy Scout drive, the Liberty bond drives, and things of that kind. It was an old deserted building, and we got it and did not have to pay any rent for it, but we did have to run electric wiring into it, and fix it up some, but there is some salvage that we hope we can get out of that matter.

Putting these two accounts together, the total expense of the Hoover campaign in California, both northern and southern, including all the local clubs that I have any data on, and including also the work of the headquarters which functioned over the States of Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Colorado, and Arizona, the total expense, exclusive of salvage, was \$87,210.72. I think we ought to salvage possibly \$1,000 or \$2,000 out of that. I hope we may, so that it is fair to say that our total expenses are in the neighborhood of \$85,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You would add that \$1,000 to the manager, would you not?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I have not done it, Senator Kenyon.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be an expense if it had not been donated?

Mr. GREGORY. But it did not come out of the public.

The CHAIRMAN. It came out of some individuals.

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; I do not know whether you ought to add that or not. We did not so consider it. We wanted to make this the least burdensome as possible upon the public.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke of Oregon and these other States. California was the only State where Mr. Hoover entered the primary, is it not?

Mr. GREGORY. No; he was entered in the primaries in Oregon and afterwards withdrew.

Senator REED. Give us the amount of money you sent to the other States.

Mr. GREGORY. I have not got that segregated. I do not know what that is.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know what you sent to Oregon?

Mr. GREGORY. No; I will try to find that out.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any of the other States?

Mr. GREGORY. No.

Senator SPENCER. Is that included in the total amount you have given us?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; all I know of was charged to the headquarters of these other States. We were required to do a great deal of telephoning and telegraphing, and particularly we sent a lot of supplies.

Senator REED. Did you send any money out of these headquarters, any of this money?

Mr. GREGORY. To the other States? No; I think not.

Senator REED. Did you not send money to the New York office?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; to New York?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. GREGORY. No; not that I know of.

Senator REED. Go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. Take, for instance, the State of Colorado. You made no contest on the Colorado delegation, did you?

Mr. GREGORY. No; that related merely, Senator Kenyon, as far as I know, to the correspondence, telegraph, and possibly sending one or two representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not that true of all of these States except Oregon? That is about all you did in the other States?

Mr. GREGORY. It amounted to a considerable sum of money. We sent a lot of literature.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that literature furnished you from any source?

Mr. GREGORY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get it up yourselves?

Mr. GREGORY. We got it up ourselves. I have some samples here.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the nature of it?

Mr. GREGORY. Just some pamphlets called, "Facts about Hoover," and halftones.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that printed in California?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that rather expensive?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was it printed?

Mr. GREGORY. I presume it was done in San Francisco, and the same in Los Angeles perhaps.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any men traveling about different States?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; there was Mr. Ralph Arnold, I know, did that.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he paid a salary?

Mr. GREGORY. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. He donated his services?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; he is an old friend of Mr. Hoover's.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone else?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; Mr. T. T. C. Gregory went to Arizona and went without expense.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any contest for the Arizona delegation?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know. I could not tell you about that. I am not familiar with that.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood this was the only State in which you made what you would call an active contest?

Mr. GREGORY. That is true, but there was a ticket filed in Oregon which was afterwards withdrawn, but these other States, particularly Washington, I think, had a number of Hoover clubs, and they were getting information and getting ready to actively embark upon a

campaign. I am unable to say how much of this total sum of money went into these other States. I will try to find out, but it is going to be pretty difficult to segregate it.

Senator SPENCER. This total amount you have given us is up to what date?

Mr. GREGORY. Up to the 29th of May, the day I left San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other disbursements to be added?

Mr. GREGORY. I think not.

Senator SPENCER. What is the balance in cash?

Mr. GREGORY. We have a cash balance of \$786.62 in the northern division, and the cash balance in the southern division is \$3,727.81.

Senator SPENCER. Did Mr. Hoover himself contribute to his campaign?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; Mr. Hoover had nothing whatever to do with this campaign. The organization was perfected by his friends, and they put the ticket in the field. He was never consulted in any way, shape, or form, either as to the expense, disbursements, or anything of that kind.

Senator SPENCER. Did he ever come into headquarters?

Mr. GREGORY. Mr. Hoover was not in California in this campaign at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Hoover a candidate in this contest as between two sons of California? Was that the issue there?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I do not know just what you mean, Senator. Of course, Mr. Hoover is not a native son of California.

The CHAIRMAN. He was born in Iowa?

Mr. GREGORY. Born in Iowa, Senator; he was not born in California. The movement was just due to the pressure of a great many of our people who admired his personality and his views and desired an opportunity of voting for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a trustee of Leland-Stanford?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; and is yet.

The CHAIRMAN. How long had he lived in California?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I can not tell you how long. I know he has a home in Palo Alto that he has had since 1912, and I am advised, and I believe, he has had a home down there for 20 years, but I myself have not known Mr. Hoover except for the last four years.

Senator REED. You say he had a home in Palo Alto since 1912?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And had lived in it?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I can show you his sworn testimony that when he came here in 1917 the only home he had was the Willard Hotel.

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know what you can show me, Senator Reed, but I can tell you I have been at his house myself.

Senator REED. Many times?

Mr. GREGORY. Once.

Senator REED. When?

Mr. GREGORY. 1919.

Senator REED. But not in 1920?

Mr. GREGORY. 1920?

Senator REED. 1912, you said.

Mr. GREGORY. But I am about to tell you that his friends tell me that that is his home, where he lives. I do not know how to tell where a person lives, except by repute among his neighbors.

Senator REED. Except that you might have been there yourself, and you might have seen him go there?

Mr. GREGORY. I saw Mr. Hoover.

Senator REED. Is it not a fact that his home was in Red House, England?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Red House in the city of London; that his home was there and that his family was there from the time he left to come to the United States to take charge of the food control?

Mr. GREGORY. That is not a fact.

Senator REED. That has been sworn to by Capt. Lucey.

Mr. GREGORY. I am not able to say as to what anybody has testified, but I know myself that I have been to Mr. Hoover's house, and have seen him there and his family there.

Senator REED. Where?

Mr. GREGORY. In Palo Alto.

Senator REED. In 1919?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes.

Senator REED. Not before?

Mr. GREGORY. No; because I did not know Mr. Hoover prior to 1916. I first saw Mr. Hoover in Belgium during the war.

Senator REED. At that time his home was in London, was it not?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; it was not.

Senator REED. Did he not have a residence in the city of London with his family in it at that time?

Mr. GREGORY. He had a house which he rented there, but I do not consider that his residence or his home.

Senator REED. All right.

Senator SPENCER. Did he own this house at Palo Alto?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes—now, either he or his wife owns it. It is in the name of either Mrs. Hoover or Mr. Hoover, and I am informed has been there for a great many years. He is now building another house there, a modest sort of house, in Palo Alto. That has been going on for some years, that house. It was delayed in its construction, but it is now going on.

I do not know that I have anything further, Senators, to state. I have tried to show in a general way these supports, which are certified as correct by the certified public accountants, and I think that completes my direct statement, Senators.

(The statements of receipts and disbursements above referred to by the witness are here printed in full as follows:)

HOOVER REPUBLICAN CLUB OF CALIFORNIA.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

Statement of receipts and disbursements to May 19, 1920.

I. Receipts:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Contributions..... | \$27,764.35 |
| 2. Hoover Republic Club of California, northern division..... | 10,000.00 |
| 3. Other Hoover Republican clubs..... | 1,350.00 |
| 4. Other receipts..... | 171.30 |

Total receipts..... \$39,285.65

II. Disbursements:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. Salaries of clerks | \$4, 569. 06 |
| 2. Stationery and printing..... | 5, 981. 37 |
| 3. Advertising, printing, and distributing circulars and reprints, etc..... | 13, 058. 44 |
| 4. Salaries and expenses of watchers, precinct workers, and canvassers..... | 5, 706. 98 |
| 5. Rent..... | 1, 487. 50 |
| 6. Postage..... | 2, 640. 16 |
| 7. Telephone and telegraph..... | 795. 50 |
| 8. Office and general expense..... | 1, 318. 84 |

Total disbursements..... \$35, 557. 54

Cash balance..... 3, 727. 61

Certified correct.

M. W. THOMPSON,
Certified Public Accountant

JUNE 3, 1920.

HOOVER REPUBLICAN CLUB OF CALIFORNIA.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

Statement of receipts and disbursements to May 27, 1920.

I. Receipts:

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Contributions..... | \$62, 439. 50 |
|-----------------------|---------------|

II. Disbursements:

A. Expenses—

| | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. Office equipment..... | \$1, 337. 15 |
| 2. Salaries of clerks..... | 3, 041. 20 |
| 3. Preparation of copy, printing and distributing circulars, reprints, and buttons..... | 19, 010. 40 |
| 4. Club organization..... | 13, 133. 48 |
| 5. Office stationery, supplies, and expense..... | 5, 352. 00 |
| 6. Traveling..... | 4, 032. 33 |
| 7. Telephone and telegraph..... | 2, 932. 12 |
| 8. Postage..... | 1, 158. 13 |
| 9. Other expenses..... | 1, 656. 07 |

Total expenses..... 51, 652. 88

| | |
|--|-------------|
| B. Paid to Hoover National Republican Club, southern division..... | 10, 000. 00 |
|--|-------------|

Total disbursements..... 61, 652. 88

Cash balance..... 786. 62

Certified correct.

M. W. THOMPSON,
Certified Public Accountant

JUNE 3, 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement was made here by Mr. McCabe that he estimated—this is somewhat in the nature of rumor, of course, but he had seen indications of the expenditure of money, and he estimated that the Hoover campaign in California had cost something like \$300,000. You say that is not correct?

Mr. GREGORY. That is not correct.

Senator SPENCER. The actual amount was \$190,000, as I understand you?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did your subpoena or telegram ask you to bring any documents with you?

Mr. GREGORY. These statements.

Senator REED. Have you the telegram?

Mr. GREGORY. Sir?

Senator REED. Have you the telegram?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. It asked you to bring the books, did it not?

Mr. GREGORY. I think it did; yes.

Senator REED. But you brought some accountant's statement?

Mr. GREGORY. I will have the books here if you desire them. They are extremely bulky, and I took the books over to the accountants——

Senator REED. Will you let me see these sheets now?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Have you lived in California a great many years?

Mr. GREGORY. All my life.

Senator REED. Your home has been in San Francisco?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, my business is there. My home is in the suburbs of San Francisco.

Senator REED. Substantially in San Francisco?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes.

Senator REED. Where is Stanford University?

Mr. GREGORY. It is about 30 miles south of San Francisco, on what we call the peninsula.

Senator REED. Where is Palo Alto from San Francisco?

Mr. GREGORY. Palo Alto and Stanford University are in the same place.

Senator REED. How far from San Francisco.

Mr. GREGORY. Thirty miles.

Senator REED. You have been a pretty active man in your business of the law, I take it?

Mr. GREGORY. Fairly so.

Senator REED. Pretty well acquainted?

Mr. GREGORY. Fairly so.

Senator REED. That is so, of course. The first time you ever met Mr. Hoover was when?

Mr. GREGORY. In 1916.

Senator REED. Then you met him in Belgium?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Of course, that was before we got into the war?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you were engaged there in the work of the relief of Belgium?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You went over there for that purpose?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; my son and I.

Senator REED. That was a very laudable work. The next time you saw Mr. Hoover in the United States was in 1919?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Where, and when?

Mr. GREGORY. I saw him here in Washington.

Senator REED. When?

Mr. GREGORY. In 1917.

Senator REED. That is when he came over to take charge of the food control?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; he came over a long time before I did. I was in Belgium when Mr. Hoover was in Washington.

Senator REED. Then on your way back you saw him here in Washington?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You never were in his home in Palo Alto until 1916.

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; I never was, because Mr. Hoover was in Washington during all of this time, or during the war time he was in Europe.

Senator REED. He did not live in his house during the time he was in Washington?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I do not know what you mean by living. He was not there, of course, physically, any more than he is there now.

Senator REED. His family was not there, were they?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; they were, a part of the time.

Senator REED. In Palo Alto?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; a part of the time.

Senator REED. A part of the time?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Where was his family in 1916 when you met him in Belgium?

Mr. GREGORY. They were in London—that is, I know Mrs. Hoover was there. I am not sure about the children.

Senator REED. I am not speaking about the children. I presume they were with their parents, which would be the natural thing.

Now, I want to spend a moment on this matter of your organization. You organized about 150 clubs over the State, and some of them had been in existence, I believe you said, before you formed your central organization?

Mr. GREGORY. I think only two or three.

Senator REED. That you started into the work of trying to organize these clubs, and you were pretty successful at that, and got about 150 organized?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Were they generally people of some influence in their communities? Were they really substantial clubs?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; I, of course, feel that they represented a very intelligent portion of the community.

Senator REED. People of some means belong to them?

Mr. GREGORY. Not particularly. We did not have the wealthy class. We had what I call the intelligent class. We did not have what I call the wealthy class at all. The big bankers were not with us.

Senator REED. Does Mr. Requa live out there?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir. Mr. Mark Requa.

Senator REED. He is a man of some wealth, is he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I think he is.

Senator REED. A very great deal? Is he not an oil man?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. There were a number of wealthy oil men in that movement, were there not?

Mr. GREGORY. Mr. Requa was not in our movement at all; that is so far as California is concerned, because Mr. Requa has been in New York.

Senator REED. He has oil holdings in California, has he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know.

Senator REED. You would call him a California man, but he has gone to New York to sort of headquarters? I mean the headquarters of capital? He was connected with the movement in New York, was he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know, Senator; he may be or may not. I should be very glad to hear that Mr. Requa was connected with it.

Senator REED. He was one of the contributors there, was he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know that, but I should be glad to know that.

Senator REED. Is there not a Texas oil man that was interested in this movement?

Mr. GREGORY. What is his name?

Senator REED. I thought perhaps you could recall that to me. I will have to find it.

Mr. GREGORY. No: I have not any idea. I have no special acquaintance among oil men, but if you will tell me his name I will tell you.

Senator REED. Let us see if I can find it. While I am looking for that, you know Mr. Lucey, do you not?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Is he in the oil business?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I know Mr. Lucey very slightly, but I believe he is. I have been told he is. I never had anything to do with him in business.

Senator REED. You would not exactly say you were shunned by the wealthy men in California in any way, and that Mr. Hoover was not regarded well by them, would you?

Mr. GREGORY. Mr. Hoover was not what?

Senator REED. Was not well regarded by the wealthy men of California.

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I do not know whether they regarded him well or whether they regarded him ill. I know that nearly all of the rich people of California were on the Johnson ticket.

Senator REED. How many millionaires belong to your central club?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not think any.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you really mean that statement, that all the rich people of California were on the Johnson ticket?

Mr. GREGORY. What we call the moneyed interests, as I recall, were with him. There were a great many of them on the Johnson ticket. You can see their names. I can tell you their names.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are they? California is too wealthy a State to get them all on one ticket, is it not?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I would not give the impression, gentlemen, that there were not some people of means who were espousing Mr. Hoover's cause. I have no doubt that there were, but there was no conspicuously wealthy person that I know of, and I know positively that there was no person or group of persons who were financing or particularly interested in the Hoover cause. I ought to have said before that as soon as we started out we put an advertisement in the paper calling for small subscriptions, and we had over 7,000 one dollar subscriptions, which were paid in over the counter.

Senator SPENCER. Your largest subscription was how much?

Mr. GREGORY. The largest subscription we had was \$2,000.

Senator REED. Who gave that?

Mr. GREGORY. Capt. John Barneson.

Senator REED. What is his business?

Mr. GREGORY. President of the General Petroleum Co. He is a life-long friend of Mr. Hoover.

Senator REED. He is a wealthy man, is he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I think so. I do not know how wealthy he is.

Senator REED. Well, he is rated as a millionaire, is he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not think so—well, I do not know anything about it. I have never had any business relations with Capt. Barneson, and I do not know. I hope he is.

Senator POMERENE. Let us not get away from these wealthy names in the Johnson campaign.

Mr. GREGORY. I have that list here. These gentlemen are reputed to be very wealthy, men who are on the Johnson ticket. Mr. Herbert Fleishacker, George I. Cochran, president of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Co.—

Senator POMERENE. These are Johnson delegates you are reading now?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir. M. H. DeYoung, proprietor of the San Francisco Chronicle; John H. Rosseter, Mayor James Rolph, jr.; W. H. Crocker, John B. Miller, who is president of the Southern California Edison Co.—those names are all of them men who are reputed to be men of great wealth. My attention is called also to Mr. Joseph R. Nolan, who is the proprietor of the Oakland Tribune. I think he was formerly a Congressman.

Senator POMERENE. The Oakland Tribune?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes. Oakland is just across the bay from San Francisco.

Senator REED. Now, will you give me the names of the men who were at the head of the Hoover movement?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir. Well, I presume you can begin with me. My name is Warren Gregory.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you belong to the millionaire class?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir: I am sorry to say I do not. Mr. C. W. Merrill—

The CHAIRMAN. What was his connection with the organization?

Mr. GREGORY. Mr. Merrill was one of the active Hoover supporters. Mr. Merrill is a mining man. He has some control, I think, of a cyanide process, or something of that kind. I do not know much about it, but Mr. Merrill has a firm called C. W. Merrill & Co., and he is an old mining friend of Mr. Hoover's.

Senator REED. He is a man of wealth, is he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I think he is. I do not know how wealthy, Senator. I would think he was fairly well off.

Senator REED. None of us knows just how much the other has. If we did our credit might not be so good. But he is reputed to be a man of considerable wealth, is he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I have no idea. I never had any business relations with Mr. Merrill, but I would say Mr. Merrill is comfortably well off. I hope he is. Merrill is a fairly youngish man, who had a cyanide process by which he worked out one of the mines in the Black Hills, and it was through his mining relations that he knew Hoover.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not connected with this Niagara Falls company, is he?

Mr. GREGORY. No; I think not. He has an office in San Francisco, and lives in Berkeley. The next one would be president Ray Lyman Wilbur, of Stanford. President Wilbur was a classmate and graduated with Hoover at Stanford, and his roommate, and has always been very intimate with him.

Senator REED. We will not assume he has any money. Let us go on.

Mr. GREGORY. I do not suppose you would count him in the millionaire class. Then there was Mr. Merritt whom I have mentioned, R. P. Merritt. Mr. Merritt is not a man of means at all.

Senator REED. He was the man that got the salary?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir. There was Capt. T. T. C. Gregory, who, by the way, is in the room. Capt. Gregory was a Stanford man, and has known Mr. Hoover a great many years, known him much more intimately than I.

Senator REED. What is Capt. Gregory's business?

Mr. GREGORY. He is a lawyer. He entered the Army at the beginning of the war, became lieutenant colonel, I believe, and after the war, in France he was appointed in charge of the central portion of Europe on the question of the food supply, and had charge of it there for a long time. He has just returned not long ago from Europe, and he is at present in this room. He can tell you a great deal more about Mr. Hoover's residence than I can.

Senator REED. Well, who else was there now?

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I think, Senator, that is about all of that original little group. Then afterwards others came in. Mr. Charles C. Moore. Mr. Moore was the president of the Panama-Pacific Exposition Co., and he is the head of the C. C. Moore & Co., which is an engineering firm. He was one of the delegates on our ticket. If we had any millionaire at all, it was Mr. Moore, but I do not know how wealthy he is, but I think Mr. Moore is well off. That is the only man that I would suspect.

Senator REED. You do not think that anybody else——

Mr. GREGORY. We had Mr. Marshall Hale, who is a member of the dry goods firm in San Francisco called Hale Bros.

Senator REED. How about him being wealthy?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not think Mr. Hale—I do not want to do these gentlemen any injustice. I do not know anything about it. It is a large dry goods firm there, in which several brothers are partners.

Senator REED. I do not think it would be material, except for your remark that the wealthy men were practically all with Johnson.

Mr. GREGORY. Yes; I think that is true.

Senator REED. And our information is that there are a number of wealthy men in both organizations. If that is the fact I do not care to spend any more time on it.

Mr. GREGORY. Well, I am unable myself to see that it makes very much difference.

Senator REED. I do not either. A man has a right to have a wealthy man for him, but if it is charged up to one side, and it is really true of them both, the facts ought to be known.

Mr. GREGORY. I do not think that it makes very much difference, but if you take these two lists of delegates that I have before me, any Californian will tell you at once that there are three millionaires

on the Johnson ticket to one on the Hoover ticket, although in fact, there is not a single millionaire on the Johnson ticket.

Senator SPENCER. There is not a single millionaire on the Johnson ticket?

Mr. GREGORY. No, on the Hoover ticket.

Senator SPENCER. You said the Johnson ticket.

Mr. GREGORY. I should have said the Hoover ticket.

Senator REED. I am a little interested in knowing why millionaires would be for so radical a man as Mr. Johnson.

Mr. GREGORY. Why, Senator, I presume you know as much about that as I do.

Senator REED. Well, we will just pass on.

Mr. GREGORY. I am not in politics, and I do not know.

Senator REED. I do not want to take your time and the committee's when we are all trying to wind up in Congress. I want to get through, and I know you want to get through.

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; I am very tired, I will confess.

Senator REED. Now, you spoke about newspaper support, and you used the expression, and I think inadvertently, although I may be in error, that you had no newspaper support in the northern part of the State.

Mr. GREGORY. I did not mean to say we had none. There was one paper, an evening paper in San Francisco, called the Bulletin, which favored Mr. Hoover. There was also another paper called the News, a Scripps paper.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Sacramento Union?

Mr. GREGORY. And the Sacramento Union in Sacramento.

Senator REED. The Sacramento Union went into the possession of Mr. Allen, did it not?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. About when?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know.

Senator REED. Do you know approximately when the management was changed?

Mr. GREGORY. No, I do not, Senator.

Senator REED. Has Mr. Allen been associated with Mr. Hoover in the same way in Europe?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, Mr. Allen, as I remember it, was a representative of the Associated Press in London.

Senator REED. And he became associated with Mr. Hoover, did he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I believe he did.

Senator REED. He came to this country with Mr. Hoover about the same time, did he not?

Mr. GREGORY. I think he did; that is, when Mr. Hoover came over here to be Food Administrator.

Senator REED. And then later, about the time that the Hoover boom started, Mr. Allen came into the possession of the Sacramento Union?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know when he got that.

Senator REED. That paper, as soon as it came into Mr. Allen's possession, became a very ardent advocate of Mr. Hoover?

Mr. GREGORY. The paper supported Mr. Hoover; yes, sir.

Senator REED. And it was very severe in its strictures on Mr. Johnson during the campaign?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know how severe it was, but it was a paper which espoused Mr. Hoover. It did not compare for one minute with the partisanship of Mr. Johnson's papers, but then they were fighting each other.

Senator REED. Is it not a fact that that paper was financed by Mr. Hoover?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not think so. In fact, I know it is not.

Senator REED. Where did Mr. Allen get the money to get it?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know.

Senator REED. Then how do you know Mr. Hoover did not put it up?

Mr. GREGORY. Perhaps that is too strong a statement. I have never heard anything at all to that effect, and I think I have heard Mr. Allen was—no; I do not know.

Senator REED. You do not know where the money was obtained?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; you will have to ask Mr. Hoover about that. I know Mr. Hoover would be very glad to come and testify on that point.

Senator REED. Mr. Allen had been drawing a salary either from Mr. Hoover or some of Mr. Hoover's activities, or those things he controlled, shortly before he acquired this paper. Is not that true?

Mr. GREGORY. I do not know.

Senator REED. Now, proceeding a little further with the newspaper situation in Los Angeles, there was the Los Angeles Times; that is a very large and influential paper, is it not?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That supported Mr. Hoover, did it not?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The Express supported Mr. Hoover, did it not?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I believe you do not know what was paid for the Sacramento Union?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; I know nothing about that. I say if any charge is made that Mr. Hoover owns the Union, I think you will have to ask him.

The CHAIRMAN. There were some papers bought around the country, were there not, about that time, to help the Hoover cause?

Mr. GREGORY. Not that I know of. If there were, I know nothing about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Washington Herald?

Mr. GREGORY. You gentlemen know more about that than I do. It is a refreshing thing to have a paper once in a while that supports Mr. Hoover.

Senator REED. Well, I have only a question or two more to ask, I think. Do you know that these smaller clubs that were organized did not raise any money and did not spend any money in their local communities?

Mr. GREGORY. They may have spent a little money, just as I explained, but I do not think they raised any money.

Senator REED. They did not raise any money?

Mr. GREGORY. Not that I know of. If they did, it was quite a small sum.

Senator REED. How can you say that? Suppose there was a hot fight in town, how can you say that the local people did not raise some money?

Mr. GREGORY. I can only say, Senator, to the best of my information and belief. Of course, I was not there, and I do not know. They may have raised a little, but it was mighty little.

Senator REED. You do know that there were three men who agreed to take care of one considerable item of expense, and which did not go through the committee or organization?

Mr. GREGORY. That is true. It was not very considerable. I have just told you what it was.

Senator REED. About \$1,000?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did you have any paid speakers in the field?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you have any large meetings?

Mr. GREGORY. Not very many. We could not afford to have any of those general hurrah meetings at all. We had one meeting in Oakland in the auditorium, where we had speakers, and I should think there were three or four thousand people there. We did not have many large meetings. We had a good many smaller meetings, where our speakers volunteered. I was one myself, and used to go around and speak. We had no paid speakers whatever. There were some speakers whose expenses were paid. Most of us paid our own expenses, but there were some where it was only right that we should pay their expenses.

Senator REED. You did not send any money into other States? All that you raised you raised there?

Mr. GREGORY. As I have said, we paid people to go to these other States, and paid for printing, literature, and things of that kind. The money did not go; it was the materials that went, and the people.

Senator REED. If you had the people to canvass in Los Angeles the registration, did you not have workers at the polls?

Mr. GREGORY. Workers at the polls? No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you have challengers at the polls?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator REED. Watchers at the polls?

Mr. GREGORY. You are speaking of Los Angeles?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. GREGORY. There probably were volunteer watchers at the polls. They were not paid. In Los Angeles there were in certain of the precincts men that they paid \$4 for one night's work. They had to be men. In San Francisco there were no paid watchers. I know that.

Senator REED. How much did you say they paid these men?

Mr. GREGORY. \$4 for the night.

Senator REED. How many did they have?

Mr. GREGORY. I can tell you exactly, 172, again stating this upon information and belief. I do not know myself as to Los Angeles.

Senator POMERENE. Your home is in San Francisco?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; Berkeley is right across the water from San Francisco, but my business is in San Francisco.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know of any other moneys that were collected or expended on behalf of Hoover than those about which you have testified here?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. In California?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or the western part of the country?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. You know nothing about the expenditures here in the East?

Mr. GREGORY. Nothing at all.

Senator POMERENE. You have said something about the respective amounts of advertising. Do you know anything about the receipts and expenditures on behalf of Senator Johnson?

Mr. GREGORY. No; I have no information excepting rumor, and I do not care to state that.

Senator POMERENE. You have no tangible evidence? I am not asking for rumors.

Mr. GREGORY. No; I know nothing about what the Johnson people spent, except what they have testified to here.

Senator POMERENE. I will put this question to you specifically, because it was stated, and it appears in the record here, that \$100,000 was paid in cash to him by one of the banks about the time of the primary. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. GREGORY. I never heard of it. You mean in regard to the Johnson fund?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. GREGORY. I never heard of it, Senator. I want to say that the telegram which came to me asked me to bring all the Johnson papers. I assumed it was a mistake, and so informed the man who telegraphed me.

Senator POMERENE. You were not in his confidence at that time?

Mr. GREGORY. No, I would not dare to bring those.

Senator REED. In view of the fact that you were not present in Los Angeles, the only thing you know about it is the statement that is made up by the accountant which you bring here, and which, of course, you assume to be correct, or you would not bring it here?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes.

Senator REED. I want to ask you if it is not true that even the next morning after the election they were still paying off at the Los Angeles headquarters?

Mr. GREGORY. It is a fact, so far as I am informed, that the next morning these 172 men, of whom I have spoken, who watched the polls during the night were paid off.

Senator REED. Is it not a fact that they were paid different amounts?

Mr. GREGORY. I am advised that they were each paid the sum of \$4.

Senator REED. Were not some of them paid at least \$42.50?

Mr. GREGORY. No, sir; not to the best of my information and belief. There were other men, Senator Reed, who, as I have said, had been canvassing the precincts, and those men were paid on an average of \$19.50 for work between April 26 and May 4.

Senator REED. When was the primary?

Mr. GREGORY. May 4.

Senator REED. How many men were there that worked during that period of time?

Mr. GREGORY. Two hundred and thirty-three.

Senator REED. They began on April 26 and worked up until May 4?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. To and including May 4?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir; doing the character of work I have said.

Senator REED. Two hundred and thirty-three?

Mr. GREGORY. Two hundred and twenty-three, it should be.

Senator REED. How many watchers did you have at the polls?

Mr. GREGORY. One hundred and seventy-two.

Senator REED. These men who went out to canvass were going out to see if the voter lived where he was registered?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And they still engaged in that work clear up to the evening of election day?

Mr. GREGORY. I presume so.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, then, they worked on election day in the interest of Mr. Hoover.

Mr. GREGORY. No; you are in error. I have said that these men, as is very frequently the case, as you must know yourself, Senator Reed, desired to ascertain whether or not a person was a voter, and I presume the canvassers would only work up to the evening of the day before election.

Senator REED. But they worked right up to the election, and got their \$4, and some you say got \$19.50 on an average?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes, sir. It was about \$4.50.

Senator REED. Well, they paid them off the day after election?

Mr. GREGORY. I presume so.

Senator REED. Well, now, just as a practical man, you and I do not doubt that they were hired workers on election day?

Mr. GREGORY. What do you mean by hired workers?

Senator REED. Men who were hired to get out the Hoover vote and do everything they could. I do not mean they were hired to vote, I do not mean that there was any bribery indulged in, but they were workers!

Mr. GREGORY. My information is that there was nothing of the sort.

Senator REED. Well, I know something about canvassing.

Mr. GREGORY. You know much more than I do.

Senator REED. I never heard of canvassing a poll list and keeping the work up to election day, particularly to the evening of election day. I do not think anybody ever heard of that. You go out and canvass the polls before election, you conclude it before election, you have your books made up on election, you know who is entitled to vote, and who is not, and your challenger stands there with those books to challenge the man who is not entitled to vote. You can not do that unless your canvass has been concluded before election day.

Mr. GREGORY. Now, Senator, I am not making this quite right. As I have it here, these men were employed as canvassers from April 26 to May 4. That, in law, would mean down to and including May 3. It may be I had the wrong impression. This says to May 4.

Senator REED. When were the workers on?

Mr. GREGORY. The men who watched the polls worked, of course, on the evening of May 4, and the canvassers were from April 26 to May 4.

Senator REED. Then they were paid off the day after election?

Mr. GREGORY. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, that is all.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

(Whereupon the committee adjourned until Saturday, June 5, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 422, Senate Office Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, and Pomerene.

TESTIMONY OF MR. E. H. R. GREEN.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. GREEN. I am president of the Texas Midland Railroad.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home, in Texas or New York?

Mr. GREEN. Terrell, Tex.

The CHAIRMAN. You have an office in New York?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had anything to do, Mr. Green, with the management, in any way, of any of these presidential campaigns?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one?

Mr. GREEN. I was State chairman for the two terms of President McKinley, both nominations.

The CHAIRMAN. But in the present preconvention campaigns have you had anything to do with the management of any of the campaigns for any of the present candidates?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir; not for any of the candidates. We had an organization which had an office in which we were running for delegates—to elect delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind of an organization was this? Was it a Harding organization, a Wood organization, a Lowden organization, or a Johnson organization?

Mr. GREEN. It was an organization for the purpose of perpetuating the Republican Party. It was not for any particular—it was a fight between the lily whites and the mixed, or what we call the regular Republican organization, the same as we used to have in the days of McKinley.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that organization get into this primary fight or preconvention fight?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir; we had our primary.

The CHAIRMAN. What candidate were you backing?

Mr. GREEN. Not any. Ours were uninstructed delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any part in the Wood campaign?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had nothing to do with the raising of money for the Wood campaign?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or for the Lowden campaign?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not our purview to go into the politics of the State, for instance, but I just asked you about the delegation from Texas. Is that delegation instructed for any particular man?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir; it is uninstructed. There was a contest, you know.

Senator SPENCER. Is it generally known where their sympathies lie, Mr. Green?

Mr. GREEN. Well, you mean in regard to the delegation I am in!

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. I do not believe—well, I have not seen them since the primary on May 25 in Texas, and at that time I believe there was a little for everybody.

Senator SPENCER. How many are there in that delegation?

Mr. GREEN. Twenty-six, I think.

Senator SPENCER. Is it, then, a fact that so far as you yourself are concerned, you have no idea how the majority of the 26 men feel in regard to presidential candidates?

Mr. GREEN. To tell the real truth, I believe the man that can be nominated is the man they are for.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some prospective postmasters in the delegation?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. As far as that inclination is concerned, it has not led them to any particular personality at this time?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir; it is watchful waiting.

Senator SPENCER. If we could tell you, then, who the candidate was going to be, it would be grateful information?

Mr. GREEN. They would all be for him, I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Scobey, whom I saw here the other day, on the same delegation with you?

Mr. GREEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He is on the contesting delegation?

Mr. GREEN. That I do not know. There are so many.

Senator SPENCER. Is the entire Texas delegation contested?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say there are so many. Are there a number of contests?

Mr. GREEN. I understand there are three sets.

Senator SPENCER. All coming from the same convention?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir. You see, under the laws of Texas—three or four years ago a law was passed whereby we all had to enter the primary, and our crowd entered the primary and was elected. They were not wise to the fact, so then they commenced to elect their delegates from congressional conventions all over the State, instead of by primary, and then when they went to the State convention they split wide open. Then, at the congressional conventions they split wide open. That made the three sets of delegates. Then the State convention at San Antonio split. If they had had any more time.

there would have been more, because we have more candidates for office than we have Republicans.

The CHAIRMAN. Does not the putting the postmasterships under the civil service diminish the enthusiasm in the conventions down there a little, or do they not know that yet?

Mr. GREEN. No; I do not think so. I will tell you why. The principal fight seems to be down there that the Democrats do not want the Negro, and the lilly white element does not want the Negro, and the Negro is doing the fighting for self protection. In other words, he does not want to be disfranchised.

Senator POMERENE. You mean political self-protection?

Mr. GREEN. Political. They want to have a vote and have it counted.

Senator POMERENE. To what branch of the party do you belong?

Mr. GREEN. We belong to the mixed, what we call the regular Republicans; not the lily white.

Senator POMERENE. You organized to conduct the campaign for the election of delegates, and I believe you said there were 26?

Mr. GREEN. Twenty-six, or 21; the vote has been reduced. I do not remember the exact number.

Senator POMERENE. You have 18 Congressmen and 2 Senators. That would entitle the State to 40 delegates.

Mr. GREEN. No.

Senator POMERENE. Surely.

Mr. GREEN. No.

Senator POMERENE. That is the delegation at large.

Mr. GREEN. It is now, by the last presidential vote.

Senator POMERENE. You mean that is some regulation of your convention—of your party convention?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, well——

Mr. GREEN. No; I think that is a State regulation, that you are only allowed so much on your presidential vote.

Senator POMERENE. You have, in any event, 18 Congressmen and 2 Senators, and under the rule that prevails in our convention——

Mr. GREEN. That is a delegate from each district.

The CHAIRMAN. The Democrats have 40 delegates.

Mr. GREEN. We are only allowed so many delegates per capita of voters.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been cut down.

Senator POMERENE. That must be by some party regulation. Did you have charge of the conduct of this campaign?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Who did?

Mr. GREEN. A man by the name of Harry Beck.

Senator POMERENE. Where does he live?

Mr. GREEN. Dallas, Tex.

Senator POMERENE. What is his business?

Mr. GREEN. He has got an invention for drying the potatoes, or shipping them—something of that kind.

Senator POMERENE. Were funds raised to conduct this campaign?

Mr. GREEN. All that I know of was for the office and stenographers.

Senator POMERENE. Did you subscribe to that?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. What amount?

Mr. GREEN. \$2,500.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know what funds were raised—how much?

Mr. GREEN. I think there was contributed something like \$1,000 by the other delegate at large.

Senator POMERENE. You are a delegate at large?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir; on one of the contested delegations.

Senator POMERENE. I understand. What other funds were raised?

Mr. GREEN. There were none other that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. Just the \$3,500?

Mr. GREEN. From our crowd.

Senator POMERENE. I want to be perfectly frank about the matter, as I know you do. Information came to the members of the committee to the effect that you were interested in the operation of Gen. Leonard Wood's candidacy, and that you had said that you would finance and take care of the fight in his behalf in Texas. Is that true or not?

Mr. GREEN. That is absolutely false, sir. I can show you my connection with Mr. Wood's candidacy. I did not make any such offer, and I did not even know the Wood representatives, nor even Mr. Procter, as I can show you by a telegram I have here. He wants to meet me personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Procter?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. So that, as I understand you, you have taken no part, either directly or indirectly, in Texas, for Gen. Wood.?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or his interests?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Or for any other candidate or his interests?

Mr. GREEN. Nor for any other candidate.

Senator POMERENE. And your position, as I understand is this, that being interested in the Republican Party, you have announced yourself as a delegate, and you are going to the convention as a delegate, and you expect to determine when you get there what course you will pursue, as far as candidates are concerned? That is the whole story, in substance, is it not?

Mr. GREEN. That tells the whole story.

Senator POMERENE. So that you are not going there as a delegate on behalf of any one of the candidates who is named?

Mr. GREEN. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Though you may or may not vote for one of the candidates, or more of the candidates?

Mr. GREEN. Correct.

Senator POMERENE. In other words, you are unpledged?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And uninstructed?

Mr. GREEN. Uninstructed.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, there is nothing in the story that you are——

Senator POMERENE. So that this statement which comes to the members of the committee, and it came to several members of the committee—you say that there is nothing in it, so far as the substance of the story is concerned?

Mr. GREEN. Not a particle.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to place in the record some telegrams in order that we will have the record clear on some subjects. One is a telegram to Mr. Hanna and the reply, a telegram to Mr. Sterling, of Rockford, Ill., and the reply; and then I want to place in the record a telegram of the Sergeant at Arms of May 29 to Alfred J. Greenbaum, of San Francisco, and also a telegram to the same party at Chicago, the Sergeant at Arms apparently not knowing just where he was; the reply of Mr. Greenbaum of June 1; a telegram of June 2, to Alexander McCabe, Johnson headquarters, Chicago, his reply of June 2, and a further telegram of June 4 to Mr. McCabe, and a telegram from Mr. McCabe to myself this morning, replying to the Sergeant at Arms' telegram; also a telegram from Mr. Crocker of May 28.

(The telegrams referred to are as follows:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 27, 1920.*

DAN R. HANNA,
Cleveland, Ohio:

Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures request your presence here Saturday morning at 10 o'clock. Please answer.

W. S. KENYON, U. S. S., *Chairman.*

Official business. Charge to Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, *May 28, 1920.*

United States Senator W. S. KENYON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Hanna left city late yesterday afternoon before your telegram reached his office. He dictated a statement before his departure regarding John T. King's testimony before Senate Campaign Expenditures Investigating Committee which is carried by the Associated Press to-day and contains everything he knows of any importance in connection with Gen. Wood's campaign expenses.

GEO. F. MORAN,
General Manager the Cleveland News.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 27, 1920.*

FRED STERLING,
Rockford, Ill.:

Senate committee investigating campaign expenditures request your presence here Saturday morning at 10 o'clock. Please answer.

W. S. KENYON, U. S. S., *Chairman.*

Official business. Charge to Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections.

ROCKFORD, ILL., *May 29, 1920.*

Hon. W. S. KENYON.

Chairman Senate Campaign Investigation Committee, Washington, D. C.

Your message just received on my return home to-night. Am ill with severe attack of lumbago. If well enough to travel, can appear some day next week, if you deem it necessary, but have important matters pending here and can add nothing of interest to testimony given by Mr. Emmerson.

FRED E. STERLING.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *May 29, 1920.*

ALFRED J. GREENEBAUM,
10 Main Street, San Francisco, Calif.

The Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the United States Senate, investigating the subject of campaign expenditures, under the Borah resolution, has issued a subpoena for you to appear before them forthwith at room 422 Senate Office Building, Washington, to testify and bring with you all papers, records, vouchers, checks, and correspondence in relation to the receipt or expenditure of funds connected with the present presidential campaign. Will you accept this telegram as service of subpoena and appear? Please answer immediately, collect.

DAVID S. BARRY,
Sergeant-at-Arms, U. S. Senate.

O. B. Senate.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 1, 1920.*

The Subcommittee on Privileges on Elections of the United States Senate, investigating the subject of campaign expenditures, under the Borah resolution, has issued a subpoena for you to appear before them forthwith at Room 422 Senate Office Building, Washington, to testify and bring with you all papers, records, vouchers, checks, and correspondence in relation to the receipt or expenditure of funds connected with the present presidential campaign. Will you accept this telegram as service of subpoena and appear? Please answer immediately, collect.

DAVID S. BARRY,
Sergeant-at-Arms, U. S. Senate.

ALFRED J. GREENEBAUM,
Johnson for President Headquarters, Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
O. B. Senate.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., *June 1, 1920.*

DAVID S. BARRY,
300 Delaware Avenue NE., Washington, D. C.

Received your wire to-day. In answer beg to advise I have transmitted to Alexander McCabe cash book containing all names of subscribers to Johnson primary campaign and all vouchers for disbursements to aid, including May 28. For the above reason it may not be necessary for me to attend subcommittee on Privilege and Elections of the United States Senate. If necessary to proceed to Washington, however, am willing to waive service of subpoena. My personal health not good, so it would only be necessary for me to obtain consent of my physician.

ALFRED GREENEBAUM,
Treasurer Hiram Johnson Campaign Fund.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 2, 1920.*

ALEXANDER McCABE,
Johnson Headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Greenebaum wires has sent books to you. When can you have them here. Have they reached Chicago yet. Wire immediately.

W. S. KENYON, U. S. S., Chairman.

Official business.

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 2, 1920.*

Senator W. S. KENYON,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Wire just received. Books not yet here. Immediately upon arrival will communicate with you.

ALEXANDER McCABE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 4, 1920.*

ALEXANDER McCABE,
Johnson for President Headquarters,
Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

Your books and papers relating to the expenditures in the Johnson presidential campaign were to be transmitted to you from San Francisco. You should have received them by this time. If so, Senator Kenyon, chairman of the Subcommittee

on Privileges and Elections, directs me to notify you to leave Chicago immediately so as to arrive in Washington to-morrow with those books and papers, to appear before his subcommittee. Please answer immediately, collect.

O. B. Senate.

DAVID S. BARRY, *Sergeant-at-Arms.*

CHICAGO, ILL., *June 4, 1920.*

Hon. W. S. KENYON,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

I have received wire from Sergeant at Arms directing me to leave Chicago immediately with the books and papers relating to the expenditures in the Johnson campaign in California. I regret that these books and papers have not arrived and it will be impossible, therefore, to come and bring them. As soon as they do arrive I shall be very glad to bring them to you and present them to the committee. Inasmuch as a trip to Washington would most seriously interfere with the work in which I am now engaged, I most respectfully beg that it be deferred until the arrival of the books and papers in question.

AL XANDER McCABE.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., *May 29, 1920.*

DAVID S. BARRY,
Sergeant at Arms, 422 Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Answering your telegram May 28, I have not knowledge of any campaign expenditures. Nor have I ever had any books or documents in connection with the Johnson campaign in California or elsewhere.

WILLIAM H. CROCKER.

Senator POMERENE. I want to have incorporated in the record at this point a letter written to me by ex-Gov. James E. Campbell.
(The letter referred to is as follows:)

MAY 29, 1920.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The people of Ohio have read with profound amazement the evidence which your committee has adduced in its investigation into the disbursement of funds by candidates for the Presidency.

I need not tell you, after your own experience in the 1916 election, how deeply the people of this country resent this debauchery in politics; nor is it necessary for me to ask you that the investigation continue until it has covered every phase of the campaign, including the raising of vast funds for the election as well as for the nomination.

In Ohio the Democrats are not ashamed, in fact are proud, of the contributions, small though they are, that have been made in behalf of Gov. Cox in furtherance of his candidacy. Nor is there a single cent of expense, as related by Mr. Moore, for which there need be an apology. This brings me to remind you that it was Gov. Cox who first called attention of the Nation to the impending saturnalia of expenditure. He did this upon information brought him by Republican citizens of the State, who came not as partisans, but as Americans, to confide that they were held up and forced to contribute to a colossal and unheard of campaign fund for the election of 1920; and that the initial drive would be in Ohio because of its industrial strength and wealth, and because Ohio is pivotal in political contests. These men, they said, were told that the very safety of their business depended upon the raising of enormous sums to be at the disposition of Mr. Will H. Hays and his lieutenants, in the Republican national committee and allied State organizations. Not principle, not policy, but pocket-book only was to win.

The situation now present before your committee was long ago foretold by Gov. Cox, who at various times in the past has announced that someone was "trying to buy an underhold on the Government of this United States."

When the conspiracy fund was in the process of collection and business men had been ruthlessly coerced into giving enormous sums, representation was made that, with this fund, the election of the Republican candidate for President would be assured beyond the shadow of a doubt, and "big business" might come into "its own."

It was only natural that every man who had the slightest show at all for the nomination should follow the policy of Will Hays and himself attempt the nomination by purchase—thus corruption, in this way, has bred corruption. It has brought forth

its natural product. I submit to you, Senator, the suggestion that your committee go to the very base of this trouble and that such base, as Gov. Cox has long since demonstrated, lies in the plan promulgated by the Republican national committee itself.

How unfortunate it is that the faith of the American people in their Government should be blasted by the spectacle of a Presidency on the auction block—and that spectacle in the very hour when America seeks to demonstrate that selfish objectives are not her purpose of existence.

Senator Pomerene, through you as our representative, we implore your committee to help restore to the citizenship of this country faith in American political life.

Sincerely,

JAMES E. CAMPBELL.

HON. ATLEE POMERENE.

Washington, D. C.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some witnesses who have been subpoenaed who have not appeared. It is apparent that we can not do much more before the conventions, nor, it seems to me, should we close these hearings without having these witnesses, as the first proposition, and certain books and papers that we have asked for from various campaign managers. I suggested to Senator Spencer and Senator Reed, and I suggest to you, Senator Pomerene, that we adjourn these hearings until the 9th day of July, at which time the witnesses that we have subpoenaed and who have not appeared will be notified to be present, and we will notify the parties to have here the books and papers that we have not secured. We will hear that evidence and then determine as to the future proceedings of the committee. Is that satisfactory to you?

Senator POMERENE. That is satisfactory, except the date. I expect to go to the San Francisco convention, and if I do go I expect to remain in the West for several weeks, perhaps. I have no objection to a majority of the committee going on, however, if they desire.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee will stand adjourned until the 9th day of July, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned until July 9, 1920, at 10.30 o'clock a. m.)

At a subsequent meeting of the committee on June 7, 1920, it was agreed to meet in the office of the United States District Attorney, Federal Building, Chicago, Ill., on July 7, at 12 o'clock.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 6

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



**WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE**

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON S. RES. 357.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, *Chairman*.

SELDEN P. SPENCER.

WALTER E. EDGE.

JAMES A. REED.

ATLEE POMERENE.

CHAS. A. WEBB, *Clerk*.

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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 7, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Chicago, Ill.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 11.30 a. m. (Chicago time), in room 653 Federal Building, Chicago, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Reed, and Spencer.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Mr. Armstrong, you say you have something you want to leave with the committee?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I have. I have prepared an original petition.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, just give us your name.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. William Armstrong.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is your business?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. My present business is practicing law.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. At room 1010, No. 112 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.; phone No., Central 2894.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long have you been a practicing lawyer, Mr. Armstrong?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. In Chicago nearly 40 years.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you have a matter you desire to present to this committee coming within the scope of our investigation.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. It certainly does, because I have got a copy of your resolutions. I obtained them from Senator Mason.

Senator SPENCER. What is the matter you have to present?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. It is this: It is involving the conduct of the Department of Justice in preventing the prosecution of men—preventing the getting of evidence tending to show their guilt, and those men were in San Francisco working for the Attorney General for nomination for President of the United States.

Senator SPENCER. Have you got their names and the addresses of these men who were——

Mr. ARMSTRONG (interrupting). Interfered with?

Senator SPENCER. Interfered with?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I am one of the men that was interfered with myself, absolutely, and I will produce without going out of this

building the original letter from the Department of Justice interfering with the obtaining of evidence tending to show guilt.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you are presenting to us now a statement for our use and investigation, making certain charges against the Attorney General of the United States in the securing of delegates to the Democratic national convention?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. That is what it amounts to.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you desire us to look over and then decide whether we will follow it up?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Yes.

Senator REED. Is it printed or typewritten?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. It is printed and typewritten both.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have it.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. There is the original and here is a copy, and here is another copy, plus some printed matter. I have two extra copies here, but I don't see more than three members of the committee present.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, if the committee desires to follow this out and thinks there is substance in it, the information is in this document which you are presenting for our inspection?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. It is, indeed. I can prove the most material matter right here in this building in the next room to you, or on the fifth floor where the original letter is.

Senator SPENCER. You might leave those two extra copies. Just file them with the secretary.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Very well, I will file them with the secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Would there be evidence which you wanted to give personally in this matter?

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Somewhat of my own, and I will either act as the attorney in making the investigation or I want somebody that is independent of the Department of Justice to attend to that if I possibly can get it, for the reason that they are so involved in this thing. I have got the original document. I am not talking wildly in this thing, and distinguished gentlemen have examined it with me and said they would come here, but they are none of them here that I see this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. We will go into it during the day and see what we can do. We don't expect to be here many days.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I understand you will have another session. Any time within a few days will be all right.

The CHAIRMAN. You might drop in here this afternoon some time.

Mr. ARMSTRONG. I thank you for your attention.

(Printed brief presented by Mr. Armstrong was marked "Exhibit 1," and filed with the subcommittee, as well as typewritten document covering the same subject matter as the printed brief.)

EXHIBIT 1.

CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE HOW THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE PROTECTS THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD CO., PROMINENT PERSONAL POLITICAL FRIENDS, AND MANY OTHER PARTIES FROM PROSECUTION FOR VIOLATING THE CRIMINAL LAWS OF CONGRESS—BRIEF STATEMENT OF FACTS.

The record facts, as well as other equally reliable conclusive evidence, showing how the Department of Justice protects the New York Central Railroad Co., the O'Gara Coal Co., and their executive officers from prosecution for

violating the criminal laws of Congress, while indictments against them are now and have been pending in the United States Federal court at Chicago, Ill., from July 31, 1914, to this time, with no trial or attempt to bring the cases to trial.

Showing how the Department of Justice has deliberately, within a very few days last past, prevented the obtaining of documentary evidence of a very material and highly important character, showing how one or more of the close political personal friends of the department are engaged in attempting to collect for a contingent fee of 25 per cent very large, false, fictitious, and fraudulent claims from the Government, growing out of the late war, and in direct violation of the criminal laws of Congress.

Showing how a body of conspirators are constantly attempting to oppress, abuse, and intimidate, in violation of the law, a citizen for doing his duty to the Government, by giving to the Government important information and facts, on the written request of the United States Attorney General, as to the violation of the criminal laws of Congress, the Department of Justice, which has the sole and only right to protect such citizen from such unlawful acts, by the enforcement of the Federal laws, but refuses to do so, because it would call for the enforcement of the law against one or more of the prominent political personal friends of the department. In other words, the department knowingly permits such citizen to be abused and outraged for doing his duty to the Government, and refuses of protect such citizen by enforcing the law, which it has the sole and only right to enforce, for the reason it would in doing its duty enforce the law against one or more of its prominent political personal friends, and thereby and in that manner requires such citizen to protect and defend himself as best he can, without the aid of the law, which he, as such citizen, is certainly entitled to and should receive.

Showing how the Department of Justice is now, and has for several months last past, prevented the prosecution of political personal friends of prominence, who are now, and for many months last past have been operating with other parties in a conspiracy to prevent the administration of justice and the due enforcement of the law in the Federal courts at Chicago, Ill., together with other like conduct in many other highly important violations of the criminal laws of Congress.

The following copies of a few of the letters state the main facts; the original letters can all be produced, with other important letters and documentary evidence of a conclusive character should that be desirable.

LAW OFFICE OF WILLIAM ARMSTRONG,
Chicago, January 9, 1920.

Mr. JOHN T. CREIGHTON,

Special Assistant to the Attorney General, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: It may be possible I am incapable of appreciating existing conditions, but from my viewpoint there is a lack of attention by the Department of Justice in regard to matters of very considerable importance to the Government which should receive prompt attention.

I wrote and personally mailed you letters on October 23, November 17, and on December 1, but up to this time I have not received any answer to either of my letters, and as they have not been returned to me assume you received the same in due course of mail.

While I have attempted to most respectfully and courteously call your attention to several matters of more than average interest to the Government in my letters, as above indicated, some of the most important facts are in substance as follows:

That on the 21st day of July last I came to Washington at my own expense on the written request by letter from the chairman of one of the committees of Congress for an interview in regard to several matters I had been pressing on the Department of Justice for some action in the interest of the Government.

On the morning of July 22 last, by letter of that date, I advised the United States Attorney General of my being in Washington, and if he desired to communicate with me he could do so at the hotel where I was then stopping, and with my letter to him inclosed a copy of an affidavit I then had and now have the original.

The result was I was by telephone from the Department of Justice requested to call there for a conference with you, which was arranged for 2.30 p. m. on that day.

I called at the Department of Justice at the hour named, when I met you for the first time.

You then advised me that the United States Attorney General had personally requested you as his personal representative to with me go over the matters which had prior to that time been the subject of quite a correspondence, covering quite a period of time.

We had an interview in your private office of about two hours in length, and at the end of which you in a most positive manner assured me that the four matters we had considered would receive immediate attention by the department.

As to one matter which we considered, being the conduct of a Member of Congress who had for a money consideration undertaken to collect a large claim against the Government growing out of the late war, and you advised me that a letter would at once be sent to the United States division superintendent of the bureau of investigation at Chicago, Ill., to investigate and report the facts as to that matter and as to the three other matters we considered, you requested me to by letter at as early day as I could present the same in that form, and on the receipt of such letter by you from me the department would give the same prompt attention.

Relying upon your positive assurance as to the attention to be given the subject matters of our interview, I returned to Chicago, where I arrived on the 24th day of July last, and did not give the facts to a committee of Congress, which was the object of my visit to Washington at that time.

That in the interview we had in your private office in Washington on July 22 last I presented to you for your consideration, in the interest of the Government, four special matters which are in substance as follows:

First. The efforts of one or more assistants to the United States Attorney General in July, 1914, in attempting to prevent the facts in what are known as the New York Central-O'Gara cases being placed before the United States grand jury at Chicago, Ill., at its July session in 1914, when the then United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill., refused to comply with such request, and did place the facts before the grand jury, which resulted in three indictments being on July 31, 1914, returned into court, charging a number of railroad companies and nearly all of the executive officers of the New York Central Railroad Co. and the O'Gara Coal Co. with the violation of the criminal laws of Congress, and had the United States district attorney at Chicago complied with the request of the assistant, as indicated, the defendants in all three cases would have escaped prosecution by reason of the statute of limitations.

Second. The efforts of one or more Members of Congress to collect for a contingent consideration of 25 per cent of what may be collected on a false, fictitious, and fraudulent claim of the Manufacturers' Terminal Co., of Waukegan, Ill., for the sum of \$327,178.13 growing out of the late war, which claim was rejected by the officers of the Government in Chicago, Ill., who had charge of the Government interests in that matter, and is now pending before the Secretary of War, where efforts are being made to collect the same.

Third. To file a bill in equity to enjoin a former assistant United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill., from divulging and making public facts and information given him by a citizen on the written request of the then United States Attorney General, which facts show that several years ago five or more Wall Street financiers obtained all the capital stock of an interstate railroad amounting to \$5,000,000. without the cost of one dollar or anything of value, and, after acquiring the same, giving from 500 shares to 5,000 shares of such capital stock to the managing officers of 20 or more connecting lines of railroad for and solely in consideration of their diverting all possible interstate traffic over this line of railroad, which they did, in consideration of receiving the capital stock as indicated, and which within one year's time about quadrupled the net business of that line of railroad, and which enabled them to sell the entire capital stock of \$5,000,000, as indicated, to the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway Co. at \$95 per share, or a net profit of \$4,750,000, all of which is in direct violation of the second section of what is called the Sherman Act; but the assistant United States district attorney indicated not only failed to make any effort to prosecute the parties for violating the criminal laws of Congress but entered into a conspiracy with the attorneys of one or more of the five Wall Street financiers and New York Central Railroad Co. to greatly

injure such citizen for doing his duty to the Government on the written request of the then United States Attorney General, as well as to greatly injure such citizen and cause him large financial loss by using at an early day such information and facts, so given him by a citizen as herein indicated and herein set out, and to serve the interests of the New York Central Railroad Co.

Fourth. Punish parties for interfering with the due enforcement of the law in the three criminal cases herein mentioned, pending in the United States district court at Chicago, Ill., where certain attorneys, but not attorneys of record, by reason of their standing in the way of having a certain influence, being able for a money consideration to prevent the due enforcement of the law in the three indictments herein mentioned, which were returned in court on the 31st day of July, 1914, and have succeeded in keeping the three cases from being brought to trial from the time of the return of the indictments down to this time.

I desire to call your special attention to some extracts from the letters I have written you dated October 23, November 17, and of December 1 last.

On page 1, letter of October 23 last, I refer to certain written instructions that were sent by the Department of Justice to the division superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago, Ill., a copy of which is as follows:

Personal and confidential.

JULY 29, 1919.

E. J. BRENNAN, Esq.,

Division Superintendent, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIR: William Armstrong, attorney and counselor at law, room 1010, Merchants Loan & Trust Building, 112 West Adams Street, telephone, Central 2894, Chicago, Ill., claims to have evidence showing serious violation of the United States criminal statute, in the improper prosecutions of a claim, or claims, against the Government. The basis of the charge with respect to one of these claims is contained in an affidavit which he will exhibit to you. It is also noticed that he claims to be able to produce a contract in writing providing for the payment of an illegal fee, contingent upon the satisfaction of a claim against the Government.

For your personal information, you are advised that informant heretofore, and for an extended time, has made charges of a conspiracy to block prosecutions of indictments against officers of certain railroads. These indictments have been properly disposed of and if informant should take up this last mentioned matter with you, for your further personal information, you are advised that the department does not desire to have you give the matter your attention.

The bureau is advised that informant frankly admits that he has a personal motive or interest in reporting the facts in respect to the improper prosecutions of these Government claims.

I will be pleased to have you personally call upon informant, ascertain what information he has substantiating the charges first mentioned, and advise me, under personal and confidential cover, what investigation you consider should be made and the manner in which it should be conducted.

Yours, very truly,

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR AND CHIEF.

The above is a true copy of a paper you sent me by mail with your letter of October 17 last, and which purports to be a copy of the written instructions sent by the Department of Justice to the bureau of investigation at Chicago, Ill., on July 29 last. While in my letter to you of October 23 last I simply quoted the second paragraph of the above, I now set it out in full in this letter.

The language used in the last paragraph of the above being as follows: "Advise me, under personal and confidential cover, what investigation you consider should be made and the manner in which it should be conducted," does not on its face give a fair idea as to what the Department of Justice contemplated doing.

It will be made clear in this letter, by the developments which followed, that the department was simply seeking an opportunity to and did protect one or more of its prominent friends from the enforcement of the law.

As to what is said in the third paragraph of the above, as follows: "Informant frankly admits that he has a personal motive or interest in reporting the facts in respect to the improper prosecutions of these Government claims," and as to the above insinuation, I have given the facts to the Department of Justice by letter, and will repeat the same in this letter, and in doing so challenge the department to point out any one fact to warrant what is meant by the above.

They are, in brief, let the Department of Justice do its duty, enforce the law against the conspirators in this matter, who are working in the interest of the New York Central Railroad Co., and my personal interest will end at once.

I will repeat the facts in the course of this letter, and challenge any answer to the same that will to any extent show any sinister motive on my part.

There is no fact that will not show but what I am in the right and nothing to warrant the department in declining to do its duty in the enforcement of the law.

I am absolutely opposed to the Department of Justice granting such special favors to the New York Central Railroad Co. and its chief executive officers, as will fully appear in this letter.

On page 2 of my letter of October 23 I, among other things, say:

"I at once called on the clerk of the United States district court at Chicago, Ill., being the court in which the indictments were returned on the 31st day of July, 1914, when the clerk of that court, with about all of his chief assistants and deputies, proceeded with me to examine the original records in that office to learn whether or not there was any record made as to the three cases having been properly disposed of; and we found on the examination of the original records in each of the three cases on the criminal docket of that court, designated as Nos. 5446, 5447, 5448, and we found from the original records that in No. 5446 the court, on October 29, 1918, made an order sustaining the demurrer to the first count of the indictment and overruling the same as to the second count.

"That the original record shows that in No. 5447 the court, on the 29th day of October, 1918, sustained the demur to counts 1 to 100, 150 to 199, and 200 to 211, but as to the counts 101 to 149 the demur was overruled.

"We found on the examination of the original records that in No. 5448 the court, on the 29th day of October, 1918, sustained the demur to each count of the indictment.

"A careful examination of the original record by the clerk of that court, with his assistants, in my presence shows the record to contain what I have just stated, and fails to show that any record has been made in that court since October 29, 1918, in either No. 5446 or No. 5447 in any way disposing of either one or both of said cases, and that the only order that has been entered in either of the cases since the 29th day of October, 1918, is simply an order permitting one or more attorneys to withdraw their appearance for one or more of the defendants and other lawyers substituted.

"In addition to the above, I at once got in communication with a prominent law firm of Chicago who are men of high character and standing, and who represent and have represented since January 14, 1919, one or more of the defendants in said cases, and they advised me that if there was any order of court or any outside arrangements by which the cases indicated were disposed of they had no knowledge whatever of the same; and as they are reliable and truthful gentlemen, with no reason to tell me anything except the truth, I am induced to believe they told me the facts as they understood them to exist.

"In addition to the above, I am advised by the judges of the United States court in Chicago that neither of them have made any order or orders in either of these cases since the 29th day of October, 1918.

"As the above three cases have been assigned to a Federal judge who does not reside in Chicago, but in another district, and who holds court at times in Chicago, and to whom the three cases have been assigned, and who made the ruling on the demurrers on October 29, 1918, I at once wrote him a letter requesting him to be kind enough to advise me whether or not he had made any further orders in either one or more of the three cases mentioned since the 29th day of October, 1918, and as yet I have not received any answer to my letter of inquiry, dated on the 21st."

In my letter to you of November 17 last on pages 1 and 2, among other things, I say:

"I have this day written and mailed a letter to the Department of Justice at Chicago, giving the facts as they come to me in regard to the disposition of the three cases in which indictments were returned by the Federal grand jury on July 31, 1914, against a large number of executive officers of the New York Central, O'Gara Coal Co., and others, and requesting any information that department may have as to any disposition of the three cases mentioned, different from what the original records in the office of the clerk of the United States district court at Chicago, Ill., shows."

I further, in the same letter, on page 2, say:

"I shall to-day send a short letter to the United States Attorney General calling his attention to conditions as they exist, and refer to my letter to you of October 23 last.

"If the Department of Justice has concluded to disregard and ignore conditions as set out in my letter to you of October 23 last, and refused to do anything for the purpose of obtaining relief, and especially to me as a citizen for doing my duty to the Government, then I would be under many obligations to you if you will at once so advise me.

"I would with great pleasure do all in my power to assist the Department of Justice in clearing up existing conditions, and I assure you that in case I am forced to seek other channels for relief, it will be forced upon me, and not from any choice upon my part."

I have not up to this time received any answer from the United States Attorney General to my letter of November 17 last, as I have just indicated.

In my letter to you of December 1 last, among other things, on pages 1 and 2, I say:

"I am advised by a person who is closely connected with the Department of Justice at Chicago, Ill., that the facts as disclosed by the records of the office of the clerk of the United States district court at Chicago, discloses the true condition of the three cases mentioned, and as shown by the records of the Department of Justice at this time.

"In other words, that the records in the Department of Justice at Chicago, Ill., shows as follows:

"In case No. 5446 on October 29, 1918, the court made an order sustaining the demurrer to one count and overruled the same as to the other count in the indictment.

"That in case No. 5447 the court made an order on October 29, 1918, overruling the demurrer to counts 101 to 149, and held them good.

"That in No. 5448 on October 29, 1918, the court made an order sustaining the demurrer to the two counts, being the only counts in the indictment in that case.

"It therefore follows that the records in the Department of Justice of Chicago, Ill., agree with the records in the office of the clerk, and show one count in the indictment in case No. 5446 was by the court held bad and the other count held good.

"In case No. 5447 counts 101 to 149 were held good by the court as shown by the records in the office of the clerk.

"In case No. 5448, there being but two counts in the indictment, they were both held bad.

"There is no record in the Department of Justice at Chicago showing any agreement as to the disposal of the three cases, and no record made in court since October 29, 1918.

"This as a result, as you well know, would leave case No. 5446 pending on one count, and in case No. 5447 pending on counts 101 to 149 as of October 29, 1918.

"The records of the Department of Justice at Chicago, Ill., do not show any action in court or otherwise toward disposing of cases No. 5446 or 5447 since October 29, 1918.

"I fail to see anything from the records of the clerk of the United States district court, or the Department of Justice at Chicago, Ill., to warrant the Department of Justice to by letter on July 29 last say: 'These indictments have been properly disposed of.'"

I further on say in the same letter, on page 2, as follows:

"My opinion is, to put it very mildly, that the facts have been misrepresented by some person, and for some purpose, which may be a matter of interest.

"There are at the head and front of this combination of conspirators at least two very prominent persons, one of whom, an ex-Member of Congress whose conduct is the subject of investigation, who has in the past few months been influential in a political way, who are attorneys, but their names do not appear as attorneys of record in either of the cases mentioned.

"I have some acquaintance with the two attorneys indicated, and several months ago one of them, in an interview with me, outlined the extent of their activities in the three cases mentioned, to the effect they were employed to keep these cases from being brought to a hearing and had done so, and I

have a very strong intimation as to the amount of money paid by a railroad company to them as their compensation for their services.

"In other words, their employment for a money consideration was to interfere with the administration of justice and the due enforcement of the law.

"I am prepared to give the facts in detail to a proper officer of the Government who is entitled to the same, to be used in good faith for the best interests of the Government.

"I am prepared to give the facts in detail under oath as to the above when it is necessary and proper to do so, but prefer not to give the same in a letter, fearing it might reach the attention of parties that I would prefer should not see the same.

"I have little doubt that the man who gave me the facts as indicated would deny the same, possibly would do so under oath; but I think I can furnish and produce the necessary circumstances to corroborate what I have said and would say in the event I was put under oath.

"That the parties defendant in the criminal cases mentioned are guilty of a vicious violation of the criminal laws of Congress, and should be convicted and placed in prison for their criminal conduct, is quite clear.

"To warrant me in my statement as to the guilt of the parties, I have that from the men who were in the employ of the Government when the three indictments were returned into open court on July 31, 1914, and they are men who in every way are competent and well qualified to pass on the facts and law in such cases, by reason of their ability and long experience in the Department of Justice."

I desire at this point to advise you, as I have before, that at the time the court ruled on these demurrers, on the 29th day of October, 1918, or very shortly thereafter, the defendants offered to plead guilty to the remaining counts in the indictments indicated provided the court would find them guilty and assess a fine of \$40,000, which they would at once pay.

The court refused to entertain any such proposition, and gave as his reason for not doing so that the New York Central Railroad Co., by offering to and paying that amount of money as a fine, would as a result charge the same, on its payment, to the cost of operation of that railroad company, and as the Government had taken possession of that railroad and had guaranteed a fixed sum of money to be paid while it was continued under Government operation, in the way of a net to that company, the result would be that the Government would be paying the amount of fine as indicated, and that would be charged to the cost of operation, which the court refused to entertain for one moment.

On page 3 of my letter to you of December 1 last, I, among other things, say:

"On the urgent request of the division superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago, Ill., as well as the Department of Justice, and not in the capacity of a volunteer on my part, I procured information and facts in regard to the fraudulent character of the claim of the Manufacturers Terminal Co., of Waukegan, Ill., and the parties who are attempting to collect that fraudulent claim for the sum of \$327,178.13 from the Government, and on July 31, August 5, August 21, August 29, September 3, and September 8 last made written reports to the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago, Ill., as to the material facts which had come to me and especially when I was attending court as an attorney at Waukegan, Ill.

"My efforts to assist the Bureau of Investigation ceased on the 16th day of September last, when I discovered that the officers of the Government were not disposed to assist in the least in obtaining the desired information and facts, but were endeavoring to and did prevent me from obtaining very important information and facts for the use of the Government.

"I was fast getting the true facts, and found an officer of the Government who had valuable documentary evidence, and would give me copies of the same, that I might present them to the Bureau of Investigation, provided that bureau would simply make such request, which request was not only withheld but the officer, as he tells me, was by the Bureau of Investigation requested not to let me have the copies.

"I have good reason for believing the action of the Bureau of Investigation was prompted by some action of the Department of Justice in Washington on the 15th or 16th of September last."

To make it clear why this bill in equity should be filed and prosecuted at once by the Government, I think it is only necessary to call your attention to the law as laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The object of such a bill in equity at this time is to enjoin the former assistant United States district attorney from divulging and making public in the interest of and to serve the New York Central Railroad Co. information and facts, given him by me as a citizen on the written request by letter of the then United States Attorney General, as to the conduct of the five Wall Street financiers, as set out in this letter, and for their conduct no prosecution was ever at any time instituted by the Government.

In *Vogel v. Grauz* (110 U. S., 311) the court holds that information and facts given a public prosecutor as to the violation of the law are privileged communications, even if false, and can not be given publicity by the informer or the subordinate officer of the Government to whom they are given, and belong solely to the Government.

In the same case the court holds it is the duty of all citizens to give the Government all information and facts they may have as to the violation of the law.

That rule has often been held to be the law and especially in *Ex. rel. Quarles* (158 U. S., 532), where it was held to apply to a Negro in the State of Georgia, where section 5508 of the Federal Statutes was given construction by the Supreme Court, and where the Federal statute is set out in full.

In case the Department of Justice was to do its duty, and in good faith file and prosecute such a bill in equity, it will stop this channel from being used by one or more of the conspirators to defeat me out of my just rights, and therefore remove any personal interest I may have in this entire matter.

In this letter I have outlined in substance the situation as it exists at this time.

To my mind, the reason the department has not done its duty, and has refused to do so up to this time, is that such a course will bring to the bar of justice one of the main conspirators in such manner as would in a very large measure involve several of the principals and result in a general exposure of the entire situation.

If it became known that the Government will not protect citizens who do their duty to the Government, who give information and facts to the Government as to the violation of the law, it will prove a serious detriment to the interests of the Government in the prosecution of persons who violate the criminal laws.

No citizen would perform such duty in giving information and facts as to the violation of the law when he knew in advance he might sustain a financial loss as a result of the same, or be otherwise injured for doing his duty. That was the main reason why section 5508 was enacted by Congress.

On the 12th day of September last I wrote and mailed a letter to the United States Attorney General outlining conditions, as they were being developed as well as the facts that had come to me, of vital importance to the Government, and especially as to what had been discovered by me in the way of documentary evidence in the possession of an officer of the United States Army at Chicago, Ill.

That letter in due course of mail would reach Washington on the 14th, which was Sunday, and doubtless received no attention until the morning of the 15th, when to all appearances my efforts and success in getting important facts of a vital nature to the Government were not what the department desired.

On the 16th day of September last the agents of the Department of Justice not only refused to request the officer of the Government to let me have copies of what I had uncovered for the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago but requested the United States officer not to let me have copies of the papers of value to the Government and which I have mentioned.

It has been suggested that the Bureau of Investigation had no power or authority to direct the United States officer to give me the copies of the documentary evidence indicated, which may be true; but as the officer agreed to give me the copies, and was ready to do so, which was a clear waiver of the question of authority to direct him by the bureau to do so.

On the other hand, why was it that the Bureau of Investigation requested the officer of the Government not to let me have the copies of the important documentary evidence indicated, to be by me delivered to the Bureau of Investigation, as I had often before that time done?

Every circumstance points to the fact, the Department of Justice to all appearances on the 15th or 16th days of September last directed the Bureau of Investigation to put a stop to my obtaining important and vital facts for the

Government, and resulted in my not obtaining the copies of the documentary evidence indicated herein.

I think an examination of the telegrams sent out by the Department of Justice on the 15th or 16th days of September last, addressed to the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago, Ill., will furnish some light on what I claim was the course that was followed to interfere with my assisting the Government.

In addition, in my letter to you dated October 23 last, on page 3, I say:

"I inclose with this a carbon copy of a letter I wrote and mailed on the 13th to Mr. Edward J. Brennan, division superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago, Ill., as well as a copy of his letter in answer to the same, dated on the 15th, which will in a large measure give the conditions.

"One prominent fact appears, and that is, that the division superintendent claims he had no authority to request the copies indicated to be furnished me to give him with my following report, but he appears to have authority to prevent me from obtaining the same.

"I have reason for believing some instructions from Washington on the 15th or 16th days of September last has been the cause of bringing about this unfortunate condition, and I have one original letter from Washington from another department that very strongly indicates that something of that kind occurred."

Up to this time the Department of Justice has not to my knowledge in any shape, manner or form disapproved of the action of the Bureau of Investigation, as indicated, and I therefore think I have a right in all fairness to assume the Department of Justice in all things approves of the action of the Bureau of Investigation, as I have herein set out.

I do not for one moment believe that the Department of Justice desires that the facts be developed so the department could enforce the law, and that the department intends to go to the full limit to protect men who have violated the law.

There is no doubt it is the duty of the department to protect the innocent, as well as punish parties who are guilty of violating the law, but there is of course a limit to such protection.

On July 31 last I called at the office of the division superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago, Ill., and met him for the first time, when he advised me he had on that day received a letter requesting him to see me and make an investigation. He did not show me the request made of him by the Department of Justice by letter of July 29, a copy of which I have set out in this, as from you I received such copy by letter.

He at the time of my call said he was very busy, and desired some day later to take the matter up with me and go over the same in detail. I was with him not to exceed 10 minutes' time, but he earnestly requested me to give him full reports in writing, of all facts I had or could procure in that matter, as they came to me from time to time, all of which I did up to September 16 last, the details of which and dates of my reports to him are set out in this letter.

Shortly after that I saw this same gentleman twice prior to September 16 last, for not to exceed 5 minutes of time, but he said he was very busy, and advised me he would communicate with me at an early day and go over all the matters in detail.

This gentleman knew my office address as well as telephone number, and I have not seen or heard from him since September 16 last, yet my office was then, has been ever since continuously, and is now on the opposite side of the street from his office.

When we consider in the light of the above, that the instructions to this gentleman herein copied in full, from the department, which in the last paragraph says, "advise me, under separate personal and confidential cover, what investigation you consider should be made and the manner in which it should be conducted."

To all appearances it was not to be an investigation as to the facts, but simply for the department to get information as to whether an investigation should be made.

I simply give the facts in this letter as they come to me, and my private opinion is, that a careful reading of what I set out in this letter as a copy of the instructions for an investigation, was intended to discredit the facts as I gave the same to you on July 22 last in our interview.

My opinion is, that the division superintendent of the Bureau of Investigation at Chicago is a very able gentleman in his special line of work, and had he

been given a free hand, and not in any way restrained, he would do his duty as he sees it, irrespective as to whom it might work inconvenience or injury.

If the Bureau of Investigation had been given a free hand and could have operated fairly, with me to assist as a citizen when I could do so, my judgment is some very startling developments would long before this time have been obtained, and of great value to the best interests of the Government, and certainly at this time when so many men of prominence have been engaged in war contracts, reaping vast fortunes as a result of the late war.

It may appear to some extent remarkable how important facts have come to my knowledge in regard to the conduct of at least three very prominent men, who during the late war had charge of important trusts for the Government, and by taking advantage of their position have made fabulous sums of money, one of whom is said to have made out of Government contracts more than \$10,000,000 by reason of his position with the Government.

In nearly all such cases it is next to impossible for such conduct to be carried on without some minor employees or assistants obtaining more or less of the inside facts as to what is going on.

As to the man who is said to have made more than \$10,000,000 in that channel, had an associate who has become displeased and has taken occasion to preserve certain damaging testimony which he has confidentially given me an opportunity for an examination.

As I have been for a large part of my professional career general counsel for one or more railroad companies, which has given me the inside workings of many of the railroad companies, and in that way and by virtue of such association parties who are often employees come to me with the facts as to how certain things have been carried on.

What I have just said is not a general rumor, but is all based upon facts which have come to me, and if conditions are brought about which place it within the power of any party or committee to force the facts to be given out, and they in that way should become public to the inconvenience of any one or more persons, I do not believe any blame can be attached to me.

I do not in this set out a copy or any part of my letter to the United States Attorney General dated July 22 last, while I was in Washington, the date of my interview with you, or a copy of the affidavit which I inclosed in my letter to him, the original affidavit I have in my possession at this time, carefully concealed, and it has not yet become public, but as to what may occur in the future I shall not pretend to say.

You doubtless recall the substance of the affidavit mentioned, and should I be forced in some proper channel authorized to call for the facts, be required to produce the original affidavit as well as other documents I have, and in that way they become public and work any injury or inconvenience to any person, I do not believe I could be blamed for such conditions, as I am doing and have done all I could to avoid any publicity of facts that are important to either any persons or the best interests of the Government.

This all caused me to believe that the Department of Justice did not want the true facts, and especially developed in that form.

I am quite certain that the documentary evidence and other facts which have come to me would prove highly interesting reading matter, as to the past conduct growing out of war contracts, by at least three persons who appear in the front rank as candidates for the nomination for President.

On page 4 of my letter of December 1 last I, among other things, say:

"I am almost daily made to feel the weight and influence of the conspirators in this matter, by reason of my assisting the Government, yet I go on attempting to do my duty as a citizen for the best interests of the Government.

"There is no desire on my part to resort to other channels for relief, for to do so would involve labor and time on my part, yet there are three channels open for relief, and as they are not inconsistent with each other, all three can be used at the same time."

On page 3 of my letter of October 23 last I, among other things, say:

"The most important, vital, and material facts to the Government have come to my attention since my last report to the division superintendent, which was on September 8 last.

"I am advised from an absolutely reliable source that a combination of dishonest and unscrupulous parties have been organized and are now at work preparing to furnish the necessary evidence to assist claimants to collect from the Government large amounts of money on false, fictitious, and fraudulent claims, growing out of the late war, and that they are now engaged in doing

such work by assisting the Manufacturers Terminal Co. and others in their efforts to defraud the Government.

"This is not a wild rumor or a suspicion; it is a plain fact, which I can furnish the evidence to sustain, can give the names of the parties, their address and show just what they have done and are doing in the way of assisting to collect from the Government the claim of the Manufacturers' Terminal Co. for the sum of \$327,178.13, which is beyond any doubt whatever false, fictitious and fraudulent.

"In my opinion it would be the wise thing to have this matter carefully investigated and promptly, and especially in view of the fact that the Board of Contract Adjustment is now getting the facts together with a view of investigating the merits of that claim.

"It is not, in my opinion, only important in this matter, but it is clear from what I know that they contemplate assisting in collecting other large claims if possible that are false, fictitious, and fraudulent from the Government."

On page 4 of my letter of October 23 last I say:

"If it should be more desirable, I will in writing give all the dates, names and addresses for the use of the Government in any manner that may be desired.

"This morning I was requested by one of the officers of the Government who is looking into the merits in this city of this claim, with a view of reporting the same to the Board of Contract Adjustment, when the witnesses will be brought to Washington and placed under oath and their testimony heard, and in my opinion it would be of great advantage to that board to know the inside facts as I have indicated, which would enable any lawyer who appears for the Government to draw out the facts as I have stated them, provided he is advised in advance as to conditions which I indicate."

On the same page I, among other things, say:

"When I know in advance of fraud and where it is to be found, and have that at my command in a suit in court, I have never had any trouble in using it to advantage, and I think it all important that whoever represents the Government on that hearing as a lawyer should, if possible, be advised in advance as to what the real conditions are."

On page 5 of the same letter I, among other things, say:

"To do my duty as a loyal citizen, I have this day given the officer of the Government who made the above request of me, some of the inside matter, facts which I have heard within the past few days as to this combination in its efforts to defraud the Government, as well as gave him important facts that I learned within the past four days, and which I had not reported to any person or persons."

On the same page of that letter I, among other things, say:

"In your letter you make mention of my request for the Department of Justice to file a bill in equity to enjoin a former assistant United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill., from divulging and making public information and facts given by me to him, on the written request of the then United States Attorney General and you say: 'The matter has received the department's attention and you have been advised of its decision.'

"I am ready to admit I have placed that matter before the department on many different occasions in the past, and have not been advised of any attention being given the same since I met you in Washington.

"The necessity, and demand, for the filing and proper prosecution of such a bill in equity are stronger to-day, and the demands are more urgent at this time in all fairness to a citizen, than they have been at any time in the past.

"The correspondence I have had, with the department, clearly shows that the department has often and on many different occasions changed its view from time to time, at one time the position is taken that there is no law for such a proceeding, then that the facts will not support the law, then that the facts and law will not support the bill in equity.

"The Department of Justice reached the point at one time where it requested me to prepare and submit a form of bill in equity to be filed in court in order to obtain relief, but for some reason after I promptly furnished such copy the department refused to file the same."

On page 6 of the same letter I, among other things, say:

"Assuming for the present, that the department entertains different views as to the facts and law in this matter from me, I submit that in all fairness to a citizen who has shown his loyalty to the Government, and did his duty to the Government on request of the then United States Attorney General

made upon him by letter, the original of which I now have in my possession, and is now to the best of his ability attempting to do his duty as a loyal citizen of the Government, which I submit, certainly is entitled to fair consideration at the hands of the Department of Justice.

"I hope I may be permitted to suggest to the Department of Justice that we submit the matter by agreement in some form to the United States Federal Court at Chicago, Ill., for its opinion, and in that way we can determine who is in the right.

"The Government has the sole and only right to file and maintain such a bill in equity, to protect a citizen for doing his duty to the Government, when it is in need of help, and as there is no right of appeal, or writ of error from such a position by the Government, it is to say the least of it, quite embarrassing. No petition for mandamus could issue by the United States district court for it has no power to hear and determine such a petition, and while the United States Supreme Court could doubtless entertain such a petition, as an original case, it is a well-known fact that court by reason of the vast volume of business it has to handle, it is very doubtful if that court would entertain the same.

"I have at different times presented the facts and law involved in this matter to six different leading lawyers of Chicago, at least two of whom you know well and intimately, and for whom you have a very high regard to my certain knowledge, for their great legal ability, and they on a separate careful conference with each of them, at different times, all agree I am right as to my position as to the law and facts as I state them to exist.

"The facts make a case, not only beyond a reasonable doubt, but beyond the possibility of any doubt whatever. The most material facts are all in writing signed by the offender with his own signature, and I can produce the same at any moment.

"The authorities all hold that it is only necessary in the bill in equity for such purpose to allege and prove that there is probable cause for believing the injury will be committed unless the party is restrained by injunction.

"All the cases in the United States and State Supreme Courts, that have had occasion to pass on the law, sustain my position and no one single case can be found in all the reports to the contrary.

"More than one of the parties involved in this matter are very bold in talking of their influence with the department and their power to prevent any injury coming to them by reason of their conduct.

"I desire to assure you and am prepared to prove, that from time to time up to within a very few days last past, the gentleman who is really responsible for conditions as to which I complain, have been guilty of conduct toward me personally that to any fair-minded man would show that this attempt to injure me, as well as determine, has been continued down to within a few days last past and possibly down to this time, but as to that I am not fully advised.

"I desire to assure you and can prove that since my interview with you in Washington, these same gentlemen who are the instigators, and really and in fact responsible for present conditions, have on more than one occasion, in various forms, attempted to deter me in my efforts in the way of assisting the Government as I have done since I saw you and which as a loyal citizen I will continue to do in the discharge of my duty to the Government.

"I can say to you, in all confidence, that I think I can prove just what I say that the gentleman who is really responsible for present conditions has been the means, or in fact in a very large measure the means, of preventing this bill in equity being filed and prosecuted as it should be, and in doing so he had been and is now using that means in the interest of the New York Central Railroad Co., the real party in interest, acting in conjunction with certain lawyers in Chicago, whose names I have and can give, having as their sole object to deter me from doing my duty to the Government at this time, as well as what I have done for the Government in the past, which I outlined in a general way in this letter.

"Since my interview with you in Washington the different gentlemen have become very bold in their efforts to deter me, as I have indicated, and I obtained that information from a source that can not be questioned, for it is based on certain conditions and conduct that can not be disputed, all of which I am prepared to furnish to the satisfaction of the department, if necessary.

"The main and principal object of this continuous attempt to injure me and deter me from doing my duty is in a large measure in the interest of one or

more of the five Wall Street promoters who should have been indicted and convicted, as well as sent to prison for their conduct in the violation of the criminal laws of Congress, which I have indicated to you by my different letters as well as by letter to the United States Attorney General, to which I refer and will not repeat the same in this letter.

"In all fairness to a citizen who has done and now attempting to do his duty to the Government it does appear to me as if facts in this matter will appeal to your sense of justice, or of any person, and especially to the department, which has the sole power under the law to prosecute this bill in equity that it may perform its duties toward all citizens to do their duty to the Government.

"Should it become known to the public that the Government will refuse to use its great power to protect citizens who give information and facts to the Government as to violation of the law, it certainly would be very unfortunate for the interest of public justice as well as the Government.

"There appears to be a Federal statute in regard to the protection of citizens who do their duty to the Government and is known as section 5508 and which has been in *Ex. rel. Quarles* (158 U. S., 532) (held) to apply to a Negro in the State of Georgia and protected him for doing his duty to the Government."

On page 9 of the same letter I, among other things, say:

"The rule as I have recognized it for more than 30 years last past in the practice of the law, and also by all high-grade lawyers, is that where there is a fair dispute as to what the law is, to by a friendly suit, submit the question involved to the Court.

"That rule prevails with all lawyers who have respect for the profession. I know full well the members of the department appreciate and recognize this rule, and will not refuse to carry out that rule where there is a fair dispute as to the law and facts.

"I do not believe for one moment, that the department would be in the least disposed to change that well-known rule for the convenience of the New York Central Railroad Co., which in point of fact, is the real party in interest in the matter, so far as it concerns me personally."

On page 9 of the same letter I, among other things, say:

"I have a personal fight in our courts in Chicago against the New York Central Railroad Co., the merits of which were many months ago carefully examined and considered by the late William J. Calhoun, late minister to China, one of the most distinguished lawyers in Chicago acting for and in the employment as a paid attorney for that company, and after spending two days' time in examining the facts and law advised that railroad company by letter, now in the possession of that company, of the merits of my contention, and that the matter should be adjusted at once with no delay, and especially as it involved matters of interest to the public.

"I have challenged the different parties, and now challenge them to produce that letter and we will see as to who is in the right from the viewpoint of this distinguished lawyer.

"They have never accepted my challenge, but make a great deal of loud noise and abuse me personally, but always take great care when they do so not to be in my presence or in my hearing."

On the same page I, among other things, say:

"That railroad company is behind the curtain in this entire matter, and the parties who constitute the opposition and the real cause for all this trouble are all interested as attorneys for that railroad company.

"With the divulging and making use of the information and facts by the assistant United States district attorney will serve the New York Central Railroad Co., and very liable to do me great injury.

"In your letter to me you inclosed a copy of the instructions indicated which among other things, says: 'The bureau is advised that informant frankly admits that he has a personal motive or interest in reporting the facts in respect to the improper prosecution of these Government claims.' I have in so far as possible in a letter given you the facts as they exist in a general way, and contend that in pressing my interests I find that the prominent parties who in this are all one and the same, and can not be separated or treated separately.

"I think and hope you will agree with me that my suggestions as to a way out of this matter are fair to a citizen who has done and is now the best of his ability attempting to do his duty to the Government, and by adopting the same will result in doing that which is fair and for the best for all parties concerned."

I simply call your attention to the above conditions to illustrate the lack of proper and due enforcement of the law by the department.

I am induced to believe you would be disposed to enforce the law, but it is my opinion you are unable to do so by reason of the fact your superior officer does not desire the proper enforcement of the same.

I do not recall in all my professional career the necessity of my writing any letter that I regretted more than this one, and am only prompted to do so from the fact that, to my mind there is a flagrant failure to enforce the law by the department, and also the disposition to protect friends who have violated the law, as to which I set out the facts in this letter.

I have consulted with several of my lawyer friends in Chicago, who have a national reputation as gentlemen of very high standing in the profession, and whose reputation is the equal of any gentleman in the legal profession, as well as in political circles, in both of the two leading parties, and they are appalled at the facts I have privately and confidentially submitted to them separately and apart and as set out in this letter.

Two of the leading lawyers indicated are leading members of the Democratic Party in the Mississippi Valley, are quite close friends of the United States Attorney General, and they all advised me to send this letter as I am doing and state a time in which I request some action by the department, and if no affirmative action follows which assures relief within that time, then it is my duty as a citizen and in the public interests to proceed in the three channels I have open to me in order to obtain relief as well as serve the best interests of the Government.

I have no doubt whatever that in case the facts reach our Federal judges they will do their duty as they see it and with very little delay.

You are the person I met in Washington as the personal and selected representative of the United States Attorney General to meet me and have an interview as to the matters involved and indicated in this letter, and to you I have, in my opinion, the right to look for relief to the extent of the power of the department.

If you differ, with me as to any of the material facts stated in this letter and will by letter so advise me, I will give due and proper consideration to the same.

I shall hold all matters in their present condition until the 26th day of this month, and in case I do not hear from you on or before that date I will, as soon thereafter as I can, get all matters in shape to proceed in the other channels I have in mind for relief.

I certainly hope such a condition will not be forced upon me, for I do not desire to be the means that doubtless would in some measure work injury or inconvenience to any person.

I shall personally mail this letter to you, as a registered letter, and hope you will do me the favor, of at least, by letter, acknowledge the receipt of the same, promptly, on receipt of this letter. If you should be in Chicago will have it delivered to you in person if you can be reached.

I desire to be fair and not make any mistake that might in any way do an injustice in the slightest to the department.

I still have some hopes, that in all fairness to me as a citizen, something can be done that will bring about justice toward a citizen, as well as serve the best interests of the Government and avoid the possibility of publicity and inconvenience to any person, by reason of the facts set out in this letter.

Yours, truly,

WM. ARMSTRONG.

LAW OFFICE OF WM. ARMSTRONG,
Chicago, February 16, 1920.

Mr. JOHN T. CREIGHTON,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th of last month, in answer to my letter to you of January 9 last.

On the 15th day of January last, I received a lengthy telegram of that date from the United States Attorney General requesting me to furnish him a copy of my letter to you, as above indicated, and in response to his personal request, so made on me by telegram, I at once sent him a carbon copy of my letter to you of the 9th, as indicated, which would reach his office on the morning of the

on July 22 last, as the personally selected representative of the United States Attorney General, which are in brief as follows:

1. The efforts on behalf of assistants to the United States Attorney General to prevent indictments in what are called the New York Central cases in July, 1914.

2. Members of Congress contracting to collect money on war claims against the Government for 25 per cent of what might be collected. When the point was reached in obtaining the facts that would tend to show possible guilt in making such unlawful contracts for the collection of money from the Government on war claims the Department of Justice interfered and prevented the facts from being obtained for the use of the Department of Justice from an Army officer in Chicago, Ill., who had in his possession at that time the original documentary evidence, all of which facts are set out in detail in this letter to the extent they have come to my knowledge.

3. To file a bill in equity to enjoin a former assistant United States district attorney from divulging and making public in the interest of the New York Central Railroad Co. information and facts given him by a citizen as to the violation of the criminal laws of Congress by five or more Wall Street promoters.

4. Punish parties who for money have prevented the administration of justice and the due enforcement of the law in the interest of the New York Central Railroad Co. which is in direct violation of the criminal laws of Congress.

I have in this letter referred to the Federal statute applicable to the facts set out in this letter, and now quote from the same:

Section 5508 of the Federal statutes, among other things, provides: "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same," shall on conviction be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned not more than 10 years.

Under that statute, as I have stated in this letter, it was held to apply to protect from violence and injury a negro in the State of Georgia who had given information and facts as to the violation of the criminal laws of Congress, as decided in the Quarles case, in 158 United States, page 532.

The above statute is independent of the statute providing for the punishment of parties who interfere with the enforcement of the law and the due administration of justice against the New York Central Railroad Co. or its chief executive officers for violating the law.

To my mind conditions as herein set out show a condition unheard of in the administration of justice.

As long as a railroad company can by violating the laws make a large amount of money out of their unlawful conduct and get off by the payment of a small amount of their unlawful profits when caught they will continue to take their chances of conviction.

A term in prison is the only preventive remedy for such conditions, and until one or more of the executive officers of the railroads are placed in prison like conditions are liable to occur at any moment, as they have in the past.

Let one of the executive officers who are guilty be convicted and placed in prison and it will have a strong tendency to stop such violations of the law.

You are reported by the newspapers to have been in this city one or more times within the past few days, and while you were here had your headquarters on the opposite side of the street from where my office was located, yet you made no effort to my knowledge to communicate with me in any form or see me while you were here.

I make no complaint as to your course, but it is evident you did not desire to see me while you were here.

The Department of Justice has completely failed, as the newspapers indicate, to prosecute proceedings to export undesirable citizens or to prosecute saloon keepers for selling whisky in direct violation of the law, until the newspapers published the facts as to the reported violation of the criminal laws, with the positive evidence to secure their conviction in several hundred cases of such violations placed before the department.

It would look from all appearances as if nothing but publicity in the newspapers would cause the Department of Justice to enforce the law.

I simply call your attention to the above conditions to illustrate the lack of proper and due enforcement of the law by the department.

I am induced to believe you would be disposed to enforce the law, but it is my opinion you are unable to do so by reason of the fact your superior officer does not desire the proper enforcement of the same.

I do not recall in all my professional career the necessity of my writing any letter that I regretted more than this one, and am only prompted to do so from the fact that, to my mind there is a flagrant failure to enforce the law by the department, and also the disposition to protect friends who have violated the law, as to which I set out the facts in this letter.

I have consulted with several of my lawyer friends in Chicago, who have a national reputation as gentlemen of very high standing in the profession, and whose reputation is the equal of any gentleman in the legal profession, as well as in political circles, in both of the two leading parties, and they are appalled at the facts I have privately and confidentially submitted to them separately and apart and as set out in this letter.

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You are the person I met in Washington as the personal and selected representative of the United States Attorney General to meet me and have an interview as to the matters involved and indicated in this letter, and to you I have, in my opinion, the right to look for relief to the extent of the power of the department.

If you differ, with me as to any of the material facts stated in this letter and will by letter so advise me, I will give due and proper consideration to the same.

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Yours, truly,

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17th, the original telegram, making such request on me, I now have in my possession, as a part of the files in my office in this matter.

My letter to you as above indicated was sent as a registered letter, and the return card of the Post Office Department shows that the same was delivered on the 12th day of January and receipted for by the Attorney General.

Taking the above and foregoing together, with the number of letters I have received from the United States Attorney General, with his personal signature attached, as to the subject matter involved in his correspondence, I think the evidence is absolutely conclusive that the United States Attorney General is fully advised as to existing conditions, in fact, is the guiding hand, and should the time ever come when there is a public exposure of conditions, he can not be permitted to escape the blame for existing conditions and protect himself behind some subordinate officer of the Government.

On reading your letter I was very much in doubt as to just what I should do in the way of writing you anything more on the subject matter, but after seriously considering the matter I made up my mind that the best interests of the Government would be the better served by again communicating with you by letter, with the view, if possible, of avoiding the necessity of there being given publicity to the detriment of the Government of important facts in regard to the administration of justice, and to follow up the conclusion I reached I write this letter.

As you had failed, as well as refused, to all appearances, to answer my letters to you of October 23, November 17, and December 1 last, I concluded to write you at length, which I did on January 9 last, giving in detail, as near as I could, the substance of what I had written you, putting the same in condensed form, by letter, so that in order to present this matter in other channels for relief it would save me, requiring the parties to go over a vast amount of correspondence in order to get at the true situation.

In addition to the above, in my letter to you, as indicated, I suggested to you, if you differed with me as to any of the material facts set out in my letters to you, or differed with me as to the law referred to by me in my letters, as to sustaining my position, that I would be pleased to have you call my attention to any disagreement there might exist as to the facts or law as I put the same in my letter to you, as above set out.

I now desire to set out a full and complete copy of your letter to me of January 24 last, which is in words and figures as follows, to wit:

JANUARY 24, 1920.

DEAR SIR: On my return to Washington I received your 27-page letter of January 9, 1920, in which you set forth at length various matters that from time to time heretofore you have discussed with officers of the Department of Justice. I have examined your letter with considerable care, for the purpose of seeing whether there might be any new contentions or statements of fact which might throw additional light upon these matters. I do not find any new material for consideration, and therefore there is nothing the department can say to you in reply other than has been fully covered by previous correspondence.

I wish to make particular reference to the Attorney General's letter to you dated October 17, 1919, and my letter to you of the same date, which express the views of the department with regard to the prosecution of certain persons whom you allege to be engaged in presenting fraudulent claims against the United States. In this connection I wish to repeat that any evidence you may have tending to sustain your allegations should be presented to the department, so that it may receive our careful consideration. The department can not and will not act in this or any other criminal case upon some one's mere conclusions unsupported by creditable evidence.

I note further that you have assumed to grant the Department of Justice the period of time, up to and including January 26, 1920, to take such action on your matters as is satisfactory to you, in default of which you threaten the department with publicity or some other action. The department will not permit itself to be intimidated by threats, and again begs to advise you that if you feel that the public welfare demands you should not hesitate to take your matter before any other public officer, body, or commission, as it is the purpose of the Attorney General that the Department of Justice shall cooperate with all other Government officers in the full enforcement of the law.

Respectfully, for the Attorney General,

JOHN T. O'BRIGHTON,
Special Assistant to the Attorney General

I think it fair that from the above and foregoing letter I am warranted in concluding that the records which I have called to your attention are not disputed by you in any material respect and therefore admitted to be true, and as to the law, as I have called your attention to the same, is approved by you.

While there is no desire on my part to consume any more of your time than is absolutely necessary to treat this matter properly, I hope you will be kind enough to let me repeat some of the conditions which I have outlined to you, and especially in my letters.

First. Detailed facts have been furnished you by me, giving names and addresses of witnesses, which will clearly show that one or more assistants to the United States Attorney General, in June and July, 1914, in writing, attempted to prevent the facts being placed before the grand jury at Chicago, Ill., at its July session, 1914, as to the vicious violation of the criminal laws of Congress by nearly all the chief executive officers of the New York Central Railroad Co. and the O'Gara Coal Co., but the then United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill., refused to comply with such request and did place the facts before a Federal grand jury at Chicago, Ill., and which resulted in three indictments being returned in open court on the 31st day of July, 1914, and had the United States district attorney at Chicago complied with such request all the parties would have escaped prosecution by reason of the statute of limitations.

The undisputed facts which form the basis for the indictments in the three cases indicated are that the New York Central Railroad Co., in violation of the criminal laws of Congress, granted the O'Gara Coal Co. extensive credits, to the amount of over \$400,000; paid in rebates on shipments of coal amounting to more than \$500,000; furnished it credit, which enabled it to sell large amounts of bonds and other securities to the friends of the railroad company, to the extent of several millions of dollars, and out of which the executive officers and attorneys of the New York Central Railroad Co. received in the way of compensation and commissions more than \$500,000, and in many other ways granted favors in the way of furnishing cars and equipment to the O'Gara Coal Co., to the exclusion of other coal companies operating in the coal fields along that line of railroad, all to the loss of other coal companies, and all in direct violation of the criminal laws of Congress.

Second. The facts, including names and addresses, have been furnished you as to certain parties residing in Chicago, Ill., and not attorneys of record in any of the above three cases, but for a money consideration paid by a big railroad company they undertook to and have been able to prevent all three of the cases above indicated from being brought to trial in the Federal court, where they are still pending in that court.

Third. Letter of the United States Attorney General dated July 29, 1919, in which he says that the three cases above indicated have been properly disposed of to the satisfaction of the Department of Justice; but in point of fact that was not true, for the cases were then pending in court, and have been pending in court ever since July 31, 1914, as well as at this time, and undisposed of, all of which is shown by the records of the court in which the cases are pending, and that such statement by the United States Attorney General as above set out was untrue, and that he knew the same was untrue at the time he made the same.

Fourth. The facts and law have been repeatedly placed before you for the filing of a bill in equity to enjoin a former assistant United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill., from divulging and making public information and facts given him by a citizen as to the violation of the criminal laws of Congress, as he now threatens to use such information and facts in the interest of the New York Central Railroad Co., as well as one or more other parties as to whose conduct he was given information as to the violation of the law as indicated, and in doing so greatly injure such citizen for doing his duty to the Government in giving such information and facts, on the written request of the then United States Attorney General, which right to file and prosecute such bill in equity vests solely in the Government, and is based upon the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Vogel v. Gruaz* (110 U. S., 311).

Fifth. With the facts in a general way placed before you, with an offer to give you all the detailed facts, names of parties and addresses who reside in Milwaukee, Wis., and who have formed a combination and are now at work, and have for several months last past been at work, in furnishing testimony of a very questionable character, to assist parties in the collection of false, fictitious, and fraudulent claims from the Government, growing out of the late war,

all of which, with the information at your service, could have been examined in a very few hours' time, but the department has absolutely refused to even make any investigation whatever as to the facts and the fraudulent character of the work being done by that combination to defraud the Government.

Sixth. Willful and deliberate conduct on the part of the Department of Justice, in placing obstacles in the way of obtaining the inside and detailed facts, which would show the inside dealings by one or more members of Congress, in their efforts to collect for a compensation of 25 per cent of that which might be collected, claims against the Government of a fraudulent character, growing out of the late war, which facts, which the department deliberately succeeded in preventing the same from being made use of by the Government, are of such a character that they, with other facts now known to exist, would have warranted an investigation by a grand jury and the returning of one or more indictments against the guilty parties.

Seventh. That in a large measure the facts have been placed before you, showing clearly and conclusively that quite a large number of persons in Chicago, Ill., are now and have been for several years last past engaged in preventing the due enforcements of the law, the administration of justice, and protecting persons for violating the criminal laws of Congress, and in doing so have had in a large measure the assistance of officers in the employ of the Government.

Eighth. For some reason the conspirators appear to be well posted and fully advised as to all that is going on, and especially in so far as any facts and information have been conveyed by me to the department, from time to time, and have frequently boasted, to my certain knowledge, of their ability to prevent anything being done with them by reason of their conduct.

If I am properly advised by my construction, placed on the rulings in *Vogel v. Gruaz* (110 U. S. 311), the court squarely holds that all information and facts given by me in any manner or form to the Department of Justice are privileged communications, and can not be given publicity by the informer or the officer of the Government to whom they are given.

Conditions may arise by which an opportunity will be given to develop the information I have as to the divulging to one or more of the conspirators in this matter by one or more of the subordinates in the Department of Justice, and if such should turn out to be the case, which I am confident exists, but I do not as yet have all the facts, I will attempt to do all within my power to see that the guilty parties as to such conduct will be brought to the bar of justice in proper form for their disloyalty.

From my reading of your letter of the 24th of last month, I construe the same to mean that if I proceed in other channels for relief, there would be a disposition on the part of the Department of Justice to assist in the enforcement of the law and the administration of justice, growing out of the matters which I have complained to you.

I do not believe for one moment that you carefully digested the situation when you made such a suggestion to me by letter.

I do not see how it is possible for the Department of Justice to take any affirmative action, when it is clearly shown by record evidence of a conclusive character that the Department of Justice, especially in the New York Central cases, in the matter involving the facts as to the unlawful conduct of a Member of Congress in agreeing to collect claims for 25 per cent against the Government, as well as absolutely refuse to answer my letters in regard to a friendly bill in equity, to enjoin a former assistant United States district attorney from divulging information and facts given him as to the violation of the law by a citizen by his proposed conduct as above stated, and as to which the evidence is absolutely conclusive, and has attempted to prevent the enforcement of the law, and thereby protect executive officers of the New York Central Railroad Co., personal political friends of the department, and others, as indicated, from the enforcement of the law.

I do not think it could be expected that any citizen would accept it as a part of his duty to assist the Department of Justice, in the way of information and facts, as to the violation of the law, when to all appearances it would be used to protect parties instead of enforcing the law against them.

I do not believe for one moment that you would, on serious reflection and consideration, entertain the idea that it would be even proper for me to furnish any additional facts that I might have at this time or that might come to me in the future tending to establish the facts as to the guilt of the parties mentioned and indicated in my complaint to you.

On the other hand, the universal practice is now, and has always been, that where conditions show that the proper officers of the Government fail or refuse to enforce the criminal laws, without any good reason for their failure or refusal, and to protect some of their personal political friends, but the rule is, in all such cases it is proper for a citizen to present a petition to the court which has jurisdiction of the subject matter and the persons for the court to exercise its inherent power and appoint a special prosecuting officer to look after and prosecute the interests of the Government.

Such a petition can be presented as an original matter to the court, or it can be presented by a petition in one of the criminal cases now pending in the United States Federal court in Chicago, in what is called the New York Central O'Gara cases, asking for the appointment of such a prosecuting officer, designated as a special United States district attorney, to attend all the interests embraced, in all the matters indicated in my various letters to you.

Such a petition could be prepared in a very short time, and to which there should be attached a copy of my letter to you of January 9 last, with a copy of your answer to the same dated the 24th, together with a copy of this letter, which, taken together, show conditions in such form that I do not doubt for one moment the court, by virtue of your admitting the facts in your letter as they are set out in my letters to you, and especially the one of January 9 last, would appoint a special United States district attorney, to prosecute and take care of the interests of the Government, in each and every matter which I have outlined to you in my various letters.

With such an appointment the court under its powers could and would furnish the necessary machinery, together with all Secret Service men, that might be required to assist such special United States district attorney in getting the facts together and properly prosecuting the interests of the Government.

In that way the special United States district attorney would be able by virtue of the orders of the court, or in any other manner thought best, obtain possession of all the original documentary evidence in possession of an Army officer stationed at Chicago, Ill., who has the same in his possession, and which original evidence is of such a character, to my certain knowledge, as I have seen the same, which, together with the other evidence which I have in my possession of a very material character, in writing and otherwise, that would warrant the placing of the facts before the Federal grand jury for an indictment, in regard to parties attempting to collect from the Government false, fictitious, and fraudulent claims against the Government growing out of the late war.

In the early history of this country, and up to this time, the rule is well settled, especially in the Federal courts, that no Cabinet officer has ever been permitted to have the absolute and unqualified right to save and protect his personal as well as political friends from the enforcement of the law.

In quite a recent case the United States Supreme Court holds the universal rule to be that it would be an unfortunate day for the Government should such officers refuse to comply with the plain letter of the law, and that in all such cases the court holds that such conduct is subject to review by the courts in a proper case. The rule in regard to that branch of this matter and the power of a Cabinet officer to protect friends or otherwise from the enforcement of the law is perfectly clear and well understood by all lawyers of standing.

Without repeating the facts in this letter, which show clearly and conclusively that the Department of Justice has deliberately interfered with and prevented the obtaining of important documentary evidence which would show in a very large measure the guilt of one or more parties in attempting to collect false, fictitious, and fraudulent claims from the Government growing out of the late war. I refer to my letter of January 9 last to you, in which I set out in detail all the material facts showing the conduct of the Department of Justice in interfering with and preventing the obtaining of such information in the way of important facts which would show guilt of one or more of the political personal friends of the Department of Justice, and to which I refer in this letter without repeating the same. This will practically be all found on page 10 and the following pages of my letter to you of January 9 last, and which I submit for your consideration in this connection.

If in the course of events this matter should receive such attention as would give publicity to the facts, of course, all original information in the way of documents and otherwise, including the original affidavit, which I have in my vault, a copy of which you had with you at the time of our interview on July 22 last, would doubtless be fully exposed, and might in all probability result in

such work by assisting the Manufacturers Terminal Co. and others in their efforts to defraud the Government.

"This is not a wild rumor or a suspicion; it is a plain fact, which I can furnish the evidence to sustain, can give the names of the parties, their address, and show just what they have done and are doing in the way of assisting to collect from the Government the claim of the Manufacturers' Terminal Co. for the sum of \$327,178.13, which is beyond any doubt whatever false, fictitious, and fraudulent.

"In my opinion it would be the wise thing to have this matter carefully investigated and promptly, and especially in view of the fact that the Board of Contract Adjustment is now getting the facts together with a view of investigating the merits of that claim.

"It is not, in my opinion, only important in this matter, but it is clear from what I know that they contemplate assisting in collecting other large claims if possible that are false, fictitious, and fraudulent from the Government."

On page 4 of my letter of October 23 last I say:

"If it should be more desirable, I will in writing give all the dates, names, and addresses for the use of the Government in any manner that may be desired.

"This morning I was requested by one of the officers of the Government who is looking into the merits in this city of this claim, with a view of reporting the same to the Board of Contract Adjustment, when the witnesses will be brought to Washington and placed under oath and their testimony heard, and in my opinion it would be of great advantage to that board to know the inside facts as I have indicated, which would enable any lawyer who appears for the Government to draw out the facts as I have stated them, provided he is advised in advance as to conditions which I indicate."

On the same page I, among other things, say:

"When I know in advance of fraud and where it is to be found, and have that at my command in a suit in court, I have never had any trouble in using it to advantage, and I think it all important that whoever represents the Government on that hearing as a lawyer should, if possible, be advised in advance as to what the real conditions are."

On page 5 of the same letter I, among other things, say:

"To do my duty as a loyal citizen, I have this day given the officer of the Government who made the above request of me, some of the inside material facts which I have heard within the past few days as to this combination in its efforts to defraud the Government, as well as gave him important facts, that I learned within the past four days, and which I had not reported to any person or persons."

On the same page of that letter I, among other things, say:

"In your letter you make mention of my request for the Department of Justice to file a bill in equity to enjoin a former assistant United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill., from divulging and making public, information and facts given by me to him, on the written request of the then United States Attorney General and you say: 'The matter has received the department's attention and you have been advised of its decision.'

"I am ready to admit I have placed that matter before the department on many different occasions in the past, and have not been advised of any attention being given the same since I met you in Washington.

"The necessity, and demand, for the filing and proper prosecution of such a bill in equity are stronger to-day, and the demands are more urgent at this time in all fairness to a citizen, than they have been at any time in the past.

"The correspondence I have had, with the department, clearly shows, that the department has often and on many different occasions changed its views from time to time, at one time the position is taken that there is no law for such a proceeding, then that the facts will not support the law, then that the facts and law will not support the bill in equity.

"The Department of Justice reached the point at one time where it requested me to prepare and submit a form of bill in equity to be filed in court in order to obtain relief, but for some reason after I promptly furnished such copy the department refused to file the same."

On page 6 of the same letter I, among other things, say:

"Assuming for the present, that the department entertains different views as to the facts and law in this matter from me, I submit that in all fairness to a citizen who has shown his loyalty to the Government, and did his duty to the Government on request of the then United States Attorney General

It is the first time that I ever heard of, in my entire history as a practicing lawyer, where there was any opposition to filing a friendly bill in equity, to determine a question of fact or law, as to which reputable lawyers disagreed. Your treatment of that suggestion on my part is far ahead of anything I have ever heard of, and why you should absolutely disregard such a proposition, and absolutely refuse to even answer my letters as to that branch of this matter, I am surprised beyond measure.

Nearly seven months' time has passed since I met you in your office in Washington, on July 22 last, which time has, to all appearances, been lost.

I have been required to spend time and labor in my efforts, but with it all I have learned a few things from experience, and some developments have come to me of a very surprising character, which may assist in some manner in bringing this entire matter to a proper hearing and determination, for the best interests of all parties and the public interests properly secured.

I shall at once place a carbon copy of this letter, together with a carbon copy of my letter to you of January 9 last, with a printer, instructing him to set the matter up in type, and bind them both in pamphlet form, furnishing me with ample copies for any purpose whatever, in order to present this matter in proper channels.

I shall, of course, be required to have certain papers certified to by proper officers, which will take a few days' time, and when that is done, I will be ready to take the matter up with prominent and distinguished parties in Washington, who are anxious to consider the matter with me.

I may send all necessary papers and printed matter forward in the first instance, or I may come there with the same.

I will send this as a registered letter, to make sure you receive the same.

If in the meantime some channel should be suggested to your mind that would afford relief with substantial justice, I would be ready to take the matter up with you, as there is no desire on my part to give publicity to anything that may work injury and especially to the best interest of the Government.

Yours, truly,

WM. ARMSTRONG.

IN THE MATTER OF THE INVESTIGATION BY A COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE AS TO THE USE OF MONEY OR ANY OTHER MEANS OR INFLUENCE BY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES TO FURTHER THEIR INTERESTS.

To the honorable CHAIRMAN OF THE ABOVE-NAMED COMMITTEE:

Your petitioner would most respectfully represent that he is now, and has been for more than 30 years last past, a citizen, resident, and voter in the city of Chicago, in the county of Cook and State of Illinois, being all said time engaged in the practice of the law in said city of Chicago, Ill.

That in the resolutions of the United States Senate giving this committee authority to act, it appears, among other things, to have power to investigate not only as to money subscribed and used but also "the use of any other means or influence, including the promise or use of patronage, and all other facts in relation thereto that would not only be of public interest but would aid the Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

In accordance with the above, your petitioner desires to call the attention of the committee for an investigation as to the facts showing the conduct of the Department of Justice in a large measure intended to influence political personal friends; that it has favored in many and various ways, in violation of law, as herein set out, to induce them and their friends, who are delegates to the national Democratic convention at San Francisco, to vote and work, especially for the nomination of the United States Attorney General for President.

Some of the details of the conduct complained of are set out in the printed matter attached hereto and made a part hereof as Exhibit A, which was prepared with a view of presenting the same to Congress for an examination by a committee, but the adjournment of Congress at an unusual time prevented the same receiving proper attention.

That in addition to the printed matter indicated the following is a general statement showing conditions at this time:

First. That to accomplish that end the Department of Justice has been instrumental in causing pardons to be issued to parties who have been found guilty

of violating the internal-revenue laws of Congress, who offered to pay in cash to the Government the sum of \$150,000 in full settlement, after they had been found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment, as well as fined, for violating the criminal laws of Congress, which cases were dismissed by the United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill., on the 23d day of April, 1920.

Second. That the Department of Justice has willfully, deliberately, and knowingly interfered with the efforts of a citizen who, at the request of the Department of Justice, had obtained and was obtaining for the Government many facts tending to show a violation of the criminal laws of Congress by close personal, political friends of the head of the department, and in that way did prevent such citizen from obtaining important documentary evidence tending to show guilt, which will be proven by original letters.

Third. In preventing the obtaining of important documentary evidence for the Government by a citizen who at the request of the Department of Justice was obtaining the facts as to the charge that a former Democratic Member of Congress, while a Member of Congress, entered into an agreement to collect one or more large fictitious claims against the Government for the sum of \$327,178.13, growing out of the late war, for a contingent fee of 25 per cent of what might be collected from the Government on the same.

Fourth. Saving the New York Central Railroad Co., as well as a large coal company, with nearly all the chief executive offices of the same, from prosecution and punishment, after being indicted by a Federal grand jury at Chicago, Ill., on the 31st day of July, 1914, and finally dismissed out of court, on the 17th day of June, 1920, on the motion of the United States district attorney at Chicago, Ill.

Fifth. Refusal to enforce the law and protect citizens who have assisted the Government in obtaining important facts and information as to the violation of the criminal laws of Congress the sole right to prosecute such a proceeding to protect such citizen for doing his duty being invested in the Department of Justice.

Sixth. Conduct of the Department of Justice in attempting to prevent the indictments being returned in the New York Central cases by a Federal grand jury at Chicago, Ill., as herein set out.

That the original records in the office of the clerk of the United States district court at Chicago, Ill., will in a every large measure show the facts as herein set out.

That to prove the facts the attendance of a few witnesses, possibly not to exceed 10 in number, who reside in or near Chicago, Ill., and 2 or 3 parties connected with the Department of Justice in Washington, D. C., will be all that will be necessary to investigate the matters mentioned.

It certainly will be admitted by all good citizens that the wrongful use of official patronage and position, if such is the case, to assist a candidate for President in securing assistance in the nomination before a national convention is more vicious than the use of money for such purpose.

It will take about two or three days' time at Chicago, Ill., and from one to two days' time in Washington, D. C., to get all the facts before the committee as herein indicated.

Your petitioner therefore prays that this petition be placed on file with the committee, and that the facts as herein set out be thoroughly investigated and reported to Congress for the best interests of justice and the public interest and to the extent of my ability I stand ready to do all that I can to assist the committee.

Respectfully submitted.

W. ARMSTRONG, *Petitioner.*

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. L. BABLER.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name, Mr. Babler.

Mr. BABLER. J. L. Babler.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home?

Mr. BABLER. St. Louis, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the same Mr. Babler who testified at Washington before this committee?

Mr. BABLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you now if you have any statement showing the expenditures of money by you in this preconvention campaign for President?

Mr. BABLER. I have a statement of money that I spent, and for which I was reimbursed from funds sent to Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will come to that. This statement has been identified as Exhibit 1 of July 7. That is the statement showing the amount of the expenditures by you in detail, and the entire amount received, but not in detail; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. BABLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any statement showing in detail the amounts received by you for expenditures in Missouri?

Mr. BABLER. I have a memorandum here before me.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you produce that memorandum?

Mr. BABLER. Yes. Could I give the amounts and dates? That is a rough memorandum that I could explain from.

The CHAIRMAN. Read your memorandum to the reporter, please.

Mr. BABLER. On December 30, 1919, I received a check for \$1,470.

The CHAIRMAN. And from whom?

Mr. BABLER. From E. L. Morse, representing Gov. Lowden.

Senator SPENCER. December 30?

Mr. BABLER. December 30, 1919. On January 17, 1920, I received a check for \$4,325.

Senator REED. From whom?

Mr. BABLER. From E. L. Morse.

Senator REED. Representing Gov. Lowden?

Mr. BABLER. Yes, sir. And from the same source I received a check on January the 21st, for \$1,619, and on February 26, \$3,050.

Senator REED. From the same source?

Mr. BABLER. From the same source. February 26, \$486.66.

Senator REED. The same source?

Mr. BABLER. Let's see, did I say February 26?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; \$3,050 and \$486.66; you have got two there.

Mr. BABLER. Well, the February 26 amount was \$3,050, and the next remittance was March 7, \$486.66.

Senator REED. The same source?

Mr. BABLER. The same source; yes, sir. The next on May the 8th, \$1,000.

Senator REED. The same source?

Mr. BABLER. The same source. And the next remittance was \$4,203.50.

Senator REED. When was that?

Mr. BABLER. That was about the same time. I haven't the date of that.

Senator REED. Four thousand and what?

Mr. BABLER. \$4,203.50.

Senator REED. And you think that was about the same time?

Mr. BABLER. About the same time.

Senator REED. The same source?

Mr. BABLER. The same source.

Senator SPENCER. Is that all?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of your first remittance?

Mr. BABLER. The date of my first remittance is December 30, 1891.

Senator REED. What is that total?

Mr. BABLER. The total, as I have it, is \$16,154.16.

Senator SPENCER. That is right. Now the disbursements.

Mr. BABLER. The disbursements, as I have them: \$16,621.06.

Senator REED. Will you please give me that again—the disbursements?

Mr. BABLER. \$16,621.06.

Senator REED. Does that represent all the moneys which you received from Gov. Lowden, through Mr. Morse, and from any other source, from Lowden?

Mr. BABLER. That represents all of the money that I received from any presidential candidate or their representative.

The CHAIRMAN. The largest sum you seem to have paid out was to Mr. Patterson, Springfield, Mo.

Senator REED. By the way, will you permit me, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Senator REED. When this money was paid to you by Morse, was it paid in the form of currency or by checks?

Mr. BABLER. By check.

Senator REED. In each instance?

Mr. BABLER. That is my recollection.

Senator REED. Now, when you paid it out, did you pay it out in currency or by checks?

Mr. BABLER. I paid out most all of it by check.

Senator REED. Have you got your checks with you?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; I have all of the checks with me that I have bearing on this.

Senator REED. Will you produce them?

Mr. BABLER. Do you want me to read these?

Senator REED. No; we won't require you to read them.

The CHAIRMAN. The reporter can copy them off and give them back to you.

Mr. BABLER. Senator, I never keep my checks, so that prior to the second last checking of my bank account, why, I haven't kept them, as I never keep my old checks, but there will be no denial of any of those items.

Senator REED. So some of the checks you haven't with you, because those checks were thrown away, as you ordinarily throw them away?

Mr. BABLER. As I always do. I never keep my checks. I haven't got a check prior to these.

Senator REED. Do you know the earliest check in here?

Mr. BABLER. I think it is about the 1st of February.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Senator, if you don't object——

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead. You know more about Missouri than I do.

Senator REED. The earliest check I find, although I haven't gone through them all—I may be in error—is February the 9th. I want that check copied in full. And I will read it to you.

Mr. BABLER. I will just leave it here, Senator, if you want it. Any of those you want, just take them.

Senator REED. We will have these checks marked exhibits from 2 to 39, inclusive.

(The checks referred to were marked "Exhibits 2 to 39, inclusive.")

Senator REED. All the checks are on the same bank (First National Bank of St. Louis).

Exhibit 2, date February 9, 1920, favor of L. F. De Hart, \$200, indorsed L. F. De Hart.

Exhibit 3, date February 11, 1920, favor of M. C. James, \$100, indorsed M. C. James.

Exhibit 4, date February 21, favor of International Life Insurance Co., \$200, no indorsement. Stamped on back: "Pay to the order of First National Bank in St. Louis. For deposit only. International Life Insurance Co. Massey Wilson, president. W. F. Grantges, secretary."

Exhibit 5, date February —, 1920, favor of Mrs. E. E. Butler, treasurer, \$50, indorsed Mrs. E. E. Butler, treasurer, Republican Woman's Club of St. Louis.

Exhibit 6, date February 11, 1920, payable to Holmes Hall, \$200, indorsed Holmes Hall.

Exhibit 7, date February 13, 1920, favor of M. E. Boisseau, secretary, \$28. Memorandum in corn: "Banquet tickets." Indorsed M. E. Boisseau.

Exhibit 8, date February 13, 1920, payable to Fred H. Wilson, \$100, indorsed Fred H. Wilson.

Exhibit 9, date February 13, 1920, payable to C. S. Prather, \$300, indorsed C. S. Prather, W. G. Kitchen.

Exhibit 10, date February 10, 1920, favor J. M. Weil, \$200, indorsed J. M. Weil.

Exhibit 11, date, February 10, 1920, favor A. H. Doermann, \$100, indorsed, "A. H. Doermann."

Exhibit 12, date, March 4, 1920, favor of J. S. Miller, \$50, indorsed, "J. S. Miller."

Exhibit 13, date, March, March 11, 1920, payable to "Cash," \$1,000; no indorsement. Paid through the St. Louis clearing house, Central National Bank.

Exhibit 14, date, March 16, 1920, in favor of Dr. William A. Venerable, \$100, indorsed, "Dr. William A. Venerable."

Exhibit 15, date, March 19, 1920, in favor of J. M. Weil, \$500, indorsed, "J. M. Weil."

Exhibit 16, date, March 23, 1920, payable to "Cash," \$50, indorsed, "St. Louis Clearing House, Central National Bank."

Exhibit 17, date, March 24, 1920, payable to Dr. W. A. Venerable, \$200, indorsed, "Dr. W. A. Venerable."

Exhibit 18, date, March 30, 1920, payable to "Cash," \$125, indorsed, "St. Louis Clearing House, Central National Bank."

Exhibit 19, date, April 2, 1920, payable to St. Louis Argus Publishing Co., \$200, indorsed, "St. Louis Argus Publishing Co."

Exhibit 20, date, April 15, 1920, payable to Hotel Statler, \$217, in lower left-hand corner, "Lunch 4/8/20," indorsed, "Pay to the order of Mercantile Trust Co., St. Louis, Hotel Statler, St. Louis."

Exhibit 21, date, April 16, 1920, payable to the International Life Insurance Co., \$200, indorsed, "Pay to the order of First National Bank in St. Louis. For deposit only. International Life Insurance Co. Massey Wilson, president; W. F. Grantges, secretary."

Exhibit 22, date, April 16, 1920, payable to Robert H. Hedrick, \$200, indorsed, "R. W. Hedrick."

Exhibit 23, date, April 16, 1920, payable to Carr Hartshorn, \$100, indorsed "Carr Hartshorn."

Exhibit 24, date, April 16, 1920, payable to B. L. Guffy, \$200, indorsed, "B. L. Guffy."

Exhibit 25, date, April 22, 1920, payable to Mrs. J. M. Hutchinson, \$107.50; in the lower left-hand corner, "Tickets to Lowden banquet", indorsed, "Mrs. J. M. Hutchinson."

Exhibit 26, date, April 28, 1920, payable to Republican national committee, \$500, indorsed, "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Republican national committee, Fred W. Upham, treasurer."

Exhibit 27, date, May 7, 1920, payable to A. H. Doermann, \$100, indorsed, "A. H. Doermann."

Exhibit 28, date, May 29, 1920, payable to "Cash," \$200, indorsed "St. Louis Clearing House, Central National Bank."

Exhibit 29, date, May 31, 1920, payable to Moir Hotel Co., \$74.68; notation on left-hand side, "Tickets to W."; indorsed, "Gallagher." "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 30, date June 5, 1920, payable to Moir Hotel Co., \$58.30, indorsed "390, J. G." "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 31, date June 5, 1920, in favor of Missouri Athletic Association, \$100, indorsed, "Pay Boatmen's Bank, St. Louis, or order. Missouri Athletic Association, Fred Kurtz, treasurer."

Exhibit 32, date June 8, 1920, payable to the Moir Hotel Co., \$300, indorsed "390, J. G." "Gallagher." "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 33, date June 9, 1920, payable to the Moir Hotel Co., \$100, indorsed "390, J. G." "Pay to the order of the Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 34, date June 9, 1920, payable to the order of Moir Hotel Co., \$200, indorsed "390, J. G." "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank, of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 35, date June 9, 1920, payable to E. L. Morse, \$500, indorsed "E. L. Morse."

Exhibit 36, date June 12, 1920, payable to the order of Moir Hotel Co., \$100, indorsed "390, J. G." "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 37, date June 12, 1920, payable to Moir Hotel Co., \$88.53, indorsed "390, J. G." "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 38, date June 12, 1920, payable to Moir Hotel Co., \$20.90, indorsed "390, J. G." "Pay to the order of Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, Ill. Moir Hotel Co."

Exhibit 39, date June 23, 1920, payable to International Life Insurance Co., \$95.53, indorsed, "Pay to the order of Central National Bank, St. Louis, Mo. For deposit only. International Life Insurance Co. Massey Wilson, president; W. F. Grantges, secretary."

Senator REED. Mr. Babler, was there any meeting anywhere with any of the managers before this money was given to you on December 10, 1919, which is the date of the first payment of money to you?

Mr. BABLER. Did I have any conference with any of the Lowden managers?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. BABLER. Yes; I had conference with E. L. Morse and with J. L. Emmerson, manager for Lowden, and I had met the governor; I met Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. Where was the first conference that you had?

Mr. BABLER. I think I met him in Washington at the time of the meeting of the national committee.

Senator REED. That was about when?

Mr. BABLER. December the 10th, 1919.

Senator REED. Was there ever a meeting at Pittsburgh?

Mr. BABLER. Not with Lowden representatives. I met Senator Spencer at Pittsburgh.

Senator REED. When?

Mr. BABLER. To confer about the election of delegates at large to the national convention. This does not give the date. It was before the meeting of the Republican State committee at Kansas City on May the 5th.

Senator REED. Now, who was present at this meeting in Pittsburgh, and how did you come to meet there?

Mr. BABLER. Mr. Nat Goldstein and Mr. Robert Moore, and Senator Spencer came from Washington and met us at Pittsburgh, at my request.

Senator REED. Now, you four gentlemen—Mr. Goldstein and Mr. Moore and yourself and Senator Spencer—met in Pittsburgh, Pa., in the month of May?

Mr. BABLER. I think it was April.

Senator REED. April?

Mr. BABLER. I am not clear about it.

Senator REED. What was the object of that meeting?

Mr. BABLER. There was a question as to who the delegates at large to the national convention should be. There was a question as to whether we should send four delegates at large or eight. I was anxious to have Senator Spencer's views in the matter, because I was conferring with State leaders as to the matter. I called him over long-distance and asked him if he would meet me at Pittsburgh to discuss that matter—no; if he would come out to St. Louis, and he said that he was very busy and couldn't, and I asked him if he would not meet us at Pittsburgh, and he finally said that if I could meet him there on Sunday, so as not to interfere with work that he was doing, that he would endeavor to meet me there. And we discussed the delegate-at-large matter, and he said that he was not a candidate for delegate at large, but would abide by the wishes of his friends in the matter. If his friends thought that he ought to go, or if the party thought that he ought to go, he would.

Senator REED. No; I don't care about that. I don't think it is within the purview of this examination to inquire about the mere matter of election of delegates at large, unless it had something to do with the selection for president, or unless it involves the expenditure

of some of this money afterwards expended. If it does, it is a part of it; otherwise it is your own private business.

Mr. BABLER. It had nothing to do with either one of those two things.

Senator REED. You simply met with Senator Spencer there for the purpose of discussing that matter of election of delegates at large?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. Nothing said there about money at all?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think there was anything said about money at all in any way.

Senator REED. You met there because, as I understand you, Senator Spencer found it difficult to get away from Washington, and you folks met him there at somewhat of a halfway place?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. There was no secrecy about it?

Mr. BABLER. No, sir; none whatever.

Senator REED. Did you use any of this money in the election of delegates at large?

Mr. BABLER. No; except in the general plan to organize in the counties and elect delegates to the State convention, but I spent no money for transportation for delegates to the State convention or to the national convention.

Senator REED. But you did use the money—all of this money, or a large part of it at least—in the matter of getting delegates elected to the State convention?

Mr. BABLER. In the matter of getting delegates elected to the State convention and national convention.

Senator REED. As you have told us heretofore?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. Senator Spencer was not consulted about that at all?

Mr. BABLER. No.

Senator REED. And did he know anything at all about your getting any money from Gov. Lowden or his managers?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think so. I may have mentioned it, but I don't recall it. He would know about that. And I discussed it with my friends generally. There were no secrets about that. But I don't remember of ever having spoken to Senator Spencer about it. I may have spoken to him about it. I don't recall about that. He would know. But I did not hesitate to speak to anybody about it.

Senator REED. That is all there was to that meeting?

Mr. BABLER. That is all.

Senator REED. And that is the only conference you had with Senator Spencer about it?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I saw him any time he came to St. Louis, or when I was in Washington we would discuss matters generally which I thought would be of interest to him, but I don't recall any conference about any particular thing except this one at Pittsburgh about the delegates at large.

Senator REED. At that time you agreed on eight delegates instead of four?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I don't know that we agreed on it just then, but I wanted his views. It was a matter of my conferring with him as to his ideas, as our Senator, and I don't think he had any fixed ideas

about it; I am sure he did not. I wanted to know that we were not working at cross-purposes. He seemed to be content with anything that they did. I was for Senator Spencer for delegate at large, either for one of eight or one of four, because I thought he ought to go.

Senator REED. Well, as far as you know, he didn't know anything about your getting any money from Lowden to use in this campaign?

Mr. BABLER. I don't recall of having discussed that part with him.

Senator REED. Well, then, as I understand you, this is just such a conference as naturally takes place between a political manager and a prominent man in the party about the mere matter of electing delegates to the convention?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think, Senator, that we discussed anything but the delegates at large to the national convention. I don't really believe that we discussed anything but that. That is my recollection. I know that was the thing on my mind; I wanted to get his views as to whether we would have eight or four, and I may have talked to him about the personnel of it, but I am not sure about that. But he had no fixed idea, and we only discussed it a few minutes, because he did not seem to have any fixed idea about it himself. And the only satisfaction I got was that he would be glad for the honor, but it was a matter purely up to the party.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Babler, you have supplemented the testimony you gave before by giving an itemized statement of persons to whom you gave the money. In all cases did these men understand that they were to work for Lowden in this campaign?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think so. My plan was to get men popular in the district that had expressed no choice, and that were friendly to the organization, to become candidates for delegates, and then to get other leaders in the counties or the districts to help build up strength for those particular parties that we were working to elect as delegates.

Now, in the case of M. E. Rhodes, of Potosi, I gave him a check for \$200 on November 21, 1919, and asked him to feel out sentiment in his district.

Senator REED. That is before you got the money from Lowden at all?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; that was my personal money. But I did not mention that to him; I didn't mention anything about Lowden or anybody else. And he made a canvass in one or two counties there, and then used about \$30 and refunded \$170.

Senator REED. When?

Mr. BABLER. That he returned it?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. BABLER. Recently.

Senator REED. How recently?

Mr. BABLER. Within the past two weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that? What was this man's name?

Mr. BABLER. M. E. Rhodes, at Potosi.

Senator REED. Well, he was to feel out sentiment on what?

Mr. BABLER. As to conditions in his district, and whether or not we could elect—whether or not delegates could be elected in that district that would be uninstructed, and that would not be for Gen. Wood. I was opposed to the nomination of Gen. Wood, because I doubted the advisability of nominating a military man.

Senator REED. You didn't think he would run well?

Mr. BABLER. I didn't think he would be a popular candidate.

Senator REED. Well, do you know why Mr. Rhodes did not get this money back sooner? You gave it to him way back in November and he only returned it the other day.

Mr. BABLER. He told me when he was home, I think, during the holidays, that he had only spent a small amount, and that he would return me what he had not used, or which he did not use. But he did not return it until recently, but told me along in January. I think it was, that he had only spent a small amount of it, and would make me a statement of it and return it.

Senator REED. Now, you charged this into the account on the theory that you advanced the money before you got any money from Lowden, and that afterwards you reimbursed yourself out of the Lowden fund?

Mr. BABLER. I had talked with Mr. Morse about the matter, and told him that I would go on and spend my own money, and that when Mr. Emmerson furnished him money that I should then be reimbursed for the money that I was spending.

Senator REED. You had that understanding with Morse in November?

Mr. BABLER. Before I gave this money to Rhodes; yes.

Senator REED. So you understood that Morse, then, must have had an understanding with Lowden or Lowden's manager before that time?

Mr. BABLER. That is my impression now.

Senator REED. Well, you spent considerable other money before you got anything from Morse?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. But you had an understanding with Morse that you would be reimbursed, is that the case?

Mr. BABLER. Yes. When I discussed the matter with Morse I told him that I would spend whatever I thought advisable, if he was agreeable to him, and that I could then be reimbursed for money that I had spent, and when I gave him a statement of moneys that I had advanced he would give me a check for it. That would balance up to that time, and then I would go on and spend my own money again, and when he would come to St. Louis, then he would give me another check for it.

Senator REED. Do you know when Morse got the first money from Emmerson?

Mr. BABLER. No; I don't know the date, Senator.

Senator REED. You do know that he gave you the first check December 30, 1919?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; he gave me the first check December 30, 1919.

Senator REED. And you had spent prior to that time the sums that appear here on this sheet, Exhibit No. 1, and there listed as of the year 1919, something less than \$2,500, as I run them up hastily?

Mr. BABLER. I don't remember the circumstances of just how those payments were made to me.

Senator REED. Prior to that, however, Morse had been in some sort of communication with the Lowden manager, and had some sort of a tentative understanding?

Mr. BABLER. I think so, yes; because he told me that he would reimburse me.

Senator REED. There are just a few of these items I want to ask questions about. T. J. Franks, of Joplin, Mo., got \$1,000. What does Mr. Franks do?

Mr. BABLER. I think he is in the mining business.

Senator REED. Ben Kesterson got \$1,000, didn't he?

Mr. BABLER. Not from me.

Senator REED. Oh, he got that, perhaps, from Mr. Morse. I don't find his name here. How did you come to give Franks a thousand dollars? What was he going to do with that?

Mr. BABLER. Well, he was to assist in preventing instructions for Gen. Wood in the fifteenth district. He was to visit counties and see leaders and prevent instructions for Gen. Wood in the fifteenth district, which was done.

Senator REED. Now, there is an item here on January 8 of \$500 to E. E. McJimsey. Was that to assist McJimsey in his campaign? Or what was it for?

Mr. BABLER. Mr. McJimsey was at Kansas City at a meeting of the State committee at the time we called the State convention. My recollection is that I told McJimsey that I was very anxious to elect delegates in the seventh district that would be uninstructed, and asked him about some of the counties. I may have asked him to visit some of the counties. I don't think there was any discussion as to any candidate with McJimsey.

Senator REED. He was then a candidate for governor?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; he was a candidate for governor.

Senator REED. Did you give him any other subscription than just to help him in his fight for governor?

Mr. BABLER. I gave him this check for \$500 in January, and then subsequently he was in St. Louis and I gave him another check for \$500, making a total of \$1,000. I don't think I discussed any presidential candidate with him, but I naturally expected his influence in that district on account of friendship and these contributions, but I don't think I discussed with him the question of any presidential candidate.

Senator REED. But you were his friend in the governor race?

Mr. BABLER. Absolutely. That is, I had not taken any stand for him. I felt very friendly toward McJimsey, as well as Arthur Hyde, but I thought at that time that McJimsey would be nominated, and I have a very, very high regard for him.

Senator REED. What I am trying to get at is this: Did McJimsey understand that this was a contribution to his campaign for governor, or whether he understood that he was to go out to get Lowden delegates?

Mr. BABLER. Well, he didn't have the impression to go out to get Lowden delegates.

Senator REED. Did you tell him anything about this being Lowden money?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think that was ever discussed at all. I don't think that was ever mentioned. But I naturally expected to get friends of his in the district for delegates friendly to Lowden, but McJimsey was no party to that.

Senator REED. Do you say that McJimsey didn't know that it was Lowden money?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think he did.

Senator REED. Do you know Mr. Kesterson?

Mr. BABLER. I have met him a few times, but I don't know him well.

Senator REED. Do you know what his relations were with Hyde, who was running for governor?

Mr. BABLER. I never discussed it with him, Senator. I don't think I have seen him but one time since the governorship race, and that was at Excelsior Springs, at a convention of the third district. He came down there just as the convention was getting ready to adjourn or just after its adjournment.

Senator REED. Do you know whether Kesterson was the man who prepared and introduced a resolution before the bar association at Princeton, which was Hyde's former home, indorsing Hyde for the nomination?

Mr. BABLER. No; I don't. I have never discussed the governorship with Kesterson at all. I don't believe I ever saw him but twice, and that was some four or five years ago, once, and then at Excelsior Springs at the time that they had their convention, and then this morning here in the room.

Senator REED. Is Mr. Kesterson here?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; I saw him and shook hands with him just a few minutes ago.

Senator REED. I don't think of anything else I want to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you about the Patterson matter. You have \$1,000 sent to Mr. Patterson. Was that sent before you had received any of the Lowden money?

Senator REED. That is dated here January the 8th.

Mr. BABLER. I gave it to him January the 8th at the meeting of the State committee.

The CHAIRMAN. That was before you had received any money from Morse, wasn't it?

Mr. BABLER. That was after I received money.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did Mr. Patterson afterwards return that money to you?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. BABLER. That was after my testimony in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the letter that he sent you at that time?

Mr. BABLER. No, I haven't; but he wrote me saying that he did not know it was Lowden money, and that in view of the report that that was a part of the fund, that he was returning it, and I immediately returned it to Mr. Emmerson.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't know at the time of receiving the money that it was Lowden money?

Mr. BABLER. I discussed with him the matter of carrying some counties for uninstructed delegates to the national convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Before or after the money was sent?

Mr. BABLER. At the time. And I told him that I would like to have him to get the Green County delegation and the Lafayette County delegation, and he said that he would see about the Saline

County delegation, and that, with others that we were figuring on, would give us the majority of the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he for Lowden?

Mr. BABLER. I don't believe that he said he was for Lowden, but he was assisting me whenever he could, or at any rate, he said he would assist me wherever he could in getting delegates friendly to us.

The CHAIRMAN. There is one thing more I would like to ask you, Mr. Babler: As a member of the national committee you were passing on and voting on the contests, were you not?

Mr. BABLER. Well, we passed on contests; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you were there personally voting on those contests, were you not?

Mr. BABLER. No, I don't think so. I don't remember of voting on a contest. At the time I was in Washington, T. W. Hukreide sat on the committee for me, and at another time I think Bob Flick, of Kansas City, sat on my proxy. I don't believe I sat on the committee during those contests. That is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. And you did not personally vote on any of these contests?

Mr. BABLER. I don't remember that I did. I am not just clear, but I don't remember that I did. It was only because I was occupied on other matters, however.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't see anything out of the way of a member voting on contests when he has received money from certain campaign funds to help carry the campaign on?

Mr. BABLER. I don't believe I passed on any.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I was going to say; that is why I gave you the opportunity to do that. I don't see any difference between that and a judge having money in his pocket from one of the litigants, do you? But you didn't do that; that is what I want to show in the record.

Mr. BABLER. I don't remember that I did.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Senator SPENCER. What do you think, Mr. Babler, of the practicability of Congress passing any legislation in regard to the limiting of the expenditures in regard to the presidential candidates?

Mr. BABLER. I think it ought to be done.

Senator SPENCER. How would you fix that limit?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I don't believe I could suggest anything about that. Where one candidate uses money the other must use it or he is at a disadvantage.

Senator SPENCER. One of the things this committee is required to do is to report any form of legislation that may be helpful in regard to the expenditure of money in the future. And we are all anxious to find out if there is any practical way in which Congress can act that will operate favorably for the future.

Mr. BABLER. Well, there are others that know more about that than I would, because I have been in politics only a short time, and I was rather drafted in it. I don't hold any office and never have. My business is insurance business. My judgment would not be very good.

Senator REED. At the bottom of this statement I find the following:

Remittance received from parties named below and returned to L. L. Emerson:

From Roy Davis, Columbia, Mo., \$500; from Roscoe Patterson, Springfield, Mo., \$1,000; from E. L. Brown, Edina, Mo., \$1,000; from M. E. Rhodes, P. Mo., \$170; from Tabernacle Baptist Church, \$100; remittance received from Carr Hartshorn and returned to E. L. Morse, \$100. Total, \$2,870.

Now, had there been \$100 given to the Tabernacle Baptist Church?

Mr. BABLER. I had given it to a representative of the church.

Senator REED. A. S. A. Moseley for the Tabernacle Baptist Church. How did you expect that to contribute to the Lowden campaign?

Mr. BABLER. The colored people of St. Louis had agitated a feeling against Gov. Lowden on account of race riots in East St. Louis, and there was considerable rumbling in St. Louis, and some talk of the colored people getting together and resolving against Gov. Lowden on account of the race riots.

Senator REED. And this \$100 was intended to allay that feeling?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I wouldn't just say that, but I did quite a number of things to make the colored people feel more kindly, or at least see that they were in error as to the matter.

Senator REED. Did you tell them this was Lowden money then? If you were going to allay a feeling against Lowden, of course you had to tell them that this was Lowden's solatium.

Mr. BABLER. Rev. Moseley was in the office, and I discussed with him the wrong impression that the colored people had of Gov. Lowden, from my viewpoint.

Senator REED. And then did you give him this money to add force to your logic?

Mr. BABLER. And then I asked him to do what he could to bring the facts to the attention of the colored people. I had other colored people to go to Gov. Lowden, visit him at Springfield, and I had others to go to Sedalia, at the colored State convention, in the interests of Gov. Lowden, to plead his cause, and in all the work I did I think I avoided an unfair fight on Gov. Lowden, as I saw it.

Senator REED. Now, I can understand the logic of the reasoning and all that, but I can not quite understand how the \$100 was to affect the result unless it was because they regarded the persuasive force of greenbacks; isn't that about it?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I wouldn't say that.

The CHAIRMAN. They gave this money back, did they?

Senator REED. I was just coming to that. When did they send the money back?

Mr. BABLER. Well, since the Senate investigating committee—

Senator REED. Did they say why they gave it back? Any letter or anything of that sort with it?

Mr. BABLER. No; Rev. Moseley was in to see me, and he asked me if the money which I had contributed at the time he solicited was of the—

Senator REED (interrupting). Did he solicit this money?

Mr. BABLER. Well, he was in the office talking about the Lowden matter—that is, about this colored talk against Lowden.

Senator REED. And he did solicit?

Mr. BABLER. While he was in there he asked me if I would not make a subscription to his church.

Senator REED. Two questions: The feeling against Lowden and the subscription to the church were intimately connected?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I don't know if it was intimately, but one followed the other.

Senator REED. Now, he came back and turned the money over after you told him it was Lowden money?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. And he knew it was Lowden's money when he took it? He took it for the purpose of making sentiment for Lowden, and then when the people found out about it he brought it back and washed his hands of the whole wicked transaction?

Mr. BABLER. I don't think he understood that it was Lowden's money at the time.

Senator REED. Well, if it wasn't Lowden money, then how would it affect the sentiment in favor of Lowden, if they did not know it was Lowden money when they got it?

Mr. BABLER. At the time when he asked me for a subscription I gave him \$100.

Senator REED. Well, I won't press that any further. Now, I want to take up the matter of Mr. Roy Davis from Columbia, Mo. Who is he down there?

Mr. BABLER. He has a position with some school at Columbia, Mo.

Senator REED. One of the public schools, is it?

Mr. BABLER. I think it is the Stevens College; some college.

Senator REED. Now, is he a politician or an educator?

Mr. BABLER. He assisted in the work in the eighth district.

Senator REED. How did he come to give back his money?

Mr. BABLER. Well, after the investigating committee had asked me to file a statement, he asked me if I was going to give his name, and I told him that I certainly was. That I expected to give a list of those to whom money was given, and it would be up to them to account for it, and if they spent it in legitimate service or work that there could be no criticism. If any money had been retained, that it ought to be returned. He said that he had spent more than the amount he had received, but that it might be hard to explain just how he had spent the money, because he had kept no account, and that he preferred to just return the amount he received, and I told him that there was no objection to that; that I thought it would be very foolish for him to do it, but that if he wanted to do it I would return it from the source from which it came, and he returned it, and I returned it to Mr. Emmerson.

Senator REED. He made that statement to you after an inquiry whether you proposed to tell that he had got it?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; in connection with it; yes.

Senator REED. Well, of course, that gives him a perfectly clean moral shade, and I think we can pass on to the next one.

Now, Roscoe Patterson, you have been asked about that. Now, Roscoe Patterson did know that you wanted to elect delegates to a convention, didn't he?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. That is what he got the money for?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I don't know about that, but——

Senator REED. Or did he get it to help in his own campaign? Which was it? I want to be fair to Mr. Patterson and fair to you. I want to know if Mr. Patterson understood when he got this thousand dollars that it was a personal contribution for his campaign to Congress, or whether he was to go out and get delegates to the State convention?

Mr. BABLER. He may have thought it was a personal contribution.

Senator REED. But you did tell him that you wanted the delegates?

Mr. BABLER. But I did tell him that I wanted the delegates from that district. Now, I want to be fair to all these men and say this, that I did not go out with the thought of telling everybody that this was my money or Lowden's money or anybody else's, but to elect delegates that would be friendly to the organization, and with a perfect satisfaction that they would not be for Gen. Wood; of course, Gov. Lowden was my preference.

Senator REED. Well, they all knew that, didn't they?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I didn't make it any secret.

Senator REED. Of course not; you and Mr. Morse had started in to get the convention for Gov. Lowden. You took Gov. Lowden's money, and you went out in good faith to deliver the goods in what you regarded as an honest, practical way to do it. That is the size of it, isn't it, Mr. Babler? And when you went to your political friends and political associates you dealt with them with reasonable frankness on the subject?

Mr. BABLER. Well, as I say, Senator. I probably did not tell quite a number that I was giving them money furnished by anyone else, because what I wanted was results. I wanted to elect the delegates. I don't think it was material as to whether it was my money or somebody else's money.

Senator REED. I don't think it is.

Mr. BABLER. I don't either, Senator, and I would not change or alter that part of the work, because what we wanted was results.

Senator REED. Understand me, the point I am inquiring about is not whether you gave a man money and told him it came from Lowden, but if you gave a man money, and you knew he was going out and working to get delegates to a State convention, and took the money for that purpose, whether it came from you or Gov. Lowden is one thing; I think it is material who it came from. I want to draw the line between a man having money for that kind of work, and a man being candidate for an office on the understanding that you were going to him to give him a political contribution to help in his own campaign, which is quite a different thing. Now I understand you to say that Mr. Patterson did agree to go out and get delegates to the State convention, and that you did talk with Mr. Patterson about a number of counties that he was to try to get delegates from, and in connection with that talk that you advanced him the \$1,000. Is that the situation?

Mr. BABLER. Well, not exactly. I told him that we would like very much to have the delegation from his county for delegates to the national convention that would be opposed to the nomination of Gen. Wood. He seemed to be favorable, and I asked him then if he would not also see some parties in Saline County and Lafayette County and give me any assistance he could there.

Senator REED. He said he would?

Mr. BABLER. He said he would.

Senator REED. And then you told him you were going to give him some money to help out in the expenses?

Mr. BABLER. Well, not at that time, but before I left I gave him a check for \$1,000.

Senator REED. Without further talk? That is, without modifying the situation as it had been expressed by you before?

Mr. BABLER. There was no modification at all.

Senator REED. Yes. Now, he has returned the money, has he? Did he write any letter about it?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; he wrote me a letter and stated that he did not know it was the fund of any presidential candidate.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Babler, Mr. Brown, of Edina, Mo., returned \$1,000. Who is Mr. Brown?

Mr. BABLER. He is a doctor of Edina.

Senator REED. Is he a Democrat—Dr. Brown, of Edina?

Mr. BABLER. No.

Senator REED. I did know a Dr. Brown in that section of the country. Well, now, Dr. Brown took the thousand dollars to help get delegates with, didn't he?

Mr. BABLER. Let's see, what was the date of Dr. Brown's there?

Senator REED. Well, I will have to look for it there. I don't find an item of \$1,000.

Mr. BABLER. One on December 29 and one on January 15.

Senator REED. Now, you gave him two checks—one on December 29 for \$500 and one on January 15 for \$500?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. You, of course, had a talk with him about what he was to do for this money, or with this money, didn't you?

Mr. BABLER. I told him that I was very anxious for him to take charge of the first district and make a canvass of it, and see the workers in all of the counties, and assist in electing two uninstructed delegates that would be opposed to the nomination of Gen. Wood and be friendly to our organization.

Senator REED. Yes. And did you talk to him about Lowden a little?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I don't know whether I discussed that, but he was carrying out my wishes in the matter, and secured two delegates, and covered the district pretty thoroughly.

Senator REED. Was he one of them?

Mr. BABLER. He was afterwards elected, but at that time he had no thought of being a delegate.

Senator REED. But he did afterwards get himself elected from that district?

Mr. BABLER. Yes; at my request.

Senator REED. Yes. All right, now; he knew that he got \$1,000 from you—whether it was your money or Lowden's money—and he knew he was to use that money in getting delegates to a convention, did get the delegates to the convention, and became one of them himself, and he knew that he used this money, either put it in his pocket or used it for that purpose, and I am going to assume that he used it. Having done all that, he now returns it upon the sole ground that it was Lowden's money instead of yours or the organization's money.

Do you see any great moral difference between the two propositions of you getting money from Lowden to use in the campaign or getting money from John Smith to use in a campaign for the benefit of Gov. Lowden, so far as the recipient is concerned?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I don't see anything wrong in getting money and using money in a legitimate way for the defraying of expenses for county or district or State conventions.

Senator REED. You don't see any difference, morally, between whether it happened to be your money or happened to be Lowden's money, do you?

Mr. BABLER. I don't just get your thought, Senator.

Senator REED. Well, I am trying to make this point: This gentleman now righteously comes back and turns back \$1,000. He took that \$1,000 for a specific purpose and he carried out the purpose. Now he is returning the money on the ground that it was Lowden's money instead of somebody else's money, and I am asking you, do you see any difference between the two propositions?

Mr. BABLER. I think it would be very foolish for a man to spend the money in carrying out a program, and then attempting to return it. I believe that he spent the money I sent him. I don't believe there was a man there—conscientiously, I don't believe there was a man there but what used the money.

Senator REED. Even the professor?

Mr. BABLER. Well—

Senator REED. And of course the colored preacher?

Mr. BABLER. These were all fellows, I believe, that were perfectly honest and conscientious. The agitation may have stampeded some; it didn't disturb me, because I have felt that the money that was handled was accounted for for legitimate expenses. It was given with that thought, to carry out the expenses of conventions.

Senator REED. Who did this gentleman, Mr. Brown, vote for when he got down here to the convention?

Mr. BABLER. Well, I wasn't in the delegation, but I imagine he voted for Gov. Lowden, though I don't know. I wasn't in the delegation.

Senator REED. Now, we have already covered the case of Mr. Rhodes and the Tabernacle Baptist Church. There is one other item here: Remittance from Carr Hartshorn, and returned to E. L. Morse. Now, who is Carr Hartshorn?

Mr. BABLER. He was a delegate from the thirteenth district.

Senator REED. What was he to do for the \$100, or with the \$100?

Mr. BABLER. Well, my recollection is—what is the date on that, Senator?

Senator REED. The \$100 subscription.

Mr. BABLER. I think that was after he was elected, which was April 16. I think that was after his election, and I think that I had sent him \$100, and requested that he make a trip over the thirteenth district for the purpose of procuring proxies to the State convention. I think that was the purpose of that remittance, to get proxies.

Senator REED. Did he get them, or make the trip?

Mr. BABLER. I didn't see him after that until I saw him at the State convention, but his district worked in harmony with our other delegations in the convention.

Senator REED. What was his grounds for returning his hundred dollars?

Mr. BABLER. I think he said that if it was from the Lowden fund that he did not want to retain it.

Senator REED. When did he send it back? Well, it was after this investigation?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. I don't think I have any further questions to ask Mr. Babler, gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. This statement presented by Mr. Babler will be incorporated in the record.

(The statement referred to, and previously marked for identification "Exhibit 1 of July 7, 1920," was marked "Exhibit 40 of July 7, 1920," and is attached hereto.)

EXHIBIT 40, OF JULY 7, 1920.

Paid out by J. L. Babler.

| | | |
|--------------|--|------------|
| 1919. | | |
| Nov. | 21. M. E. Rhodes, Potosi, Mo | \$200. 00 |
| | 22. B. L. Guffy, Hayti, Mo | 200. 00 |
| | 29. Roy Davis, Columbia, Mo | 200. 00 |
| Dec | 1. Chas Hayes, Harrisonville, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 1. A. H. Doermann, Webster Groves, Mo | 120. 00 |
| | 4. J. M. Weil, St. Louis, Mo | 190. 00 |
| | 20. Joe Manlove, Pierce City, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 23. C. A. Hendrix, Stockton, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 23. B. L. Guffy, Hayti, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 29. E. S. Brown, Edina, Mo | 500. 00 |
| 1920. | | |
| Jan. | 2. B. L. Folk, Maysville, Mo | 225. 00 |
| | 8. H. B. Gilfillan, Moberly, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 8. W. H. Allen, Clinton, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 8. Chas. Hays, Harrisonville, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 8. Mark Feltis, Braymer, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 8. H. Shiveley, Hamilton, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 8. E. B. Russell, Breckenridge, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 8. John Albus, St. Joseph, Mo | 200. 00 |
| | 8. E. E. McJimsey, Springfield, Mo | 500. 00 |
| | 8. Roscoe Patterson, Springfield, Mo | 1, 000. 00 |
| | 8. J. W. Minks, Collins, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 8. Roy Davis, Columbia, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 8. W. Hallen, third district | 100. 00 |
| | 8. W. P. Elmer, Salem, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 8. Ira L. Edmonds, Marshfield, Mo | 200. 00 |
| | 14. E. E. McJimsey, Springfield, Mo | 500. 00 |
| | 14. J. M. Weil, St. Louis, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 15. E. S. Brown, Edina, Mo | 500. 00 |
| | 16. B. L. Guffy, Hayti, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 17. Holmes Hall, Sedalia, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 17. J. W. Palmer, Sedalia, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 17. Day & Night Letter Co., St. Louis, Mo | 15. 66 |
| | 17. International Life, as credit on long-distance telephone and telegraph, personal calls | 200. 00 |
| | 21. G. W. Duncan, Iberia, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 21. G. W. Duncan, Iberia, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 23. O. G. Boisseau, Holden, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 24. L. W. Kelley, Moberly, Mo | 200. 00 |
| | 26. W. H. Allen, Clinton, Mo | 300. 00 |
| | 27. Chas. Hays, Harrisonville, Mo | 100. 00 |
| | 29. R. J. Grover, Warrensburg, Mo | 100. 00 |
| Feb. | 9. L. F. De Hart, Cameron, Mo | 200. 00 |

| | | | |
|------|-----|---|------------------|
| Feb. | 10. | A. H. Doerman, Webster Groves, Mo | \$100.00 |
| | 10. | J. M. Well, St. Louis, Mo | 20.00 |
| | 11. | M. C. James, Higginsville, Mo | 10.00 |
| | 11. | Holmes Hall, Sedalia, Mo | 20.00 |
| | 11. | Fred Wilson, Macon, Mo | 100.00 |
| | 13. | C. S. Prather, Advance, Mo | 300.00 |
| | 16. | E. E. Butler, treasurer for Woman's Republican Club | 50.00 |
| | 21. | International Life, credit on account of long-distance telephone and telegraph | 200.00 |
| Mar. | 4. | J. S. Miller | 50.00 |
| | 11. | T. J. Franks, Joplin, Mo | 1,000.00 |
| | 16. | W. A. Venerable, St. Louis, Mo | 100.00 |
| | 19. | J. M. Well, expense self, A. W. Loyd and Mitchell and others to Springfield, Ill., and to Sedalia, Mo | 500.00 |
| | 24. | W. A. Venerable, St. Louis, Mo | 200.00 |
| | 30. | C. Jackson, St. Louis, Mo | 125.00 |
| Apr. | 2. | St. Louis Argus Publishing Co | 200.00 |
| | 9. | S. A. Moseley for Tabernacle Baptist Church | 100.00 |
| | 16. | Robert H. Hedrick, Cole Camp, Mo | 200.00 |
| | 16. | International Life, credit on account of long-distance telephone and telegrams | 200.00 |
| | 16. | Carr Hartshorn, Elvins, Mo | 100.00 |
| | 16. | B. L. Guffy, Hayti, Mo | 200.00 |
| May | 7. | A. H. Doerman, Webster Groves, Mo | 100.00 |
| | 24. | C. M. Le Bow, Kansas City, Mo | 31.50 |
| | | International Life, credit on account of long-distance telephones and telegraph | 95.00 |
| | | For Lincoln Day banquet tickets | 113.00 |
| | | To Chicago, 6 trips for conferences | 300.00 |
| | | To Kansas City, 5 trips for conferences, including a meeting of the State committee and entertainment, and the State convention and entertainment | 650.00 |
| | | Expense of attending 7 congressional district conventions, meetings, and entertainment | 420.00 |
| | | Trip to Pittsburgh | 120.00 |
| | | 3 trips to Springfield, Ill | 90.00 |
| | | Entertaining party workers from the State, including hotels and cafés, during November and December, 1919, and January, February, March, April, and May, 1920 | 1,200.00 |
| | | Long-distance calls and telegraph paid by cash during the 6 months from November, 1919, to June, 1920 | 125.00 |
| | | Total | 16,621.00 |
| | | Total amount received by J. L. Babler | 16,154.00 |
| | | Remittances received from parties named below and returned to L. Emmerson: | |
| | | From Roy Davis, Columbia, Mo | 500.00 |
| | | From Roscoe Patterson, Springfield, Mo | 1,000.00 |
| | | From E. S. Brown, Edina, Mo | 1,000.00 |
| | | From M. E. Rhodes, Potosi, Mo | 120.00 |
| | | From Tabernacle Baptist Church | 100.00 |
| | | Remittance received from Carr Hartshorn and returned to E. L. Morse | 100.00 |
| | | Total | 2,820.00 |

TESTIMONY OF MR. A. A. SPRAGUE—Resumed.

The witness was recalled, having been previously sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sprague, you live in Chicago, and were western treasurer of the Leonard Wood Republican League?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I was the national treasurer of the Leonard Wood campaign committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. There was some evidence at Washington of certain moneys sent into Colorado to the Leonard Wood campaign fund to be used. After that I received a letter from Mr. J. S. Temple, which I will place in the record as Exhibit No. 41, of July 7, 1920.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 41, of July 7, 1920," and is here printed in full as follows:

EXHIBIT 4, OF JULY 7, 1920.

THE LEONARD WOOD REPUBLICAN CLUB OF COLORADO,
Denver, Colo., June 18, 1920.

Hon. W. S. KENYON,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: On June 4 I wired you as follows:

"I am treasurer Wood Republican Club of Colorado. We received \$300 from national organization. Greatly desire information who received balance of \$14,800 sent to Colorado, and how much each received. Would like same information regarding expenditures of Lowden committee. Can you have information sent me?"

On June 5 you replied by mail as follows:

"Your telegram at hand. We adjourned this afternoon until the 9th of July. We will then take the matter up and see what we can ascertain as to who received the money in Colorado."

I am writing now to remind you of this promise. Our Colorado Wood Republican Club was organized in January, 1919. We secured members in nearly every county in the State and organized or helped to organize 17 county clubs. Our work was done almost entirely by correspondence. Up to June 1, 1920, we had expended exactly \$976.85 and our receipts were \$990. Of this we received \$300 from the Wood headquarters in Chicago and the other \$690 was contributed by our own members. Since your committee brought out the fact that \$14,800 was sent by the Wood headquarters into this State we have been under more or less suspicion, and we think we have a right to ask you to continue your investigations and let us and the public know who received the balance of this large sum and what they did with it.

I think it no more than fair also for your committee to inquire into the expenditures of the Lowden committee in this State.

Very respectfully,

J. S. TEMPLE.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). He says in this letter that they received only \$300 from the Wood headquarters in Chicago, and the balance of their expenses were contributed by their own members.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The evidence, he says in this letter, taken at Washington, showed that \$14,800 were sent by the Wood headquarters into the State, and they would like to know where this money went. Now, we would like to know also, inasmuch as apparently Mr. Temple, who had charge of the Wood campaign in that State, did not receive it. Can you give us any light on that, as to where this \$14,800 went, to whom, in Colorado?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; I can give you absolutely no information on that. As I explained to you—I think I did in Washington—when an order was sent to me signed either by Col. Proctor, the chairman, or by his assistant, Gen. Burt, I would send a check direct to them, and in that manner all of the money that was sent to the various States was handled. I know nothing except that it went to Col. Proctor or Gen. Burt.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, who can give us the information as to where and to whom this money went that was sent into Colorado?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think the only man that can give you that is Gen. Burt.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us where Gen. Burt is?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I think he is in New York. He is working for Mr. Ambrose Monell, who, I believe, is with the International Nickel Co.

The CHAIRMAN. In any event, he is not in Chicago, and we can not secure this evidence here?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No, sir; he is not here. He left here immediately after.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no personal knowledge as to how the money was handled in Colorado?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Absolutely none.

Senator SPENCER. What is Gen. Burt's full name?

Mr. SPRAGUE. W. B. Burt.

Senator SPENCER. B-u-r-t?

Mr. SPRAGUE. B-u-r-t, I think it is.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the money that was sent into Missouri for the Wood campaign?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I know nothing about the money that was sent into any State, Senator Reed. It was all issued under the instructions of Col. Procter or Gen. Burt, and was sent direct to them.

Senator REED. Wasn't there a manager or somebody that told about where the money was to be sent and when it was to be sent?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Do you mean—

Senator REED. Here around these headquarters.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Well, Gen. Burt was Col. Procter's assistant.

Senator REED. I know; but we had Gen. Burt on the stand, and he didn't know anything except that he had drawn certain checks and Col. Procter didn't know anything except that he had put up some money. Now, I know enough about campaigns to know that there is always somebody around the campaign headquarters who knows what is going on, who has charge of the management and who gives the directions. There is the most remarkable dearth of information regarding these matters that I have ever struck. Now, who was around your headquarters down there that had the supervision and charge, that did the managing and controlling?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Oh, there were various men around there, Senator Reed. I don't think I was at headquarters more than four or five times during the entire operation. My job was merely to issue, on proper authorization of Col. Procter, checks from the account.

Senator REED. Well, were you around the headquarters enough to find out who was running things down there?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Col. Procter and Gen. Burt. They had assistants. I don't know, for instance, who had charge of the work in Colorado or in any other State, except Illinois.

Senator REED. How many men did you have around the headquarters there?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't know.

Senator REED. Well, was it just one or two, or were there a number?

Mr. SPRAGUE. There were a number. Do you mean employees?

Senator REED. I don't mean stenographers; I mean managers—the people who were engaged in doing this work.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Well, I should say there were about two or three principal men.

Senator REED. Now, who were the two or three?

Mr. SPRAGUE. McGraw.

Senator REED. Where does he live?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I believe he lives in Oklahoma.

Senator REED. Who else?

Mr. SPRAGUE. And Mr. Walpole. I don't know where he lives.

Senator REED. What is his first name?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't know that.

Senator REED. Who else was there?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I really can not give you the names offhand, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know anybody that was around those head quarters that does know anything about what was going on?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Not any more than I have already given you.

Senator REED. What I am trying to get at, Senator Kenyon, is this: We get one man who knows a little, and another man who knows a little bit. Now, I know that somebody ran this campaign; so does everybody else know it, who has any sense, and I want to know who that man is. If this gentleman doesn't know, of course, he can not tell us. Now, I am not criticising you, Mr. Sprague.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sprague merely handled the money.

Senator REED. But I think we had better find out, if it takes 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we had better get Mr. Burt back, either in the East or here.

Senator REED. Mr. Burt is not the man. Mr. Burt has already stated that he only knows about checks.

The CHAIRMAN. Somebody knows where that money went in Colorado, don't they, Mr. Sprague?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I should think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Burt is the man, as you understand it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I should think Mr. Burt would be the man who would either know or could tell who would know, Senator Kenyon. I think I could give you his exact address.

The CHAIRMAN. We have it in the record.

Senator REED. I want to ask you Mr. McGraw's address in Oklahoma.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I don't know his address.

Senator REED. That is all.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILLIAM LOEB, JR.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name to the reporter, Mr. Loeb?

Mr. LOEB. William Loeb, jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is in New York?

Mr. LOEB. My home is at Oyster Bay, Long Island, N. Y. My business is in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Loeb, during the hearing at Washington it developed that certain moneys were collected by you for the Wood campaign, and what we wanted to know was the sources of those

contributions. Have you any list of the contributors and the amounts, or can you give them out of your mind?

Mr. LOEB. Collected by me, Senator? I was the depository, so to speak, of certain funds.

The CHAIRMAN. The evidence showed, I think, \$225,000 sent to Chicago—possibly it was more than that—by you.

Mr. LOEB. I have made a little memorandum of just the funds that came to my hands.

The CHAIRMAN. And what we want to know is just where did those contributions come from?

Mr. LOEB. I received \$406,000 in all.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. LOEB. \$406,000. There was sent to the Chicago headquarters \$225,000, as has already been testified to, I believe. I sent to the eastern treasurer \$130,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his name?

Mr. LOEB. Col. Stebbins.

Senator REED. How much was sent to Col. Stebbins?

Mr. LOEB. \$130,000. The New York headquarters, \$45,000. That was outside of Stebbins.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that sent to, Mr. Loeb?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Gould, in charge of the——

The CHAIRMAN. Gould and Miller?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Norman Gould and Mr. Miller.

Mr. LOEB. That left a balance of \$6,000 in my hands, which was the other day sent to Col. Procter.

The CHAIRMAN. The colonel is getting a little back, is he?

Senator SPENCER. Small dividends.

Mr. LOEB. The balance of \$6,000.

Senator SPENCER. No doubt it was a great surprise to him.

Mr. LOEB. It was.

Senator SPENCER. Where did that money come from?

Mr. LOEB. Now, I will have to preface that by a little statement, Senator, before I answer. I was asked to take charge of Gen. Wood's campaign, but I found myself unable to do so because of my many business responsibilities. John King was selected to manage the general's canvass, and he was endeavoring to advance Gen. Wood's interests among the organization. It went along for several months.

Senator SPENCER. Well, what do you mean by "organization"?

Mr. LOEB. The Republican organization. He was endeavoring to interest the members of what might be called, commonly called, the Republican machine in Gen. Wood's canvass.

Senator REED. Do you mean by that the national committee, or do you mean something broader?

Mr. LOEB. I mean the national committee, Senator, and the State organizations and the Republican Senators. It went along several months, and Gen. Wood's friends became dissatisfied with the results that were being obtained, and various volunteer organizations had become active in Gen. Wood's behalf, and they wanted to play a part in his nomination. There was some more or less general dissatisfaction with Mr. King's method of handling Gen. Wood's interest, which Gen. Wood's friends believe lie more in the direction of an appeal to the people direct. And we decided to change managers

and change the campaign from an appeal to the organization to an appeal directly. I was again consulted about the change, and my advice was asked as to what it would cost to make a fight in the primaries from Maine to Oregon, and I placed the cost at upward of a million dollars. When the question arose as to where we could get a million dollars various suggestions were made of appealing for funds, and an appeal was sent out to about 30,000 of the original signers of the Wood League. We formed a committee of 50 gentlemen in New York, headed by Mr. Freeman, to solicit funds in the East.

Senator REED. What Freeman? What is his first name?

Mr. LOEB. Zoth; I think his name has appeared in that list.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business, Mr. Loeb?

Mr. LOEB. He is a lawyer and a former banker. And, finally, at a meeting which was attended by Col. Ambrose Monell, Mr. Rufus Patterson, a personal friend of Gen. Wood's, and Mr. George A. Whalen and myself, we determined that the only way of raising the money that would be necessary to organize the country and fight the organization was to have certain friends and admirers of Gen. Wood underwrite the campaign. And at that meeting Col. Monell took a quarter of the underwriting, assuming that the underwriting would be a million dollars; Mr. Whalen took another quarter; and Col. Monell said he was sure that Col. Procter would take another quarter, which left \$250,000 to be raised by general subscription.

Now, the money that came into my hands represented the two underwritings of Col. Monell and Mr. Whalen.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was this meeting that you speak of held?

Mr. LOEB. The meeting was held in the office of Mr. Patterson, on Fifth Avenue.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Patterson's business?

Mr. LOEB. I think Mr. Patterson is president of a tobacco machinery company.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Monell's business?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Monell was formerly connected with the International Nickel Co., but I believe has retired.

The CHAIRMAN. There were the three underwriters, and then the balance——

Mr. LOEB (interrupting). Was to be raised by a general subscription.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was to have charge of that?

Mr. LOEB. Col. Monell and myself were to undertake to do that and we were to interest other people. Just about that time, though, Senator Borah's speech came along.

Senator REED. Which speech?

Mr. LOEB. Protesting against the raising of funds for primary campaign purposes.

Senator REED. Made in the Senate?

Mr. LOEB. Made in the Senate, and that tended, of course, to discourage any further subscriptions.

I don't think I received any further money. I think there was only one subscription under Col. Monell's underwriting that came in after that.

The CHAIRMAN. This article that appeared in the New York World charging that a certain syndicate of men were underwriting that, that was the basis of Senator Borah's speech.

Mr. LOEB. Oh, well, that had appeared before this underwriting. I think. No; it appeared after the underwriting; but that article was full of errors. It attributed contributions to men who did not contribute at all and who were not members of the Republican Party, and I think 90 per cent of the men named in there have disclaimed making any contributions; and, in fact, so far as I know, they never made them.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these men that you have mentioned mentioned in that article?

Mr. LOEB. I think Col. Monell was mentioned, but none of the others.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, Mr. Loeb, can you give us the names of these contributors?

Mr. LOEB. Well, now, I say, those funds were made up with an underwriting. Now, whether the money that came into my hands was made up of subunderwritings, I don't know.

Senator SPENCER. How far can you trace the money that came into your hands?

Mr. LOEB. Well, I don't know. I don't want to ascribe, Senator, a contribution to a man and then find out that it was not his money.

Senator SPENCER. I don't want you to; nothing that you can not really remember. Now, you got \$406,000?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Did it all come from Col. Monell or Mr. Whalen?

Mr. LOEB. Yes; through their underwriting.

Senator SPENCER. That is, it came from different men from whom they had solicited the money?

Mr. LOEB. Yes; and they made up their underwriting by getting contributions in turn from other people.

Senator SPENCER. That is, if you received a certain sum of money from a man, you would not be now sure whether that was his contribution?

Mr. LOEB. I would not.

Senator SPENCER. Or whether it represented the aggregate of contributions that he had secured?

Mr. LOEB. I would not.

Senator SPENCER. Now, how far would you remember the amounts with that qualification, so as to fully protect the man?

Mr. LOEB. I will give you my bank book here.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not just clear about Mr. Whalen. Was he representing Col. Procter?

Mr. LOEB. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he underwrite a fourth of this?

Mr. LOEB. He underwrote a fourth of this.

The CHAIRMAN. And Col. Procter a fourth and Monell a fourth?

Mr. LOEB. Well, I don't know. Col. Monell said he would get Col. Procter to underwrite a fourth. Whether he did or not, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, where did Patterson come in on it?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Patterson came in as one of the subscribers to Mr. Whalen's underwriting. Now, in my bank book, you see, I have listed the subscriptions in the underwriting that they belonged to. The disbursements are there before you. Wherever the disbursements went, of course there is the stub of the check. I will be glad to leave that with the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't have anything to do with the disbursements? You just sent the money on?

Mr. LOEB. I just sent the money on. What would happen there, Senator, would be this: The Chicago headquarters would draw on me. You see drafts there from the Chicago headquarters; one time they drew a \$100,000 draft; another time a \$25,000 draft, and then I sent them a check for \$75,000. And then there were two checks.

Senator REED. Most of this money which you have listed here as receipts appears to have been turned over to you by Mr. Whalen and Mr. Monell?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. You don't know who they got it from?

Mr. LOEB. I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know any of the people they got any of the money from?

Mr. LOEB. In a general way I do, but, I say, I can not say whether it was that man's contributions or not.

Senator REED. No; but you do know some of the men who contributed to the funds which Whalen or Monell turned over to you?

Mr. LOEB. I do, Senator; yes.

Senator REED. Now, who are those men that you do know about?

Mr. LOEB. Well, I know that they were interested in the getting of these funds. Now, I can not say how much or what amount. Therefore I don't believe it is fair to——

Senator REED. I am not asking you to state amounts. I am asking you to state the names of persons who contributed to the fund.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we are instructed to find out by the Senate, and we are trying to do it without being unfair to anybody. What objection can there be to stating them?

Senator SPENCER. Well, we understand, Mr. Loeb, perfectly, from what you say, that if a certain sum of money came from a certain gentleman, that you indicate that you don't know whether that amount of money was his own personal contribution or whether it merely represented what he had collected from friends or others, but you would know the name of the man from whom the money came, and the amount of it in some instances, and those are the instances that Senator Reed asks you for.

Mr. LOEB. Sometimes I would and sometimes I would not. Sometimes the checks were received in my office in my absence, and were deposited in my absence. And I would not know those cases.

Senator REED. Well, we are not asking you to tell everything, but tell what you do know.

Mr. LOEB. Well, I can mention some names. Mr. J. B. Duke was one of the contributors.

Senator REED. Do you know the amount of his subscription?

Mr. LOEB. No; I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know it approximately?

Mr. LOEB. No; I do not.

Senator REED. All right. And who else?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. George W. Perkins handed me \$10,000, which he said was not his subscription.

Senator REED. He did not tell you who it was from?

Mr. LOEB. He didn't tell me who it was from, but it was not his subscription.

Senator REED. You have no knowledge of that?

Mr. LOEB. No; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did Mr. Perkins subscribe himself?

Mr. LOEB. None.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing?

Mr. LOEB. No, sir.

Senator REED. Who else besides Perkins?

Mr. LOEB. I think Mr. Perkins was a supporter of Gov. Allen. I think latterly he supported Gov. Allen. But this was some time before that. I don't know whether he was then friendly toward Gen. Wood's candidacy or not, but at any rate he said this represented some subscriptions from some friends of Gen. Wood's.

Senator REED. Can you give us any others?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. H. H. Rogers.

Senator REED. Is that Mr. Rogers who is connected with the Standard Oil Co.?

Mr. LOEB. He is dead. This is his son. I think it is his son. I don't know.

Senator REED. Well, he is connected with the Standard Oil, as a matter of fact?

Mr. LOEB. I don't know. As I say, that is a check that came in under Mr. Monell's underwriting.

Senator REED. Do you know the amount of that check?

Mr. LOEB. \$50,000.

Senator REED. Undoubtedly you would know who it was from when it was a check of that size.

Mr. LOEB. That came in in my absence.

Senator REED. Now, who else besides Mr. Rogers?

Mr. LOEB. There was Mr. Monell's own checks, of course.

Senator REED. Yes. I am excluding from all of this his contributions.

Mr. LOEB. And Mr. Whalen.

The CHAIRMAN. Any check from Mr. Satterlee?

Mr. LOEB. No; that would be handled through his own committee.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the head of the city committee?

Mr. LOEB. He was the head of the Greater New York Wood organization.

Senator REED. Don't you know anybody else, Mr. Loeb?

Mr. LOEB. I don't recall any at the moment, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your own check went in, didn't it, for \$25,000? Came into Chicago?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Did you contribute?

Mr. LOEB. Only in a very modest way, Senator.

Senator REED. It was not so small that you were ashamed of it! How large was it?

Mr. LOEB. My contribution was around \$300.

Senator SPENCER. Did you collect any yourself? I mean in the underwriting. Did you solicit any or collect any?

Mr. LOEB. I did no soliciting at all.

Senator REED. You didn't underwrite anything?

Mr. LOEB. I did not. Neither myself nor any of my business associates, outside of the \$300 that I mentioned, contributed a dollar toward this fund. I simply consented to act as the depository of these underwriters. There was a constant effort to have me more active in the campaign. I couldn't give any more attention to it than the mere handling and the transmission of this money. The Wood organization, as you know, Senator, was disorganized several times. I am sorry I did not handle it. I think I could have put it across.

The CHAIRMAN. You think you could have done as well, possibly?

Senator REED. You do know that Mr. Monell borrowed \$50,000, don't you, and afterwards got it back?

Mr. LOEB. You mean I borrowed \$50,000 and repaid it to Mr. Monell.

Senator REED. You borrowed \$50,000 to repay Monell?

Mr. LOEB. I borrowed \$50,000 from Monell. He loaned me \$50,000 when the New York treasury was empty, and we had about \$50,000 worth of bills, and he advanced \$50,000, and I repaid it.

Senator SPENCER. Out of money that came in from these underwriters?

Mr. LOEB. Out of money that came in from these underwriters. Mr. Monell, I may say, paid in part of his underwriting to me and part to Chicago direct.

Senator REED. I want to get that transaction correct. The New York headquarters were out of money?

Mr. LOEB. The eastern treasury was out of money.

Senator REED. And Mr. Monell borrowed \$50,000 from you?

Mr. LOEB. No; Mr. Monell gave me his check for \$50,000.

Senator REED. As a loan?

Mr. LOEB. As a loan.

Senator REED. Afterwards you collected in the money, and the money was paid in to you?

Mr. LOEB. The money was paid in to me. You can see the transaction right there, Senator.

Senator REED. What was the idea of making out cashier's checks, five cashier's checks for \$25,000?

Mr. LOEB. I think merely for convenience in sending the money away. The New York headquarters wanted to send the money away.

Senator REED. I call your attention to the item here showing disbursements, date March 19, "Pay to 5 cashier's checks, \$25,000," which appears to be the aggregate of five checks. Do you know where those checks went to?

Mr. LOEB. Yes; I do. I think I can remember where they went to. I don't remember the names. One went to Georgia, \$5,000. One went to Florida; one went to Col. Smith, who was doing organization work for the Wood committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of that go to the southern manager?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Where was he organizing?

Mr. LOEB. I think he was in the field generally.

Senator REED. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. LOEB. I do not.

Senator REED. That is three of the \$5,000 items. Where did the other two go?

Mr. LOEB. Another went to the District of Columbia, but not to the headquarters.

Senator REED. Who did it go to there?

Mr. LOEB. Who?

Senator REED. You say it did not go to the headquarters. Who did it go to?

Mr. LOEB. I think it went to the national committeeman of the District of Columbia.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the national Wood committeeman?

Mr. LOEB. No; I think it was the national Republican committeeman.

The CHAIRMAN. The national Republican committeeman?

Mr. LOEB. I think so; yes. I am not sure, Senator, but I think the other one went to Maryland. I am not certain, but I think it went to Maryland. I may be mistaken about that.

Senator REED. Who got the money in Maryland?

Mr. LOEB. I don't recall.

Senator REED. Now, why were these checks made in the form of cashier's checks? Why weren't the checks made out to the individuals and their names entered here in your books?

Mr. LOEB. I don't know, Senator. There was no reason, as far as I was concerned; absolutely none.

Senator REED. You did it on somebody's direction?

Mr. LOEB. I was asked to send cashier's checks, and I sent cashier's checks. There was no reason in the world why my check couldn't be sent.

Senator REED. Have you got any letters of transmittal?

Mr. LOEB. No, I haven't; because that was a request over the telephone.

Senator REED. Where did you send the checks to?

Mr. LOEB. I mailed it to whatever address was given to me at the time; I took it down over the telephone and mailed the checks out without any letter or anything else.

Senator REED. Just put the cashier's check in the envelope and mailed it out?

Mr. LOEB. Just put the cashier's check in the envelope and mailed it out, made out to the person whom I was asked to make it out to.

Senator REED. And you do not know who that person is now, except as it is in your memory?

Mr. LOEB. I don't recall.

Senator REED. Now, you told us \$5,000 went to Georgia. Do you know the gentleman in Georgia to whom you sent the \$5,000?

Mr. LOEB. Absolutely, I don't know him. I never knew him.

Senator REED. He was a stranger to you?

Mr. LOEB. He was a stranger to me.

Senator REED. Do you know his color?

Mr. LOEB. I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know the name of the man to whom you sent it?

Mr. LOEB. I judge not; but I know this much, that it was a man connected with a trust company in Atlanta, Ga. I do remember that much.

Senator REED. Do you know the man's name to whom the check was sent in Florida?

Mr. LOEB. I think it was sent to the national committeeman down there.

Senator REED. You don't recall his name?

Mr. LOEB. I think it was Mr. Bean. Now, I think I said Maryland. My recollection is very indistinct about that fifth check. I don't know where that went. I have no objection to telling if I knew.

Senator REED. Mr. Loeb, isn't it a very unusual thing to just take a cashier's check for \$5,000 and put it in an envelope and send it out and not even write a letter saying, "I am herewith inclosing you check," etc.? Isn't that unusual?

Mr. LOEB. I don't think so; no.

Senator REED. Well, isn't it unusual outside of politics?

Mr. LOEB. It would be; yes. In a business transaction I should probably write a letter, and be very——

Senator REED (interrupting). Careful to file a copy?

Mr. LOEB (continuing). Careful to file a copy; yes. But in politics, you know, Senator, things are not done that way.

Senator REED. Did you ever get any acknowledgment from these checks?

Mr. LOEB. No, sir.

Senator REED. What did you understand was the reason for this peculiar method of sending out large sums of money?

Mr. LOEB. I don't know, sir. I didn't ask any questions. They asked me to send the money, and I sent it.

Senator REED. Now, who requested you to send this money? What is the individual's name?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Hitchcock asked me to send those.

Senator REED. Mr. Frank Hitchcock?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Frank Hitchcock.

Senator REED. Who used to be Postmaster General?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. Do you reckon he learned this method of doing business in the Postmaster General's office?

Mr. LOEB. I don't know. He has had a large experience in politics.

Senator REED. Now, I don't want to take the witness away from you, Senator——

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. LOEB. About the other four cashier's checks, Senator: Mr. Gould asked me to furnish him with four cashier's checks of \$5,000 each, and I sent them up to Mr. Gould. I don't know where they went to.

Senator REED. Can you call my attention to the memorandum about the other four? I haven't noticed them in passing through.

Mr. LOEB. Four cashier's checks [indicating in check book of American Exchange National Bank].

Senator REED. That is under date of March 9 that there were four cashier's checks?

Mr. LOEB. All made to the order of Mr. Gould.

Senator REED. And they aggregated \$20,000, or were they \$20,000 apiece?

Mr. LOEB. No; they were four checks of \$5,000 each, made to the order of Mr. Gould.

Senator REED. Where was Mr. Gould at that time? In New York?

Mr. LOEB. In the New York headquarters.

Senator REED. Did he come to get them, or did you mail them over to him?

Mr. LOEB. He sent a messenger down for them. That is my recollection.

Senator REED. Now, when you made out these cashier's checks did you write anybody's name in them, or did you put in them to pay to cash or pay to bearer?

Mr. LOEB. Those checks to Mr. Gould were made out to Mr. Gould, and I suppose he indorsed them over to whoever they were to go to.

Senator REED. And the five checks that we were talking about before, to Florida, Georgia, etc., those were made out to individuals?

Mr. LOEB. Those were made out to individuals; yes.

Senator REED. Those cashier's checks would ultimately get back to the bank on which they were drawn, would they not?

Mr. LOEB. I suppose so.

Senator REED. And they were drawn upon the National Park Bank?

Mr. LOEB. No; they were drawn on the order of the American Exchange National Bank.

Senator REED. And were the four checks—that group of four checks—drawn on the American Exchange National Bank too?

Mr. LOEB. I think so.

Senator REED. You seem to have two bank accounts, the National Park Bank and the American Exchange National Bank. Why is that?

Mr. LOEB. Well, I started the account in the National Park Bank and found that was too far from my office, and then the next deposit I switched over to the American Exchange National Bank, because it was near my office.

Senator REED. You made your first two deposits on February 17?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. And on that date you put \$25,000 in the National Park Bank, and on the same date you put \$25,000 in the American Exchange National Bank?

Mr. LOEB. Yes. I made one deposit in one, and then when the other deposit came along I decided to put it there, because it was more convenient to my office. That is the only reason.

Senator REED. Do these books show the aggregate of all the moneys that came into your hands in connection with the Wood campaign, directly or indirectly?

Mr. LOEB. Yes. I kept that account separate. I didn't mix that up with my accounts at all.

Senator REED. Of course, I know you would do that, Mr. Loeb, naturally. Now, I want, if you please, to go back and get a little more of the history of this matter—more in detail. When were you first approached in reference to taking any part in the Wood campaign?

Mr. LOEB. Well, the general was an old friend of mine, and he consulted me right from the beginning?

Senator REED. Well, then, when was the beginning?

Mr. LOEB. Oh, the beginning was, I should say, about a year ago at this time, Senator.

Senator REED. A year ago this 7th day of July?

Mr. LOEB. Perhaps a little earlier.

Senator REED. Where did you see the general and consulted with him, or he consulted with you, about taking a hand in his campaign?

Mr. LOEB. In the office or at the club.

Senator REED. Did he ask you to take charge as a political manager or as a financial assistant?

Mr. LOEB. I think he was anxious to get my political experience.

Senator REED. Discuss finance with him?

Mr. LOEB. Never.

Senator REED. Who was present when you did discuss this question of taking up the campaign?

Mr. LOEB. Are you referring now, Senator, to the financing of the primaries?

Senator REED. I will tell you what I want to get, Mr. Loeb, and I think we will get it very much better if I ask the general question. I wish you would begin at the beginning, giving us dates, and telling us when you first met Gen. Wood or any of his men who were co-operating with him in his campaign, and discussed his campaign; who was present, what the discussions were, where they were held, and follow it through. I don't want, of course, every detail, but I want the general outline of it.

Mr. LOEB. Why, I thought I stated pretty fully, Senator.

Senator REED. Well, you didn't give us the dates as you went along, and you didn't tell us who was present.

Mr. LOEB. I couldn't give you the dates, because I didn't charge my mind with that.

Senator REED. I didn't expect you to give exact dates.

Mr. LOEB. I wouldn't say exactly, because I met Gen. Wood every time he came to New York.

Senator REED. Well, you didn't have anything to do with the financial arrangements until about February 17—shortly before that?

Mr. LOEB. I didn't have anything to do about the financial arrangements until along about the 17th of February.

Senator REED. Now, prior to that you had seen Gen. Wood a number of times?

Mr. LOEB. About the general campaigns.

Senator REED. About a year ago you first consulted with him, and he asked you to take the management, and you concluded you couldn't do it, and they got Mr. King?

Mr. LOEB. No; he had Mr. King first. It was after the King offset that he wanted me to come in.

Senator REED. How long had Mr. King been in charge before the management was changed?

Mr. LOEB. Oh, I should say six or seven months, Senator. That is my recollection.

Senator REED. The management was changed in July, a year ago; it was changed before that?

Mr. LOEB. I am not clear on the date. My recollection is that I was in charge several months. I should say King took hold about the 1st of February, didn't he?

Senator REED. Well, he took hold—why, you were getting married on the 17th of February, 1920.

Mr. LOEB. Well, I am talking about 1919, Senator.

Senator REED. So you think as early as the month of February 1919, King was already conducting the campaign on behalf of Gen. Wood?

Mr. LOEB. Yes; and that continued on in the summer, and my recollection is that around about the 1st of December they made the change.

Senator REED. 1919?

Mr. LOEB. 1919.

Senator REED. Did you have anything to do with the Wood campaign at the time that King was manager?

Mr. LOEB. Only in an advisory capacity.

Senator REED. Even before King took charge you had been asked to take charge?

Mr. LOEB. I had been consulted; yes.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. LOEB. Yes. I think Mr. King testified that I recommended his selection by Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Who did you consult with and talk with during these times in regard to Gen. Wood's campaign while King was in charge and before he took charge?

Mr. LOEB. Why, Col. Monell and Mr. Satterlee.

Senator REED. Did you have a meeting some place?

Mr. LOEB. We had meetings—a number of meetings. I met with a volunteer committee weekly.

Senator REED. Exactly. Now, when did you first begin to meet with that volunteer committee?

Mr. LOEB. I should say early in the spring of 1919.

Senator REED. Who was on this volunteer committee?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. De Lancey Jay was the chairman of that volunteer committee.

Senator REED. He lives in New York?

Mr. LOEB. He lives in New York; yes.

Senator REED. He was the chairman?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. Who constituted the other officers and members?

Mr. LOEB. They were a group of Plattsburg men, Senator, and they asked me to meet with them in an advisory capacity, and those meetings were the beginning of what I might call the general appeal to the country on behalf of Gen. Wood.

Senator REED. Well, but before that had there been an effort to get the organization?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir; before that.

Senator REED. You see, I am trying to get back to the start of this, and it seems that you were consulted before King was ever selected.

Mr. LOEB. I was.

Senator REED. King was selected before this volunteer committee was formed, and King was conducting a campaign for the purpose of getting the organization, the machine, as you termed it?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, I want to get at the meetings that you had while King was in charge. You met with a lot of business men, or some business men?

Mr. LOEB. No; I was meeting, Senator, with what the practical politicians might call more or less amateurs.

Senator REED. All right, but you were business men, were you not?

Mr. LOEB. No; they were mostly ex-Plattsburg men.

Senator REED. At that time. Were any of them capitalists?

Mr. LOEB. And they were personal friends and admirers of Gen. Wood, who believed in—who wanted to take an active part in promoting his canvass, and they asked me to meet with them to advise them; they wanted my political judgment. I, unfortunately, have got a reputation for having some political sense, Senator, and they call on me once in a while.

Senator REED. Well, I think that is deserved.

Mr. LOEB. I have been trying to attend to business, more or less.

Senator REED. But they won't let you?

Mr. LOEB. But they won't let me.

Senator REED. Now, having got this political sense, you know exactly what I am driving at.

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. There were some meetings held that were of an immaterial character, of course, but there were meetings of a material character?

Mr. LOEB. There were. They were of a material character, Senator, and they had quite a bearing on the future conduct of the campaign, because we were organizing—we were conducting preliminary steps toward organization of the Wood League.

Senator REED. But they finally got to a point where Mr. King was selected as the man who was to go out and get the machine?

Mr. LOEB. No; Mr. King had been selected before that, but we were organizing a Wood league independent of Mr. King.

Senator REED. But I am trying to get back to the King business.

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. The things which took place, and which eventuated in the selection of Mr. King. Now, you met with some gentlemen about that, didn't you?

Mr. LOEB. No; the only man I met with on that was Gen. Wood, and I advised Gen. Wood to get Mr. King as his campaign manager.

Senator REED. And then did you talk with Mr. King after that?

Mr. LOEB. Occasionally; yes.

Senator REED. And did you discuss finances with him?

Mr. LOEB. Not at all; no.

Senator REED. Not a bit?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Did you meet with any gentlemen who did talk finances?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Did you have any understanding or knowledge in regard to the moneys that were being raised at that time?

Mr. LOEB. Not at all.

Senator REED. Did you aid or assist in any manner in getting those moneys?

Mr. LOEB. Not at all.

Senator REED. Do you know anybody who did?

Mr. LOEB. I do not. Absolutely I know nothing about that, Senator. Mr. King did not consult me, only occasionally, and I think he considered himself perfectly competent to handle the business without very much consultation.

Senator REED. What did he consult you about?

Mr. LOEB. He consulted me about matters of policy, but not in any way connected with finances.

Senator REED. All right. Now, then, Mr. King continued to hold charge until about the month of December?

Mr. LOEB. He consulted me about the activities of the volunteer organizations and the Wood League, and questions of publicity, and asked my advice about that.

Senator REED. But about the month of December, 1919, King was removed?

Mr. LOEB. Or he resigned, I don't know which. I was not present at that meeting.

Senator REED. Now, you were consulted about the question of changing the management?

Mr. LOEB. I was not present at the meeting when Mr. King resigned.

Senator REED. But you were consulted about a change of management?

Mr. LOEB. I was consulted afterwards.

Senator REED. You were consulted before he resigned, were you not, as to whether there ought to be a change of managers?

Mr. LOEB. More or less; yes.

Senator REED. Now, who consulted with you?

Mr. LOEB. Col. Monell and Mr. Patterson; there may have been others, Senator, but I don't recall them now.

Senator REED. At that time was there talk about raising any money?

Mr. LOEB. No; we hadn't got to that.

Senator REED. When was the first talk you had with anybody about the raising of funds?

Mr. LOEB. I should say within several days before the first check.

Senator REED. Who did you talk with then?

Mr. LOEB. As I testified, Mr. Whalen, Mr. Patterson, and Mr. Monell.

Senator REED. Where did you meet?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Patterson's office.

Senator REED. And that was shortly before the 17th of February?

Mr. LOEB. Yes; within a week.

Senator REED. Was Gen. Wood present at that meeting?

Mr. LOEB. Not when funds were discussed; no.

Senator REED. Somebody has said that he was present when funds were discussed. Were there other meetings when funds were discussed?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Did you ever talk with Gen. Wood about funds at all?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Never mentioned it?

Mr. LOEB. I never discussed funds with him at all. It was not necessary.

Senator REED. Did you understand that he knew what was going on?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. It was all without his knowledge?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. Somebody testified that he was present at the meeting when Mr. Monell was present and the matter of underwriting was gone into in detail.

Mr. LOEB. He was not.

Senator REED. Was he in Mr. Patterson's office that day, the same day that you were there and these other gentlemen, discussing the raising of funds?

Mr. LOEB. Yes; Gen. Wood was there when we discussed the changing of our plan of campaign, and that we were going to make an appeal to the country. Of course he was consulted about that; necessarily he would have to be.

Senator REED. And that would take money?

Mr. LOEB. But the question of our finance was not discussed in his presence.

Senator REED. How much time intervened between the discussion of the change of campaign and the appeal to the country with Gen. Wood in Mr. Patterson's office and the time that you three gentlemen met and discussed the question of underwriting?

Mr. LOEB. Oh, you see, the discussion of underwriting was in an entirely different room.

Senator REED. Well, I said how much time. I didn't say in which room it was. Was he in one room, sitting there, while you gentlemen were in the other room consulting?

Mr. LOEB. He was in the office of Mr. Patterson, when we had decided that we would make the appeal to the country, and upset the—well, the kind of an autocracy that rode you over, for instance, at San Francisco, Senator.

Senator REED. You understand that was a very democratic party, don't you?

The CHAIRMAN. Autocracy in the Democratic Party!

Mr. LOEB. When that decision had been reached, that we would go to the country, why Mr. Monell and Mr. Whalen and I went off into another room, and those two gentlemen agreed to underwrite, as I said, 50 per cent.

Senator REED. And Gen. Wood was with them out in the other room?

Mr. LOEB. I don't recall whether he left before we returned or not. I rather think he had left before we returned.

Senator REED. Now, did you have any more meetings in regard to money matters except that one?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. That was all?

Mr. LOEB. That was all.

Senator REED. So the amount of it is that you three gentlemen left Gen. Wood and went into another room and agreed on a plan to raise a million dollars, did it in a few minutes' time, came out, and Gen. Wood was gone, and you never had to have any other meeting, and the million dollars was very much forthcoming?

Mr. LOEB. A fair portion of it.

Senator REED. Borah made a wicked speech and stopped the popular contributions, but it didn't affect them so that you did not get \$406,000?

Mr. LOEB. More or less deterred people from it; yes.

Senator REED. Yes. How much money was sent into Missouri?

Mr. LOEB. I have no knowledge of that, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know of any of that going there?

Mr. LOEB. I have absolutely no knowledge of that. Of course, I had no connection with that.

Senator REED. Who would have the knowledge of that?

Mr. LOEB. I should say that that was in the territory of the western headquarters.

Senator REED. They were at Chicago?

Mr. LOEB. At Chicago.

Senator REED. Who was in charge?

Mr. LOEB. Col. Foster.

Senator REED. Who was the real political manager of the western headquarters?

Mr. LOEB. Well, they had a galaxy there, Senator.

Senator REED. Now, I would like to get the stars in that galaxy the names of them. I have been hunting for somebody that knows something about the western headquarters.

Mr. LOEB. Well, Mr. Fred Stanley, I think, was the assistant general manager.

Senator REED. Where does he live?

Mr. LOEB. He is the national committeeman from Kansas. Mr. James McGraw, of Oklahoma.

Senator REED. He was a national committeeman, too, wasn't he?

Mr. LOEB. Yes; he was.

Senator REED. Those are two members of the political oligarchy that were then operating with you?

Mr. LOEB. No; they had nothing to do with me.

Senator REED. Well, I mean they were operating with Gen. Wood!

Mr. LOEB. They were assistant general managers under Col. Foster.

Senator REED. In referring to an attempt to overthrowing an oligarchy—these two men belonged to that oligarchy, and they had joined your forces, and then ceased to be oligarchical?

Mr. LOEB. Yes. Fred Joss, of Indiana.

Senator REED. Was he a committeeman, too?

Mr. LOEB. No; he was not a committeeman.

Senator REED. He was a politician of some note?

Mr. LOEB. He was a politician of some note. Everybody is a politician in Indiana.

Senator REED. I think that is right. They spoil them early over there. Who else?

Mr. LOEB. Mr. Walpole, from Colorado.

Senator REED. Will you give us his initials?

Mr. LOEB. I don't recall his first name; no. Mr. Walpole, he is a well-known man.

Senator REED. Do you know where he lives in Colorado?

Mr. LOEB. He used to be postmaster at Pueblo, I think, back in the old days.

Senator REED. That was before oligarchies?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, who else?

Mr. LOEB. Those were the main men that assisted.

Senator REED. Now, as a matter of fact, wasn't this about the situation: Col. Procter was a man of means and a very distinguished business man with not much experience in politics. You had had experience in politics, but you were not at the western headquarters?

Mr. LOEB. I claim to be something of a business man also.

Senator REED. Yes. In the matter of raising the money you didn't do much.

Mr. LOEB. I didn't do much. Senator, I didn't give much time to the campaign; I could not, necessarily. I was restricted to the amount of time I could give. I wish I could have given more.

Senator REED. That is not a criticism of you, Mr. Loeb, at all. Now, going back, Mr. Loeb: Mr. Procter was a business man without much experience in politics?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. There was a western headquarters that had general jurisdiction over the whole United States?

Mr. LOEB. Yes.

Senator REED. Somebody managed the business out here. And you think that Mr. McGraw and Mr. Joss and Mr. Walpole and Mr. Stanley were the active men in conducting the business of the campaign at this point?

Mr. LOEB. They were the assistant general managers.

Senator REED. And the general manager was Mr. Procter?

Mr. LOEB. And the general manager was Mr. Procter; yes.

Senator REED. We have already discussed that. Do you know anything about an Army officer who was a field agent and went from place to place distributing funds?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Mr. Glenn?

Mr. LOEB. I know there was such a man connected with the campaign, but I have no knowledge of his activities at all.

Senator REED. Do you know of any meetings among capitalists in New York to raise money for promoting the campaign of Gen. Wood?

Mr. LOEB. No. Is that the so-called Frick dinner you are referring to?

Senator REED. No. You were not at that Frick dinner?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. You don't know how much Mr. Duke paid?

Mr. LOEB. No.

Senator REED. Do you know of Mr. Rockefeller giving anything?

Mr. LOEB. No. I don't think, Senator, the criticism that too much money was spent in the Wood campaign is well founded.

The CHAIRMAN. You would think there should be no limit at all of the amount of money spent in a campaign?

Mr. LOEB. Oh, I think there should be a reasonable limit; but when you consider that the General's campaign had to be organized from the Atlantic to the Pacific in every State, to fight a political organization already well manned, and when you consider the high cost of campaigning, which moves up with the high cost of living, I don't think that a million dollars was too much.

You take the last Republican campaign. They reported having expended two million and a half between the convention of 1916 and the election. They couldn't do that same work for double the amount now.

Senator REED. The emoluments of the gentlemen who get in the votes and who stand at the polls has gone up with every other price?

Mr. LOEB. I think it has.

Senator REED. Now, you keep speaking about fighting the organizations——

Mr. LOEB. You must remember that a large part of the Wood money was spent for news print and newspapers, pamphlets and books, advertisements.

Senator REED. How do you know that when you were not concerned very much in the management?

Mr. LOEB. Well, I know that from what I have been told by the management.

Senator REED. From what you think is a proper source of information. And didn't the management tell you anything else that they were expending money for except newspapers?

Mr. LOEB. I took occasion, two or three occasions, to speak to Col. Procter about the expenditures. I didn't want him to spend too much money, any more than necessary, and I cautioned him particularly about being careful that the money was not used in any improper way.

Senator REED. Well, you didn't think Col. Procter would have used it improperly, did you?

Mr. LOEB. I did not; no. That was the very reason why I spoke to him, because I knew he would not use it improperly; but I thought perhaps——

Senator REED. Some of the other fellows might?

Mr. LOEB (continuing). Some other fellow might, you know. And I cautioned him about it. I said, "Colonel, we have got to be very particular that this is an absolutely clean campaign, because that is the only kind of a campaign that I know that Gen. Wood wants to have anything to do with, or I want to have anything to do with," and I was assured that not a dollar of that money was being misused.

Senator REED. Now, you keep speaking about needing so much money to fight the organization, the oligarchy, so called. Who was the organization for?

Mr. LOEB. Well, that was not disclosed.

Senator REED. They were not for Johnson, were they?

Mr. LOEB. They were not for Wood.

Senator REED. Well, who did you understand they were for?

Mr. LOEB. And they were determined not to be for Wood, and they were determined that the majority sentiment in the country

that was for Wood was to be fought. Now, I understood that perfectly well.

Senator REED. Now you mean by the oligarchy, the national committee, and the organization generally throughout the country?

Mr. LOEB. The organization generally; yes.

Senator REED. Now, wasn't there a great many of the leading organization men of the Republican Party that came into this convention supporting Gen. Wood?

Mr. LOEB. There were a great many, to their credit.

Senator REED. And weren't there as many for Wood as there were for Lowden?

Mr. LOEB. I don't think so.

Senator REED. A great many more for Wood than there were for Johnson? That is true, isn't it?

Mr. LOEB. Well, I haven't figured it on that basis.

Senator REED. Well, you know that is true, generally speaking, without figuring it?

Mr. LOEB. Oh, I should think so.

Senator REED. Johnson did not have any of the organization men for him to speak of?

Mr. LOEB. Not seriously.

The CHAIRMAN. I never discovered any.

Senator REED. Now, this \$1,000,000 that was to be raised, was that all that was to be raised?

Mr. LOEB. Well, that was my estimate of what it was to cost, sir.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact it ran way above that, didn't it?

Mr. LOEB. I don't know.

Senator REED. You can not tell us anything more about the expenditure of this money than you already have?

Mr. LOEB. I have told you everything, Senator.

Senator REED. And you can not tell us anything more about the contributors than you already have?

Mr. LOEB. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Loeb, you have only told us about \$60,000 of contributors now. Isn't it possible that you can tell us more than that out of \$400,000?

Mr. LOEB. Oh, there were Mr. Whalen's contributions and Mr. Monell's contributions.

Senator REED. Do you know how much Whalen gave himself?

Mr. LOEB. I don't know, Senator. I couldn't say.

Senator REED. Well, did you understand from him from the talks that you had back and forth among yourselves, how much Whalen was giving?

Mr. LOEB. I couldn't tell, because I don't know, as I have explained, how much of that represented contributions from other people, that was included in his own checks.

Senator REED. Do you know any man in the State of Missouri who was in close contact with this Wood organization?

Mr. LOEB. No; I have no knowledge about Missouri whatever, Senator. If I had I should be very glad to tell you. I know nothing about it at all. I was not advised of any expenditures of any western State, or in any State, for that matter. I don't know, except as I sent just those cashier's checks out, as I told you.

Senator REED. Do you know of one of them going through a ha- in St. Joseph?

Mr. LOEB. No. As I say, I know nothing about any in Missouri. Senator REED. Is there anything else?

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Loeb, what is your judgment as to the advisability of any legislation limiting or regulating the amount of money to be used by any presidential candidate, or in connection with any presidential candidate? Is it a wise thing?

Mr. LOEB. I don't see, Senator, how you can do away with the primary without turning the selection of the candidates back into the hands of the machine.

Senator SPENCER. Well, now, assuming the condition of nomination continues the same as it is now, in your judgment is it a wise thing for Congress to consider the limitation of the amount of money to be spent in connection with any presidential candidacy?

Mr. LOEB. I don't see how it is practicable, Senator, to apply a hard-and-fast rule that will cover the situations that may arise in different States. For instance, you would not limit, say, a \$10,000 campaign fund to New York and \$10,000 to Texas, where there are about 4,000,000 Republican voters in New York State now, and it would take about \$90,000 to send one circular letter out to the Republican voters of New York State—just one circular letter.

Senator REED. You don't mean there are 4,000,000 voters?

Mr. LOEB. Men and women; yes.

Senator SPENCER. Is it your judgment that the matter is beyond any practical method for Congress to adopt?

Mr. LOEB. I haven't seen any plan that would seem to be practical that would not do away with the primary system altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't favor doing away with the primary, do you?

Mr. LOEB. I don't, until I can see some substitute that will afford the people generally an opportunity to express themselves as to candidates.

Senator SPENCER. Then, am I right in gathering your judgment to be that so long as the primary system continues you see no practical way of limiting the expense in connection with presidential candidates?

Mr. LOEB. I do not, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Loeb, I think we haven't it in the record. What is your business now?

Mr. LOEB. My business is mining and smelting.

The CHAIRMAN. With what company?

Mr. LOEB. I am vice president of the American Smelting & Refining Co.; president of the Yukon Gold Co.

The CHAIRMAN. I may be wrong, but I have a very distinct recollection of a \$25,000 check from you.

Mr. LOEB. My personal check?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; your personal check.

Mr. LOEB. Well, all this money was checked out under my checks.

The CHAIRMAN. All this money was checked out under your checks?

Mr. LOEB. Yes. But there was no contribution from me to that amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Any from your company?

Mr. LOEB. I have already testified, Senator, that no company or business associate of mine contributed a dollar. I do not understand that any of this money came from any corporation; these were all individuals. Individual contributions. And I want to add further, Senator, that as far as my knowledge goes—and I had a pretty general knowledge of the Wood campaign—no promise, express or implied, was attached to a dollar of contribution to the Gen. Wood campaign.

Senator REED. This check which was sent to Col. Procter you sent on yesterday, didn't you?

Mr. LOEB. Yes, sir. I simply wanted to close my accounts.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this money, however, was contributed by different sources. Why did you send it all to Col. Procter? The money you had sent in was sent from other people? Procter had not contributed any of that?

Mr. LOEB. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You thought the colonel was the worst in the hole; is that it?

Mr. LOEB. No; that was sent to him to settle up any debts of the campaign. I presume there were a number of them. There always are a number of debts hanging over that he would settle after the campaign, and I saw the general in New York last week, and I said, "General, are there any unpaid bills coming in?" He said, "Oh, there are a few." "Well," I said, "I have got a balance in my hands, and I will send a check."

The CHAIRMAN. Anything further, Senator?

Senator REED. That is all. I don't think we need to keep these books, except this: I would like to put into the record a copy of the deposits.

Mr. LOEB. Senator, you can keep them, as far as I am concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is hardly worth while to keep them. We have got so much stuff now.

Senator REED. I was going to say—I had not finished my statement—a copy of the deposits in the two banks.

Mr. LOEB. Copies of the check stubs.

Senator REED. Well, they are very short. I would like to put copies of the books right in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put copies of the books right in the record, and then send them back to Mr. Loeb.

(Following is the entry in the deposit book of the National Park Bank, of New York:)

The National Park Bank of New York in account with Wm. Loeb, jr., 120 Broadway:

Feb. 17, 1920----- \$25, 000

(Following is the entry in the check book of the National Park Bank of New York, first page:)

Feb. 17, 1920. Deposits, Ambrose Monell----- \$25, 000

(On the reverse of the first page appears the following:)

No. 1, Feb. 19, 1920. Pay to Horace C. Stebbins, eastern treasurer---- \$20, 000

No. 2, May 15, 1920. Pay to H. C Stebbins, treasurer----- 5, 000

For request letter May 14, 1920.

(Following is the entry in the deposit book of the American National Bank
The American Exchange National Bank, in account with Wm. Loeb, Jr.

| 1920. | | 1920. | |
|------------------|----------|------------------|---------|
| Feb. 17 (S)----- | \$25,000 | Mar. 15 (O)----- | \$41.00 |
| Feb. 20 (S)----- | 25,000 | Mar. 18 (O)----- | 35.00 |
| Mar. 3 (D)----- | 100,000 | Mar. 19 (S)----- | 15.00 |
| Mar. 10 (O)----- | 10,000 | May 4 (D)----- | 50.00 |
| Mar. 11 (S)----- | 40,000 | May 19 (D)----- | 50.00 |
| Mar. 12 (D)----- | 40,000 | | |

(Following are the entries in the check book of the American Exchange
National Bank, first page:)

| 1920. | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Feb. 17. Deposits, Monell----- | \$25.00 |
| Feb. 20. Deposits, Whelan----- | 25.00 |
| Mar. 3. Deposits, Whelan----- | 50.00 |
| Mar. 3. Deposits, Whelan----- | 50.00 |
| Total deposits----- | 150.00 |

(On the reverse side of the first page appears the following:)

| | |
|--|---------|
| No. 1, Mar. 2, 1920. Pay to H. C. Stebbins, eastern treasurer----- | \$10.00 |
| No. —, Mar. 3, 1920. Pay to draft Chicago headquarters----- | 25.00 |
| No. 2, Mar. 8, 1920. Pay to H. C. Stebbins, eastern treasurer----- | 25.00 |
| Total----- | 60.00 |

(Following are the entries on the second page:)

| | |
|------------------------------|----------|
| Balance brought forward----- | \$150.00 |
| Total deposits----- | 150.00 |
| Deduct checks drawn----- | 60.00 |
| Balance forward----- | 90.00 |

(On the reverse side of the second page appears the following:)

| | |
|---|---------|
| No. —, Mar. 9, 191—. Pay to 4 cashier's checks----- | \$20.00 |
| No. 3, Mar. 12, 191—. Pay to H. C. Stebbins, eastern treasurer----- | 25.00 |
| No. 4, Mar. 12, 191—. Pay to draft Chicago headquarters----- | 100.00 |
| Total----- | 145.00 |

(On the third page appears the following:)

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Balance brought forward----- | \$90.00 |
| 1920. | |
| Mar. 10. Deposits, Monell----- | 10.00 |
| Mar. 11. Deposits, Whelan----- | 40.00 |
| Mar. 12. Deposits, Whelan----- | 40.00 |
| Total deposits----- | 190.00 |
| Deduct checks drawn----- | 145.00 |
| Balance forward----- | 35.00 |

(On the reverse side of the third page appears the following:)

| | |
|--|---------|
| No. 5, Mar. 15, 191—. Pay to Wm. Cooper Procter----- | \$75.00 |
| No. 6, Mar. 24, 191—. Pay to Wm. Cooper Procter----- | 25.00 |
| No. —, Mar. 19, 191—. Pay to 5 cashier's checks----- | 25.00 |
| Total----- | 125.00 |

(On the fourth page appears the following:)

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Balance brought forward----- | \$35.00 |
| 191—. | |
| Mar. 15. Deposits, Whelan----- | 40.00 |
| Mar. 15. Deposits, Monell----- | 1.00 |
| Mar. 18. Deposits, Monell----- | 35.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

885

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------|
| Mar. 19. Deposits, Monell..... | \$15,000 |
| May 4. Deposits, loan A. M..... | 50,000 |
| Total deposits..... | 176,000 |
| Deduct checks drawn..... | 125,000 |
| Balance forward..... | 51,000 |

(On the reverse side of the fourth page appears the following:)

| | |
|--|----------|
| No. 7, May 4, 191—. Pay to H. C. Stebbins, eastern treasurer..... | \$25,000 |
| No. 8, May 10, 191—. Pay to H. C. Stebbins, eastern treasurer..... | 20,000 |
| No. 9, May 21, 191—. Pay to Ambrose Monell..... | 50,000 |
| For return of loan. | |

| | |
|-------------|--------|
| Total | 95,000 |
|-------------|--------|

(On the fifth page appears the following:)

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| Balance brought forward..... | \$51,000 |
| May 19, 1920. Deposits, Monell..... | 50,000 |
| Total deposits..... | 101,000 |
| Deduct checks drawn | 95,000 |
| Balance forward..... | 6,000 |

(On the reverse side of the fifth page appears the following:)

| | |
|---|---------|
| No. 10, July 6, 1920. Pay to Wm. Cooper Procter, for balance..... | \$6,000 |
|---|---------|

TESTIMONY OF MR. T. W. HUKRIEDE.

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your full name, Mr. Hukriede?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. T. W. Hukriede.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Hukriede?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Warrenton, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I practice law, and I am judge of the probate court.

The CHAIRMAN. You know in a general way what this inquiry is about, of course?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any money from anyone during the preconvention campaign?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. E. L. Morse, Excelsior Springs, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I received three checks totaling \$2,550. I will explain them later on when we get to them.

The CHAIRMAN. \$2,550?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you had any talk with Mr. Morse about it before you received the checks?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I would like to start at the very beginning with this.

The CHAIRMAN. Just go ahead in your own way.

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Well, I was primarily, way back in October or November—well, I was for Gov. Lowden. I was especially anxious to get a delegation from Missouri that was not for Wood. I want to be fair about this, too. In November Mr. Morse asked me to

come to St. Louis, and while there we met Mr. Mason. I think Mr. Mason is the secretary to Gov. Lowden, private secretary. We discussed generally the question of getting the delegation for Gov. Lowden. No finance was mentioned; no funds were mentioned at all.

Senator REED. Mr. Babler was there?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Mr. Babler was there, and Morse was there, and Mr. Mason, private secretary for Gov. Lowden. I did not stay; I had to catch a train, but anyway, I ate dinner with them, and ran. He was there to talk the candidacy of Gov. Lowden for President. That was, I think, in the middle or latter part of November; I am not sure. In the first part of December I was with the delegation that went to Washington to get the national convention for the city of St. Louis. At that time I met Mr. Emerson, at Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. You met him where?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. In Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. D. C.?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. What date was that?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Well, I think we left St. Louis on December 6; the national committee met on the 10th, and we came home about the 12th; it was somewhere in between that time. I readily consented to support Gov. Lowden. No question of finance was discussed at that time; not even was mentioned. Later on, when the plan for campaign was discussed, the financial part of it was mentioned.

Senator REED. When was that later time?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I think it was somewhere after we got back. I think the day after we got back from Washington. There was some talk about what would have to be done.

Senator REED. Who was the talk with?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Babler, Morse, and myself.

Senator REED. Where were you?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. At St. Louis. That is my recollection. I may be wrong about the date, but it was in St. Louis. It was agreed generally that I was to do rather field work and scout around and see how things were coming along, and I was to get up some sort of an organization. From about the middle of December on I think I devoted more than half of my time to this matter. I was in Sedalia a time or two, and in Kansas City three times. I was in St. Louis a great deal of the time conferring with Mr. Babler, and once in a while Morse came down—very often. I think I attended six congressional conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home town?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. My home town is Warrenton, 60 miles from St. Louis. I attended six congressional conventions throughout the State; that includes the convention in my own district. I think it was along in December, just before Christmas, I don't remember the exact date, that Morse gave me \$1,000. This was to go on my expense, and if I paid out any money it was to be reimbursed, and if I didn't use it there was nothing said about paying it back, but I was supposed to use it legitimately. It was to be considered as my expense account. I drew some checks and put the money in the bank; I did not separate it; I put it in the bank like any check. I

new they were funds that came personally from Gov. Lowden to persons interested in the campaign. I came down to St. Louis and stayed two or three days, and got some fellows in, called them over the phone—that was general organization work. Later there was \$500 given; I thought it applied to another matter, but Mr. Morse said it did not, and we will just let it go; it was Lowden money. There was some misunderstanding about that. Anyway, I returned that \$500. Then in May, \$1,050; I don't know the exact date. But I knew that was Lowden money, too.

I paid out \$300 to John T. Moore, of Ozark, Christian County. This money was to be used by him to get some delegates in the seven western counties of the fourteenth congressional district who would be favorable to Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your district?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. The ninth. I gave Mr. William G. Kitchen \$100. I had him to go with me to the West Plains convention. He was a former resident of the fourteenth district. That was the fourteenth district convention, and I paid his expenses, gave him some cash money, no check; paid his expenses down there.

Senator REED. How much?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I gave him, Senator, \$25 in cash, and I paid out of the expense fund, of which I did not keep any track, the hotel bill at West Plains, and then at the State convention I gave him \$50 in cash to go out there, so I figure approximately it was \$100 that I paid expense money for Mr. Kitchen. Mr. Kitchen was formerly secretary of the Republican State committee. He is just a lawyer; he has no part in the organization. He was chief clerk of the lower house in the last session, and I think knows more of the working Republicans than any other single man; is personally acquainted with them.

Now, gentlemen, the rest of that money, \$500, was returned to Mr. Morse; the rest of that money I can say was only paid out for expense accounts, and I have no way of showing you, except my word, that it was legitimately expended.

Senator REED. When did you return the \$500 to Mr. Morse?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. The 28th of June.

Senator REED. Of this year?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. Of course, that was after these exposures?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes; and after I made my statement. I conferred with him. He said it was Lowden money. I said, "Very well." I had no argument, and that was all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a delegate to Chicago?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I was not.

Senator REED. Why did you return the particular \$500?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Because I did not use it, Senator; and I thought it represented another transaction. It did not, and I returned it.

Senator REED. What was that other transaction that you thought it represented?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Well, it was a transaction with reference to some bank stock that came up long before this matter.

Senator REED. Well, it was money coming to you on a deal in bank stock?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Well, I thought it was, but he said it was not. I returned it. That was a separate check, too.

Senator REED. Yes. Now, the rest of the money, which is approximately \$2,050, you have been partially accounting for, and now you are going to account for the rest?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes. Not all of it, Senator. Now, understand: I gave Judge Moore \$300. I gave Mr. Kitchin \$100 in cash. That is not represented by any checks.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Senator REED. He has been secretary of the Republican State committee.

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Now, there is a check for the Planters' Hotel, December 19, \$30. That is before I had received any money. December 23 is when I was starting out on the first little jaunt, as you might call it, and I drew \$75 in cash from my own bank.

And I was back in St. Louis and gave the Planters' Hotel a check on December 30 of \$10.

I was there two days; on December 31 I gave them another check for \$15; on January 17 I cashed a \$15 check when I started for the State committee meeting at Kansas City; gave it to Mr. Buckhort, a resident of our town.

While at Kansas City on February 9, 1920, I had Mr. Marks get \$100 for me, made the check payable to him. I was not acquainted with the banks, and so on, and so he brought me the money for a meeting of the State committee.

Mr. Brown, of Wentzville, on January 19 cashed a check for me for \$25. He is a banker there.

On January 15 I again had a check cashed at the Planters' Hotel for \$50. I would sometimes draw some money at the hotel there and have it charged to my room, and then I would go out and come back.

On January 20, leaving home, I drew a check to myself for \$10. Some of these checks were drawn to myself at home, but I separated them when I was sure that they applied to these funds.

January 21, Planters' Hotel, \$30.

On February 12, check to myself, for \$18. That was while I was in the city of St. Louis.

February 26, Planters' Hotel, \$30.

February 29, Planters' Hotel, \$40.

And then comes that check to Moore that I spoke about.

On my way from West Plains on March 2 Mr. Tollerton cashed a \$35 check for me for my expenses. He is a banker at Springfield, Mo., and it was cash paid me.

On March 4, Planters' Hotel, \$20.

March 13—I forget what convention I started for from home, but anyway I drew \$60 in cash.

Then I drew, while at West Plains, \$25. Mr. Hollenbeck indorsed a check for me. I was not acquainted with the bank there.

On April 16, 1920, \$10 to self.

And that evening I started out from St. Louis for one of the conventions, and I got \$60 from Mr. Babler, and I gave him a check for it; he paid me the cash money.

April 15, Planters' Hotel, \$30. I think that was starting out for southwest Missouri.

Senator REED. If you won your compensation would lie in the fact that your man won and there might possibly be the usual results of a successful campaign; your people might have something to say about the offices?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Well——

Senator REED. I don't mean to say that was bargained for.

Mr. HUKRIEDE. It never was discussed, but naturally it was considered.

Senator REED. That is a thing that you would naturally have in the back of your head?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. I have no more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You simply went ahead and you did what you thought was all right under the circumstances, and you have nothing to take back?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I have nothing to take back.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you some sworn statement here?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes. I will be glad to file it with you.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your evidence here cover everything that is in this affidavit?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. I have testified to everything covered in the affidavit. Oh, there is one thing that is in there that I would like to state. I think I was as active in this fight as anyone, and the charge that any part of this money was used for Senator Spencer is absolutely without foundation. It never was considered; never in any conversation was it said that it was used in his interest.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no such charge, as I know.

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Well, the newspapers made it.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have covered everything that is in the affidavit, I suppose there is no use of putting it in.

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Well, I have covered everything. I will be glad to take it with me or leave it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you can leave it while we decide what to do with it. We will adjourn for 45 minutes.

(Thereupon, at 3 o'clock p. m. (Chicago time), a recess was taken until 3.45 p. m. of the same day, July 7, 1920.)

The subcommittee met pursuant to recess at 4.20 o'clock p. m.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOHN ALBUS.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name.

Mr. ALBUS. John Albus, St. Joseph, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Your home is St. Joe, Mo., is it?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. ALBUS. I am in the insurance and advertising business.

The CHAIRMAN. Insurance and advertising?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I think your name has been mentioned in this inquiry.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a delegate to the national convention?

Senator REED. Discussed that with Mr. Babler and Morse openly and frankly?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. You discussed the question with them openly and frankly that Mr. Lowden or his managers or his organization were putting up this money?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. It was all open and aboveboard?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. And when you went out in the State and talked to people and asked them to get delegates you told them you wanted Lowden delegates, and if you couldn't get that you wanted uninstructed delegates that would be friendly?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. No; we wanted uninstructed delegates friendly to Gov. Lowden.

Senator REED. Then, you wanted it this way: That publicly they were uninstructed, but privately they were Lowden votes?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. And they understood that?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. So, as far as you are concerned, in all your dealings you were open about the matter that you were for Lowden?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Absolutely. In the fourteenth district I was a little leary; I used my best endeavor to get them to pass a resolution expressing their sentiment for Gov. Lowden, and they did that; they told me that they were for Lowden, and they passed resolutions in favor of him. That was in the fourteenth district. And I want to say this, too: I didn't miss any chance to help Mr. Babler, and I had nothing to hide.

Senator REED. Now, let us get right down to brass tacks about this thing. The amount of it is that you have had a pretty active, a pretty foreful organization in your State. There were a great number of people who belonged to that organization in one way or another; some of them were prominent and some of them were not so prominent.

Mr. HUKRIEDE. That is true.

Senator REED. You were trying, through that organization, to effect two things; one was to get a delegation for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Yes.

Senator REED. And, as far as you could, you wanted to help the organization. You regarded Mr. Babler as the head, and you were trying to help him as you went along?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Absolutely.

Senator REED. And you made no secret about it?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Absolutely none.

Senator REED. And there was no secret about you, at least that you had Lowden money?

Mr. HUKRIEDE. Absolutely none. The folks at home knew it. I told them that my expenses were being paid. The question of salary was never discussed. If I paid out anything I was going to get it back.

Senator SPENCER. It was not any salary, anyhow.

Mr. HUKRIEDE. No; it was not any salary.

Mr. ALBUS. No, sir. The impression there was that Wood had put some money into Missouri and had put some into St. Joseph, but I do not know and I can not say who got it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any kind of a primary in St. Joe for delegates?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes; we had a real primary.

The CHAIRMAN. A real primary?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes; voting directly on the candidate himself.

The CHAIRMAN. How many votes——

Mr. ALBUS. We had two primaries, one for the State election and one for the congressional.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that just St. Joe or the whole district?

Mr. ALBUS. The whole district; that is, in St. Joe we had it, and in the other counties they had mass meetings. But in ours it was a direct primary fight.

The CHAIRMAN. How many votes were cast in St. Joe?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, I think something like about 1,800—the county and city combined.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these men who were elected delegates have any money from any sources that you know of?

Mr. ALBUS. I do not know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. Senator Reed, have you any questions?

Senator REED. When you elect delegates to your national convention in the Republican Party in Missouri, do you elect them by districts directly to the national convention?

Mr. ALBUS. We do the delegates; and the delegates at large are elected by the State convention.

Senator REED. That accounts for the two conventions.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Your State convention did not have any business before it except the election of delegates at large?

Mr. ALBUS. Delegates and alternates and confirming the electors by districts, and electing two electors——

Senator REED. They do confirm, then?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir; they confirm the district electors.

Senator REED. The electors for President?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You elected delegates to the convention, and voted on President by districts?

Mr. ALBUS. By districts; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Albus, what did you use this money for?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, in the first place we have workers; we have to hire workers, and hire automobiles, and we have advertising matter to send out, and going out into the country to get the vote out; everything that pertains to organization work.

Senator REED. Did you get any money besides this?

Mr. ALBUS. No, sir—oh, yes; I want to tell you; I got \$200 from Mr. Babler for a trip, the expense of a trip to St. Louis.

Senator REED. Just one trip?

Mr. ALBUS. No; that was another matter. I had several trips. I had several trips in the Lowden matter to St. Louis, with the Lowden money, but this was another matter.

Senator REED. You understood in this campaign, while you were working for uninstructed delegates, that you really meant to bring them for Lowden when you got to the convention?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Why did you not say that you were for Lowden?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, I did, personally.

Senator REED. But why did you not make the campaign for Lowden delegates? What was the reason for asking for uninstructed delegates when you had a distinct object in view?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, we took it this way, first choice and secret choice. We figured that a man could probably be elected on his personality quicker than he could by being for anybody especially. For instance, our candidate was personally a very popular fellow, but the papers there turned against us from a factional standpoint; and, of course, we had to fight it out along that line.

Senator REED. You thought you would be more likely to get Lowden delegates by not saying much about what your real object was?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, sometimes it is better to run on your personality; that is all.

Senator REED. You thought you would get a lot of personally popular men who were going to be for Lowden, and pick them very carefully, and then have them run on their personality, and their personality would carry them further than the popularity of the candidate?

Mr. ALBUS. As a rule, that is so; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, I am not criticizing the plan.

Mr. ALBUS. I understand.

Senator REED. That is the reason you did not "hang out your banners on the outward wall," and say, "We are for Lowden to the death"?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir. Senator, may I make a suggestion now as to what I think a national primary ought to be?

Senator REED. I will ask you that in a moment.

Mr. ALBUS. All right.

Senator REED. There was no secret made to you about this being Lowden money, was there?

Mr. ALBUS. None whatever.

Senator REED. Did your assistants in the fight know anything about it?

Mr. ALBUS. Oh, yes. My personal friends knew about it, who were helping me.

Senator REED. In a general way this was the fact, was it not, that you had an organization in the State, and of course a political organization is not like a corporation, where everybody owns stock, but there is a crowd of men who act together, scattered all over the State?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That organization wanted to perpetuate Mr. Babler and perpetuate itself, and it wanted to get back of the Lowden fight for whatever reasons were satisfactory to it?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you got some sinews of war, and you went out to do battle, and you expected to reelect Mr. Babler, and you expected to control the delegation to the national convention, and you ex-

ected to get whatever incidental benefits would naturally flow from success?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you think that that kind of a primary is necessarily expressive of the real will of the people in regard to the candidate?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, the question arises whether or not they would want to vote for a man personally, and what he represents; and if he is for Lowden, or if he is for Wood, or if he is for Johnson, or if he is for anybody else, they find that out, and then that enters into the campaign.

Senator REED. What I was trying to get at is this, whether if you want to give the people a real chance to nominate a President, it ought to be done by a direct primary vote, with the candidate for President put on the ballot, in order to have that expression?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir; I agree with you on that.

Senator REED. Do you see any occasion, from anything that you did with this money, to have made any mystery or secret about the fact that you got some Lowden money to promote his interests?

Mr. ALBUS. None whatever.

Senator REED. Were there any denials made by men who received it at first, that they had gotten any money?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, not that I know of personally; I do not know of any personally.

Senator REED. You were quoted, I think, in the paper as saying that you had not received money.

Mr. ALBUS. That was a mistake.

Senator REED. The papers did not get it right?

Mr. ALBUS. They did not get it right; no, sir.

Senator REED. Well, I have never seen you dodge anything.

Mr. ALBUS. No, Senator. I have been 40 years in the political game there, and I never have dodged anything.

Senator REED. You said you had some suggestions as to a remedy for the present political ills?

Mr. ALBUS. I will make this suggestion, that our conventions for the national nominations are too early. They should be held at the same time as the States, in August, and let the primaries be the same all over the United States, for State offices and the national offices.

The CHAIRMAN. The same day?

Mr. ALBUS. The same day; and then your conventions can be held, because you hold them in June, and you never start your presidential elections until September, anyway. Why not hold them all in August, and hold the national conventions the latter part of August, and then start your campaign?

Senator REED. And vote directly on the candidates?

Mr. ALBUS. And vote directly on the candidates. Then you avoid all of this enormous expense of any organization for any candidate. Take for instance, now, this campaign. It is really a shame to think how much money was spent that might have been spent for the national election in November. You have two campaigns, really.

Senator REED. Well, it would only postpone the distribution of the money, would it not? Now, let us see whether you save anything or not.

Mr. ALBUS. All right.

Senator REED. I am not going to argue it with you, but I simply want to get your view.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Forty years' experience in Republican politics in Missouri ought to make a man wise, if he is ever capable of being wise.

Mr. ALBUS. I should think so.

Senator REED. I mean, wise in the political game. If you have a direct primary, people vote on the nomination direct.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The one who gets the most votes——

Mr. ALBUS. Is entitled to the delegates.

Senator REED. The one who gets the most votes is entitled to the delegates. That means, then, that every man who runs for President has got to run twice to the whole country, does it not?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And an individual entering on a campaign, when you go directly to the people in each State in a primary, if he does not have money to finance his campaign, unless he is an exceedingly popular man, entirely overreaching the others in popularity, he does not have much show, does he?

Mr. ALBUS. Let me say this to you, Senator, that the law should be made to limit the expense. Say, for instance, in a State like Missouri, limited according to the population; say twenty thousand to Missouri, or thirty thousand, whatever it might be. But let the law limit the expense of a candidate for the presidency, according to population, and then you will find it will not cost you so much.

Senator REED. What would you do with this situation: You are running for President, and I am running against you for the nomination.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. I have got all of the big newspapers in the State on my side.

Mr. ALBUS. All right.

Senator REED. And you have not got any. The newspapers are coming out every day carrying my message and boosting me.

Mr. ALBUS. All right.

Senator REED. You are limited to \$30,000 for the State. You can not write, you can not advertise at campaign advertising rates, two issues of the newspapers of the State for that \$30,000. You can not send a letter to each voter in the State for \$30,000. Now, how are you going to whip me in that kind of a fight, if I have got all the newspapers, assuming that you have no particular overwhelming advantage in the way of popularity overreaching me?

Mr. ALBUS. I will say this to you, Senator, that if I was as good a campaigner as you are, and was candidate for President, the papers would print what I had to say every day, and then I would not care whether the papers supported me or not.

Senator REED. But suppose you were not the universal genius that you are making me out?

Mr. ALBUS. I will say this to you, Senator: That no man who runs for President ought to be anything else but a man who can get

his side of the case before the people so that the newspapers will have to print what he says.

Senator REED. Of course, there is a good deal in that.

Mr. ALBUS. I would rather have a local story of a speech than all of the editorials in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think you could have a good President who could not make a good speech?

Mr. ALBUS. Well, do not nominate that kind. They have always got a lot to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Grant could not make a speech.

Mr. ALBUS. He was a wonderful man, a silent soldier, and a silent President, and he made a great President. He was an exception, but he had men who could say it for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Bryan makes speeches, but he does not get many votes.

Senator REED. Understand, I am not arguing it, but I just want to get your view.

Mr. ALBUS. And I am trying to give it to you, Senator.

Senator REED. I believe in the doctrine that if you get the views of everybody you will some time or other get at a correct conclusion.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. But assume a condition, now, where there are powerful newspapers, and they get partisan, and we have a meeting, have 5,000 people there, or you have a meeting, say, and they say that you had about 1,500, and I have a meeting and have about 1,500, and they say that I have 15,000. They take your speech, and they take parts of sentences and fragments of it and link them together, so that it sounds like you were a first-class idiot, and the reporter on my side writes a good deal better speech than I am capable of making and prints it.

I am asking the question very seriously, whether if you put so much of a limitation upon the expenses a man may incur, you are not going to have the entire election machinery of the country in the hands of a few of the very great papers of the country?

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, Senator; but how are you going to keep a newspaper reporter from misquoting you, anyway? Even if you had a million dollars to spend, how are you going to keep a newspaper reporter from misquoting you?

Senator REED. You can not do that, but then you have got to go out and reach your people by other means, as, for instance, by a great number of meetings, all of which cost money.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And literature which is sent out, thus offsetting the effect of the newspaper opposition.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes.

Senator REED. Is there not a danger, when you put your limitation very low, that you are going to deprive the man who does not have that kind of support of any chance?

Mr. ALBUS. I do not think so, Senator. For instance, take this as an illustration: Senator Johnson's name did not appear on the ballot in Illinois, and yet 70,000 people wrote it on there. The people will become acquainted with the candidates, and if their names all appear on the ticket they all will have the same chance.

Mr. ALBUS. All right.

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The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnson was out there campaigning, was he, for the Republicans?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What was the date?

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date; do you know?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not remember. It was in February, though, it occurs to me; I think it was early in February.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnson was not campaigning for President at that time?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; he was campaigning in the third district, in the interest of Mr. Frost, who was the Republican nominee.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Morse gave you \$100 for that purpose?

Mr. KESTERSON. Mr. Morse gave me \$100 with which I was to advertise the meeting, and put up a number of large posters; and we had a dinner there in honor of Senator Johnson, and we invited a number of prominent Republicans to the dinner, and they attended, and we had to equip a hall, a special hall for the occasion, and we arranged that meeting; and I spent \$100, and I think \$2.40 more than the \$100, on that meeting, in advertising, and in paying for the dinner at the hotel, and for some parties who attended the dinner.

The CHAIRMAN. You received no money, then, from any one representing Gov. Lowden?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Morse tell you what the purpose of that \$100 was?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes; to advertise the meeting in the interest of Mr. Frost.

The CHAIRMAN. The Johnson meeting?

Mr. KESTERSON. We were trying to beat the League of Nations up there in the third district, and Senator Johnson was there and Mr. Frost.

The CHAIRMAN. How near did you come to beating the League of Nations?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, we beat it, but they did not express themselves that way. They elected a Democrat, although the district is largely a Democratic district. The fact of the matter is, the League of Nations was not the issue in that campaign. They got away from the League of Nations, and it became a matter rather of the personality of the candidates.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you know about this expenditure of money?

Mr. KESTERSON. In the interest of any candidate for President; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no money to spend?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you spent none?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I never spent a cent for any candidate for President and was not asked to spend it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I have.

Senator REED. Is that all the money you got from Mr. Morse?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

Senator REED. What other moneys did you get?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I got a check for \$100 at one time.

Senator REED. When?

Senator REED. If they are well enough known, that may be true.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. But I am assuming the case of men who are approximately equal in ability and understanding and acquaintance.

Mr. ALBUS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Of course, if you take a man of overreaching ability, as I say to you frankly I think Gov. Johnson did overreach in his personal acquaintance and in his ability to campaign all the other candidates that were mentioned in the convention—and I am not reflecting on any of them—that may be so. But I have your view, anyway, and I thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. We are much obliged to you.

Mr. ALBUS. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. BEN F. KESTERSON.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name.

Mr. KESTERSON. Ben F. Kesterson; Benjamin Franklin Kesterson.

The CHAIRMAN. State your home, Mr. Kesterson.

Mr. KESTERSON. Princeton, Mercer County, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you sent me an affidavit, did you not?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. Kesterson?

Mr. KESTERSON. Practicing law.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in this affidavit which you sent to me you say: "The statement by E. L. Morse, of Excelsior Springs, Mo., before a subcommittee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, that I received \$1,000 from the Lowden campaign fund, for which I was to support or do any work in the interest of Gov. Lowden, is false and untrue." I do not remember just what the evidence was, but you read that in evidence, did you?

Mr. KESTERSON. I read it as published in the papers. I have not seen the copy.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Morse send you any money?

Mr. KESTERSON. Did he send me any money?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; or give you any money, in the campaign?

Mr. KESTERSON. Not any Lowden money, or for Lowden purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask you that. Did he give you any money?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes; he did.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, he first gave me \$100 during the congressional campaign in the third district. I went to Kansas City and met Senator Johnson, who was opening the campaign in the third district.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get that. You had a vacancy in the third district due to the appointment of Mr. Alexander as Secretary of Commerce?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And a special election was held?

Mr. KESTERSON. A special election was held—was being held in that district.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnson was out there campaigning, was he, for the Republicans?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What was the date?

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date; do you know?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not remember. It was in February, though, it occurs to me; I think it was early in February.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Johnson was not campaigning for President at that time?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; he was campaigning in the third district, in the interest of Mr. Frost, who was the Republican nominee.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Morse gave you \$100 for that purpose?

Mr. KESTERSON. Mr. Morse gave me \$100 with which I was to advertise the meeting, and put up a number of large posters; and we had a dinner there in honor of Senator Johnson, and we invited a number of prominent Republicans to the dinner, and they attended, and we had to equip a hall, a special hall for the occasion, and we arranged that meeting; and I spent \$100, and I think \$2.40 more than the \$100, on that meeting, in advertising, and in paying for the dinner at the hotel, and for some parties who attended the dinner.

The CHAIRMAN. You received no money, then, from any one representing Gov. Lowden?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Morse tell you what the purpose of that \$100 was?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes; to advertise the meeting in the interest of Mr. Frost.

The CHAIRMAN. The Johnson meeting?

Mr. KESTERSON. We were trying to beat the League of Nations up there in the third district, and Senator Johnson was there and Mr. Frost.

The CHAIRMAN. How near did you come to beating the League of Nations?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, we beat it, but they did not express themselves that way. They elected a Democrat, although the district is largely a Democratic district. The fact of the matter is, the League of Nations was not the issue in that campaign. They got away from the League of Nations, and it became a matter rather of the personality of the candidates.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you know about this expenditure of money?

Mr. KESTERSON. In the interest of any candidate for President; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no money to spend?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you spent none?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I never spent a cent for any candidate for President and was not asked to spend it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I have.

Senator REED. Is that all the money you got from Mr. Morse?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

Senator REED. What other moneys did you get?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I got a check for \$100 at one time.

Senator REED. When?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not remember. The check will show. I indorsed the checks that I got. I do not remember the date.

Senator REED. Was that before or after the third district campaign?

Mr. KESTERSON. After.

Senator REED. That was sent to you in a letter, was it?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir. It was given to me in the bank, I believe the Gate City Bank at Kansas City. He went and got the currency and gave it to me.

Senator REED. Yes. Did you get any more money?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir. I received a check for \$200 later, some time, possibly two or three weeks, maybe a month. I do not remember exactly.

Senator REED. Well, you fix the date of the first \$100 as being in February, and you got another \$100 some time after the election. Now, the third check for \$200 was given to you after that. Can you get at the time?

Mr. KESTERSON. I can not, but the check will show, Senator. It has my indorsement on it.

Senator REED. Did you get any more money?

Mr. KESTERSON. Then I got \$225, a check for \$225, and \$75 in cash.

Senator REED. Did you get the cash and check at the same time?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir. I got the \$75, and Mr. Morse told me to draw on him for \$225. I did, and it came back unpaid, protested.

Senator REED. When did it come back unpaid?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I went to Seattle, Wash., to take some depositions, and while I was gone it came back. I cashed it at the Dixon Hotel.

Senator REED. Did you get another check?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

Senator REED. Or cash?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir.

Senator REED. As a total, then, you got from him \$800?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; \$700.

Senator REED. \$700; yes. Now, when was it you made the trip West, when this check came back protested?

Mr. KESTERSON. I think it was the 17th of April; it was either April or March, I am not sure which. I was gone from the 17th until about the 21st—or I think about 10 days.

Senator REED. Did you ever say anything to Mr. Morse about this check being protested?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir; I called him up at his home, and he was in St. Louis, and I called him up at St. Louis, and told him. I might make this explanation, Senator: Mr. Morse told me that this was an individual matter, and told me when to draw on him, and I told him at the hotel I would not put it in before a certain day, and he told me he would not have the money there before that; and I said then, and I think Mr. Morse will say so too, that this was a personal matter between him and me, and the check went in before he had any funds there—his personal check. That is the way it was.

Senator REED. Did Mr. Morse afterwards make good?

Mr. KESTERSON. Sir?

Senator REED. I say, did Mr. Morse afterwards make good?

Mr. KESTERSON. Afterwards he made it good, except the protest fee.

Senator REED. Then while your check was protested, as a matter of fact, you got that money?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir; I called him up in St. Louis afterwards.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Morse gave you \$700?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. A total of that. The first \$100 was given to you when the campaign was on in the third district, and you understood it was to be used in the fight in the third district, and you so used it?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir; that is true.

Senator REED. After the fight was over in the third district, what was there of a political nature pending before the people of Missouri?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, the issue in the third district, what Mr. Morse and I discussed, was Morse or anti-Morse, which is always an issue in the third district. Whether Mr. Morse is right or wrong, people always make it an issue in the third district.

Senator REED. Yes. Was that what you were getting this money for?

Mr. KESTERSON. I thought this matter, Senator, was a personal matter between Mr. Morse and myself, individually, and had no reference to any campaign of any candidate, as Mr. Morse knows.

Senator REED. I am speaking about the second \$100.

Mr. KESTERSON. I am speaking about all of it, except that one \$100.

Senator REED. I want to stick to the second \$100 just now.

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, the second \$100. Yes.

Senator REED. What was the matter then pending before the people of the State of Missouri?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, there was the Presidential campaign on.

Senator REED. Exactly. And what were you to do in the presidential campaign?

Mr. KESTERSON. Not one thing, sir.

Senator REED. What were you to do with this \$100?

Mr. KESTERSON. I was to keep it.

Senator REED. To keep it personally?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. For what?

Mr. KESTERSON. Because there was to be no fight between Mr. Morse and myself.

Senator REED. Did he give you \$100 to keep you from fighting him, and did you take it?

Mr. KESTERSON. No. I took the \$100 in this way: In the campaign of 1916 I was one of the fellows who helped to defeat Mr. Morse in the third congressional district.

Senator REED. Did he buy you off this time with \$100?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; he did not buy me off.

Senator REED. Then, what did he give it to you for?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, it was in the organization of the third district, that there was to be no fight on Mr. Morse, and I was to help Mr. Morse.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. KESTERSON. To be frank about it, that was it.

Senator REED. You had been political antagonists, and there was another contest impending, and Mr. Morse saw you and paid you \$100, and you agreed that there was to be no fight on him?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I just simply said this, I said so far as I was personally concerned, Senator—Mr. Morse seemed to think I might be able to stir up another fight.

The CHAIRMAN. What was he running for then?

Mr. KESTERSON. Not a thing. The issue was Morse or anti-Morse, and that is always the issue, whether he is running for anything or not, in the third district, as anybody in the United States knows.

Senator REED. Well, I do not care what he was running for. He was afraid you would stir up trouble, and you did not agree to go out and quell any trouble, or to control anybody else. You were simply to keep out of it yourself?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes.

Senator REED. So for \$100 you agreed, it being a personal matter, as you have said, between you and Mr. Morse, that you would not oppose him?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir. Now, Senator, understand, I came here to answer questions about the Lowden campaign, and I want to do it.

Senator REED. We will get to that.

Mr. KESTERSON. But to go back of that, I would have to go back to the campaign of 1912, in which I went out in the fight, in the Taft fight and Roosevelt fight in Missouri, and Mr. E. L. Morse and Otto Stiefel were handling the Taft money.

Senator REED. Did Taft have money?

Mr. KESTERSON. He did at that time, Senator. I do not know what he has done with it now.

Senator REED. It can not be that a man who is for the League of Nations used money in a political campaign!

Mr. KESTERSON. His campaign managers spent more than Mr. Lowden is charged with spending in Missouri at this time.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. KESTERSON (continuing). But in that campaign I spent about three months going over the State. When the settling-up time came I would sign a check on the back in blank and get \$50. Then the check would turn up for \$200, or sometimes \$250, and that led to the separation between Mr. Morse and myself in 1916, because I felt that Mr. Morse had beaten me out of some \$700 that he had not accounted for in that campaign, and that was one of the reasons which led me to fight him in 1916, because I felt he had not been square with me, and I felt he had not been square with a man by the name of W. P. Brown, in Princeton, a man who is now dead, and who died with Mr. Morse owing him some \$400, and also a Mr. E. C. Orton, a lawyer, in Princeton—Eldon C. Orton, son of Judge Orton. You may know him. He had not played fair with us, and I told him he had not in the Baltimore Hotel; that I was going to be against him, and do what little I could do; so we defeated him in the campaign of 1916 in the third district.

The CHAIRMAN. Defeated him for what?

Mr. KESTERSON. Control of the district. It is as I have told you gentlemen in the third district; the issue is either the control by Morse or not. He has controlled the district a number of years.

Senator REED. Well, do not let us get too far away from what we are discussing.

Mr. KESTERSON. I wanted to bring it up to this point, that is all.

Senator REED. Do not get me so far out in the wilderness that I will forget the way out.

Mr. KESTERSON. I will guarantee that you will get back.

Senator REED. You had a contest in 1912?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Of a political nature.

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir; a fight between Taft and Roosevelt over the State.

Senator REED. And you and Mr. Morse were acting together?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you would put your name on the back of blank checks?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you say they would be for \$50, and then they would turn up for \$250?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; there would be nothing written on them.

Senator REED. There would be nothing written on them, but you would only get \$50 out of it?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And Mr. Morse would get the \$200?

Mr. KESTERSON. That is the way I understood it.

Senator REED. And you had several transactions of that kind, so you figured he owed you \$750?

Mr. KESTERSON. I know I did not get paid when it was due. I was to get so much per day for my work.

Senator REED. Well, if you were to get paid for your work, you were not interested in the mere matter of the amount of the checks, the amount that Mr. Morse got?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I thought that if the check was made for me, and intended to be for me, I should have gotten all of the money. That is what I thought about it.

Senator REED. And you think Mr. Morse did not divide fairly?

Mr. KESTERSON. It was not a question of dividing. It was a question of my going out and rendering services, as I did in that campaign, and then getting knocked out, as I did.

Senator REED. Well, let us stick to the money.

Mr. KESTERSON. All right.

Senator REED. I do not care about being knocked out. There will be a good many people knocked out before we get through with this business, I am afraid.

Mr. KESTERSON. All right.

Senator REED. And some of them may knock themselves out.

Mr. KESTERSON. I did not understand your remark.

Senator REED. Now, you were conducting a fight, and Mr. Morse would bring you a check in blank and you would put your name on the back. You expected to get the whole proceeds of the check, and you found that when Mr. Morse turned up and gave you the money he only gave you part of the money?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I was expecting, Senator, to get paid for my work, which I did not get.

Senator REED. What has the signing of your name on the back of a check got to do with it, if you were simply to get wages?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, for the reason that if I signed the check on the back I thought that it should show up regularly in the campaign fund, as it should be. And Mr. Morse never paid me \$1,000, and he knows he never. I have no interest in this matter.

Senator REED. Just a minute. Do not let us go into that. We will come up to that. You overwhelm me with this evidence, and I want to get at it gradually.

Mr. KESTERSON. I am not trying to overwhelm anybody. I am simply trying to tell the truth, and I think I will.

Senator REED. I have not the slightest doubt about that. But I still do not understand. You were in a fight, and you were to get wages, and so you signed your name to a check, on the back of the check?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And Mr. Morse drew the money?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not know who drew it.

Senator REED. Somebody drew it.

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not know who drew it.

Senator REED. And when you found the checks in the campaign expenses you found it was for enough to have paid you, but you did not get your pay?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I did not say that, Senator, at all. I just simply said that the checks turned up that way. I remember in one instance—I do not recall it now exactly, because I passed it up—but coming up to the point which I suppose you want to know about, with reference to this campaign fund——

Senator REED. No; I want to know about this money matter first. You started back there to get your bearings, and I have got to get mine on the same ground. I can not possibly move away from it until I understand this point. You were engaged with Mr. Morse in making a fight for Mr. Taft; is that right?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. For Taft?

Mr. KESTERSON. That is true.

Senator REED. And you were to get paid. Mr. Morse would bring you around a blank check and you would write your name on the back of it. Now, you say, or you said, that you would suppose the check was for \$50, but it would turn up for \$250?

The CHAIRMAN. Who were these checks drawn on?

Senator REED. Let me get an answer to this first.

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not know, Senator.

Senator REED. And you charge that Mr. Morse in that way beat you out of your money. Is that your statement?

Mr. KESTERSON. In other words, as I understand it, they claimed I had received my pay, when I had not.

Senator REED. Now, how much were you to get per day in the Taft campaign?

Mr. KESTERSON. I was to get \$25 per day and my expenses.

Senator REED. Did you tell the people when you went around over the State appealing to their patriotism for this great statesman whom you were representing, that you were being paid?

Mr. KESTERSON. No more than you would, Senator.

Senator REED. Well, I never took a cent in my life, sir. If I did, I would proclaim it from the housetops.

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I am a poor man, and I could not go out and give my time in a campaign like that, like I did in the campaign of 1916, when I donated my services in the entire campaign to the State committee.

Senator REED. I think that was very generous.

Mr. KESTERSON. But I was not able to do it then, when men who were worth plenty of money got paid for every day they went out.

Senator REED. Is that the common thing in Republican politics in Missouri, for men to get paid?

Mr. KESTERSON. It is very common among both parties, I think.

Senator REED. No, it is not common in our party.

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I do not know. So many things are common in yours that are not common in ours, that I am not familiar with all of them.

Senator REED. But it is not common for men to get paid for political work, and I do not think it is common in the Republican party, either, speaking generally. But I am not going to argue that with you.

Mr. KESTERSON. All right.

Senator REED. Any man may make his own rule on that. Now, how much were you defrauded out of in the campaign of 1912, by this process?

Mr. KESTERSON. I am not saying I was defrauded.

Senator REED. Well, how much were you beaten out of?

Mr. KESTERSON. I say, I lacked \$700 of being paid.

Senator REED. And you claimed Mr. Morse owed you that money?

Mr. KESTERSON. I understand so.

Senator REED. Was he the man who had agreed to pay it?

Mr. KESTERSON. I understood so, and that is why I expected the money.

Senator REED. Who were the checks drawn on, Senator Kenyon asked.

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not know. The one paid me, you mean? The checks paid to me recently were made payable to me.

Senator REED. No; I am not talking about the recent ones. I am talking about the older ones.

The CHAIRMAN. The checks must have been drawn on somebody. If he signed a blank check, it must have been later drawn on somebody.

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not know who cashed them at all, and I do not know whether they were made to my name or not, but I took it for granted they were.

Senator REED. Are you a lawyer?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How long have you practiced? How many years' experience have you had?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I have been practicing law about 20 years.

Senator REED. And you signed your name to a blank check, and you did not know who it was drawn on, and you did not know who was to sign that check?

Mr. KESTERSON. I know, Senator, that after that campaign was over a discussion came up between Mr. Stiefel and Mr. Morse, and they had a dispute, and Mr. Stiefel asked me about how much money I had received, and I told him I had not received it.

Senator REED. How much did you get in that campaign, do you remember?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not remember now. It has been a good while ago. But I remember when I got through, what I felt was due me.

Senator REED. How do you claim that Mr. Morse owes it to you?

Mr. KESTERSON. Because he was in charge of it. He was the one who did the paying. He paid me every time.

Senator REED. Well, now, that is all I want to ask about that particular matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Just before you get away from that, Senator—

Senator REED. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The campaign of 1916 in Missouri was for a Weeks delegation, was it not?

Mr. KESTERSON. I had nothing to do with that, except fighting Mr. Morse in the third district.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Weeks got the delegation from Missouri, did he not, then?

Mr. KESTERSON. When?

The CHAIRMAN. In 1916.

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, the time we had the convention, the congressional convention at Gallatin, we defeated Mr. Morse for member of the State committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I was shown the other day a letter in the papers from ex-Gov. Hadley, saying that in 1916 the delegation from Missouri was bought by the friends of Senator Weeks, and in 1912 it was bought by the Fairbanks people.

Mr. KESTERSON. I know nothing about that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. That he was surprised that anybody was surprised over the delegation being bought at any time.

Mr. KESTERSON. Oh, well, I think that is not generally true. I think men act fairly in the matter. I think candidates are allowed to spend money legitimately.

Senator REED. You were disgruntled over not getting your pay, all of it, in 1916. You remember how much you did not get, but you can not remember how much you did get?

Mr. KESTERSON. No. It has been a long time ago, Senator, and I do not remember it.

Senator REED. The amount you got did not impress you as much as the amount you failed to get?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, the amount I got I had to have.

Senator REED. Yes. All right. Now, we will go to 1912. You turned out then and fought Mr. Morse?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; in 1916 that was, as I understand it. The congressional convention was held at Gallatin.

Senator REED. I stand corrected. You fought him for committeeman, but he was elected then to the national convention, was he not?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not know about that.

Senator REED. You have forgotten that, have you?

Mr. KESTERSON. I know at the congressional convention at Gallatin we defeated him in the election of a State committee.

Senator REED. All right. Now, you could not afford to work in 1912 without getting \$25 per day. Had your fortunes improved in 1916, so that you could work for nothing, or were you paid then?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; they had been no better. I think everybody who knows me knows I am a poor man, and I can not afford to go out and give my time to politics. I have not entered politics this year. I have got to make a living for my family.

Senator REED. I did not ask you that. My question was whether in 1916 you got paid for your three months' time that you put in to beat Mr. Morse.

Mr. KESTERSON. I did not put in three months' time to beat Morse.

Senator REED. I understood you to say so. How much time did you put in?

Mr. KESTERSON. About three or four days was all it took.

Senator REED. A little while ago you certainly said three months.

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I said that was in 1912, Senator.

Senator REED. No. In 1912 you worked for Taft.

Mr. KESTERSON. I said about three months. In 1916 I think I spent about three days.

Senator REED. And you beat Mr. Morse in that time?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, was Morse a candidate for anything?

Mr. KESTERSON. I mean for control of the district.

Senator REED. He was a candidate for delegate and got elected, was he not?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I am talking about the organization of the district, in electing the committeemen, being in charge of the committeemen; and seven out of ten of the committeemen in the third district were against him.

Senator REED. With that example before him of your potentiality—that you could beat him in three days—Mr. Morse met you in Kansas City at the bank and you agreed you would not fight him this time if he would give you \$100, and he paid you then and there?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; that is not true.

Senator REED. Well, what did you say about that?

Mr. KESTERSON. I told you a moment ago that he said he would pay me this old score, and he said he would be glad to. He took me over there and wanted to pay me \$100, and he paid me \$100. He says, "I will pay you some more when I get it," and then when he got it he gave me some more. Then when I went over there again he says, "Come over to the hotel and I will pay you \$300," but he did not have but \$75. He gave me \$75 and told me to draw on him, and I drew on him for \$225, and it came back protested at the Dixon Hotel, where I cashed it, in Kansas City. It cost me \$2.75. I called him up, I know, and some 10 days or 2 weeks after I got the money from him, and that ended the incident between Mr. Morse and myself, so far as I know. That finally and flatly ended it.

Senator REED. The payment of the \$100 and the agreement to pay the balance of the \$700 that you say he owed you was all coupled with the agreement that you were not to fight Mr. Morse?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir; it was not.

Senator REED. Did you not say so a little while ago?

Mr. KESTERSON. I said I had no occasion to fight him, because, as I understood it, he was for Mr. Lowden, and Mr. Lowden was an

estimable gentleman. If he had given me \$100, or \$500, I could have conscientiously gone out and waged a campaign with all there was in me for Lowden.

Senator REED. Have you not said to this committee, and said it in the last 10 minutes, in substance and effect, that when Mr. Morse gave you this \$100—the second \$100 that he gave you—it was upon the understanding that you would not fight him; that the issue had been Morse and anti-Morse, and that you agreed not to fight him?

Mr. KESTERSON. It was upon this issue, that Mr. Morse was to clear up the matter, and pay me, and the old score was settled. We settled that.

Senator REED. And you would not fight him any more?

Mr. KESTERSON. I told him I had no occasion to fight him.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KESTERSON. He was not running for anything, and I tried to keep down a fight in the third district, tried to do that, and I think I did a great deal for keeping down a fight there.

Senator REED. So that you agreed, then, in consideration of \$100, or in consideration of the \$100 in hand, and the \$600 to be paid, that you would not oppose Mr. Morse, and that you would even go to the extent of trying to keep down a fight on him. That is what you say now, is it not?

Mr. KESTERSON. I say this, that Mr. Morse paying me settled the whole thing up, and I had no further fight against him whatever, and made no fight against him at all.

Senator REED. And you helped him, did you not? Did you not just say that you helped him?

Mr. KESTERSON. I think I did help him.

Senator REED. All right. You claim that is what this money, all of this money that you have been talking about, was paid to you for, and it had nothing to do with the Lowden campaign?

Mr. KESTERSON. To pay a debt he owed, a personal matter between us. And I have seen it in the newspapers, and I want to resent it now, that it was given me for Mr. Hyde's campaign fund, which is not true; and Mr. Morse knows himself that Mr. Hyde had nothing whatever to do with it, and I think he will tell you that.

Senator REED. I do not know who said that.

Mr. KESTERSON. I saw it published, and I have got a copy of the paper with me.

Senator REED. Well, let us keep to the text. We can not try all of the things that are said in the newspapers, because they say so many things.

Mr. KESTERSON. I understand.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, you knew that Mr. Morse was working for Lowden in that fight, did you not?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir; I knew he was for Mr. Lowden, and I had no objection to it whatever, any man in Missouri being for Lowden. I considered Mr. Lowden a very estimable gentleman, as I did the other candidates running.

Senator REED. And you would not take money for working for Mr. Lowden, and you would resent the idea?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir; I would if Mr. Morse—I would have taken the money if he had told me it had been for Lowden, and

wanted me to go out and work for Lowden; I would have done it, yes; if it had been for Lowden, Wood, or anyone else.

Senator REED. You were for Lowden, were you not?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I was for Mr. Harding, and I told Morse so; and I have been for Harding for a year, and every man in my town knows that a year ago I thought Gov. Harding was going to be nominated.

Senator REED. You were for Harding, and thought he ought to be President?

Mr. KESTERSON. I thought he should be; yes.

Senator REED. But you got \$700 from Mr. Morse and you did not lift your hand for Harding, and you withdraw your opposition to Mr. Morse.

Mr. KESTERSON. I got \$700 from Mr. Morse, which I should have gotten in 1912.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KESTERSON. That is what I got.

Senator REED. But collecting your old debts—put it that way—was sufficient inducement to you so that you did not go out and work for the man you thought ought to be President, but you supported Mr. Morse by withdrawing your opposition, and getting other opposition withdrawn when he was making a fight for Mr. Lowden?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not think, Senator, that my opposition to him would have affected him so very much.

Senator REED. I am not talking about the degree. I am talking about the purpose and intent.

Mr. KESTERSON. The purpose was this, so far as Mr. Morse and myself were concerned, that it settled up all of the old scores, my making no fight on him. I did not help Lowden, and no one else, and there is not a man in Missouri can say I ever talked for any candidate for President. I was not a delegate to the convention, and I never talked to any of the delegates about who to support.

Senator REED. It was sufficient, in any event, the payment of this money to settle your difference with Mr. Morse, to withdraw your opposition to Mr. Morse, and to get you to help quiet things down for Mr. Morse when he was making a fight for Lowden, although you thought Harding was the man.

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I understood that the delegates were to be instructed.

Senator REED. Yes, but you knew that Morse was working for Lowden, and you have said so, have you not?

Mr. KESTERSON. Certainly.

Senator REED. And you knew that Morse picked Lowden men if he could get them, did he not?

Mr. KESTERSON. And it did not affect me one bit, whether Lowden got the delegates, or Wood, or Johnson. Personally, I liked Hiram Johnson very much.

Senator REED. You have spoken about Mr. Hyde. Did you introduce some resolution in the bar association of your town with reference to Mr. Hyde, indorsing him for governor?

Mr. KESTERSON. If that is a matter you want to go into now, before this committee——

Senator REED. You brought it in.

Mr. KESTERSON. No, I did not. But if you want to go into it now, all right.

Senator REED. Did you introduced some resolution?

Mr. KESTERSON. I did; yes.

Senator REED. You did?

Mr. KESTERSON. As any one of 500 men in Mercer County would have done if they had had the opportunity.

Senator REED. All right. Did you actively interest yourself on behalf of Mr. Hyde?

Mr. KESTERSON. I have done everything I could possibly do honorably for Mr. Hyde for governor of Missouri.

Senator REED. Did you use any of this money that you got in promoting his interests?

Mr. KESTERSON. Not one cent of that, or any other money, except just where I might go to Kansas City, or I might go to Bethany, or some place else; but Mr. Hyde never gave me one cent, and I have never spent any money for Mr. Hyde, and he would tell you the same thing.

Senator REED. You would not have taken this money from Mr. Morse at all if you had imagined for a moment that it was Lowden money, would you?

Mr. KESTERSON. I would not have cared where he got it, whether it was Lowden, Harding, or Wilson money, I would have taken it, just so I got my money.

Senator REED. I thought that was about it.

Mr. KESTERSON. Certainly. I do not ask a man where he gets his money.

Senator REED. Look at these checks I now hand you, and tell us whether they are the checks you got the money on.

Mr. KESTERSON. I did not get any on that one [indicating].

Senator REED. What is that, sir?

Mr. KESTERSON. I never got any on these, except as I indorsed.

Senator REED. Just a moment. You never got any except——

Mr. KESTERSON. On that one [indicating]; on this one, \$225; and here is \$200. Now, there is the \$100 one that he went to the bank and got. I do not know whether my name is on that or not. He went over to the bank and got it. Here it is [indicating].

Senator REED. You have named three checks here that you say you got money on?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir; I got the money for those.

Senator REED. So that this may appear in the record——

Mr. KESTERSON. Just those I got the money on.

Senator REED. Check dated February 25, 1920, the reporter will copy in full. Your name is not on the back of that, is it?

Mr. KESTERSON. It is written here, but I did not indorse it.

Senator REED. "Kes." is written in pen on the front.

Mr. KESTERSON. He did that in the bank.

Senator REED. You did not indorse it, did you?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I did not indorse it, but I received the money.

Senator REED. A moment ago you said you got the money on the checks you indorsed, and you did not get it on the others, but here is one check you did not indorse.

Mr. KESTERSON. I explained it to you, Senator, that I got it on this one, and he indorsed it himself.

Senator REED. Well, he did not indorse it, apparently.

Mr. KESTERSON. I did not indorse it, but I got that \$100, because it was marked right there in my presence.

Senator REED. Marked "Kes."?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And that was sufficient. Here is another check dated March 6 for \$200, which I want copied in full, and that is indorsed "Ben F. Kesterson."

Mr. KESTERSON. I got that, sir.

Senator REED. And another check dated March 30, 1920, for \$225, which is indorsed "Ben F. Kesterson" and "J. D. Bray."

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir. This check was given to take up the protested draft for \$225.

Senator REED. All right. Now, you said the first check here was all right, because it was marked down in the corner "Kes."

Mr. KESTERSON. No; when I got the money. That is why it was all right, because I got the money.

Senator REED. You said it was marked in the front there with your name, did you not?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, it is "Kes." He put it down there.

Senator REED. He put it down there?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes.

Senator REED. And that was sufficient for you to identify it as one you got the money on?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Look at the one dated February 18 and see if it is not marked "Kes," just like the other one.

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not know a thing about that. I did not get that.

Senator REED. In just the same way and just the same handwriting.

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir; because this was the one he put on there.

Senator REED. Well, it has got the same "Kes." on it.

Mr. KESTERSON. It might have it on there, but I did not get it.

Senator REED. And another one of January 7, with the name "Kesterson."

Mr. KESTERSON. I never saw that check until to-day. I never saw either one of those checks until to-day.

Senator REED. But you got \$700 just the same?

Mr. KESTERSON. I got the \$700, as I have testified to here.

Senator REED. All right. It does not make any difference about the checks. I want these checks copied into the record in full.

(Checks are as follows:)

Exhibit 42, dated Kansas City, Mo., January 7, 1920, to Clay County State Bank, Excelsior Springs, Mo., \$100, payable to the order of cash, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 43, dated Kansas City, Mo., February 18, 1920, to Clay County State Bank, Excelsior Springs, Mo., \$100, payable to cash, signed E. L. Morse, "Kes." in lower left-hand corner.

Exhibit 44, dated Kansas City, Mo., February 25, 1920, to Clay County State Bank, Excelsior Springs, Mo., \$100, payable to the order of cash, signed E. L. Morse, "Kes." in lower left-hand corner.

Exhibit 45, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., March 6, 1920, to Clay County State Bank, Excelsior Springs, Mo., \$200, payable to B.

Kesterson or order, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed "Ben F. Kesterson."

Exhibit 46, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., March 30, 1920, to the Clay County State Bank, Excelsior Springs, Mo., payable to the order of Ben Kesterson, \$225, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed "Ben F. Kesterson" and "J. B. Bray."

Senator REED. Who did conduct the campaign in your county this time on behalf of Mr. Morse, or the Morse crowd? I will put it that way.

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I do not think that there was any campaign conducted in our county on Mr. Morse.

Senator REED. What was the issue this time?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I do not think there was any issue. Our delegates went uninstructed from Mercer County.

Senator REED. Yes. But were you not withdrawing your opposition to Mr. Morse? Did he not get his men?

Mr. KESTERSON. Oh, no; I think not, sir.

Senator REED. He did not?

Mr. KESTERSON. I do not think so.

Senator REED. Well, with your opposition withdrawn, did he not get his men?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; I think that our delegates at that convention—possibly one or two voted for Mr. De Hart and Mr. Lindley, but the others voted against them. I think a majority of our delegation was against him.

Senator REED. Against whom?

Mr. KESTERSON. Against the delegates that were elected—Mr. Lindley and Mr. De Hart.

Senator REED. There was not much delivered to Morse, then, for this, was there?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I think the delegates were elected.

Senator REED. They were friendly to Morse, were they not?

Mr. KESTERSON. I understood they were; yes, sir.

Senator REED. And if they were friendly to Morse, they were very likely friendly to what Morse wanted?

Mr. KESTERSON. I think so; that is true.

Senator REED. So we get back to the point, then, that Morse won in your county.

Mr. KESTERSON. But, Senator, I was not at the convention—

Senator REED. I did not ask you that.

Mr. KESTERSON. You are trying to get at my influence one way or the other, and I was not there.

Senator REED. I did not ask you that. I asked you who won in your county. Morse did, did he not?

Mr. KESTERSON. No; he did not win at the county; he won at the congressional convention. A majority of the delegates were not for him at the other.

Senator REED. But he won at the congressional convention?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir; at least his delegates won.

Senator REED. Yes, sir. The Morse crowd won.

Mr. KESTERSON. Gov. Lowden won; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, that was the Morse crowd?

Mr. KESTERSON. I so understood; yes, sir.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

Senator REED. Morse was friendly to the Gov. Lowden in your part of the State, was he not?

Mr. KESTERSON. I understood Mr. Babler was with Mr. too.

Senator REED. Who?

Mr. KESTERSON. Mr. Babler.

Senator REED. I said, in your part of the State.

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir. Well, there were a number our county who were for Mr. Lowden.

Senator REED. I suppose so.

Mr. KESTERSON. I suppose the county was somewhat divided.

Senator REED. Well, anyway, we will get down to this, we will be through; the Morse crowd won.

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. All right. You say it is a customary thing to get paid for their work in Republican politics in Missouri?

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, I do not know, Senator, whether customary or not. It was the first time I ever worked for pay, I did not get it, but I finally got it. In the other campaign I worked in the campaign 1916, and I have a letter from Mr. Hukrieder paying me for donating my services.

Senator REED. Is that the only campaign that you recall donating them in?

Mr. KESTERSON. I worked in every campaign; what little I do.

Senator REED. Did you get paid in the other campaigns?

Mr. KESTERSON. Sir?

Senator REED. I say, did you get paid in the other campaigns?

Mr. KESTERSON. No, sir; except my expenses.

Senator REED. The only campaign you got paid for you worked in was the campaign of 1912?

Mr. KESTERSON. Which was one of the biggest fights we ever had in the State of Missouri, I think.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KESTERSON. It was a very bitter fight.

Senator REED. How many months did you spend in that fight?

Mr. KESTERSON. I think almost three months.

Senator REED. Three months?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. At \$25 per day?

Mr. KESTERSON. And expenses.

Senator REED. All right. That is 90 times \$25. You have not gotten all told, then, about \$2,250?

Mr. KESTERSON. Whatever it figures up.

Senator REED. And your expenses?

Mr. KESTERSON. Yes. And I imagine there were other people who did more and got more than I did.

Senator REED. Was that pretty general, that sort of expense in the Taft campaign over the State?

Mr. KESTERMAN. Well, I think they spent a great deal of money as did Mr. Roosevelt. They spent a great deal of money in the campaign, maybe more than they should have spent.

Senator REED. You do not mean to tell me that a Progressive Republican would spend money to get elected, would you?

Mr. KESTERSON. Oh, I think they would, Senator.

Senator REED. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Taft a Progressive Republican?

Senator REED. No; but he said Roosevelt did.

Mr. KESTERSON. I never was a Progressive. I have always been a standpatter.

Senator REED. A man could stand pat a long time at \$25 a day and expenses.

Mr. KESTERSON. Well, not now.

Senator REED. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, sir.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. J. W. KAVANAUGH.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state your name.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. J. W. Kavanaugh.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you reside?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. New Hampton, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Physician.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you send an affidavit in to us?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, sir; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you in the list of those who received money?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I think so; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you receive?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, about \$1,250.

The CHAIRMAN. \$1,250?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that in one amount?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, sir; it was in four or five different ones.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the dates?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I can not give you the dates. I can give you the amounts. About some time in December I received \$200.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the first one, in December?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of 1919?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the next?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. In January I received \$500; and I think \$175 in January; and \$400 in February, some time in February.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that all you received?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Let me see. I first received \$200—

Senator REED. That is \$1,275 all told.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. \$1,275 or \$1,250?

Senator REED. \$1,250.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom was that? Who did you receive that from?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Mr. Morse—that is, all except the first—well, it was from Mr. Morse; yes, sir. It was all from Mr. Morse.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of sending you that money, do you know? What were you to do for it?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well; I was to go out and look after three counties up in the northwestern part of the third district, which I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Look after them for whom, or how?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. In the Lowden interests.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Lowden interests?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were for Lowden, were you?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you get those counties for Lowden?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What were the counties?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Harrison, Gentry, and Worth. Excuse me, now on that. We did not; we had a split in Harrison. We had a hard fight on in Harrison County, and had two conventions. The first convention that we had they claimed they did not have proper notice, and then it was adjourned until a future date.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a sort of manager for those three counties?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir; in a way. I was looking after them.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be about \$400 to the county?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Something like that, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many counties are there in Missouri?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. How?

The CHAIRMAN. How many counties are there in Missouri?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. One hundred and fourteen or one hundred and fifteen.

Senator REED. One hundred and fourteen.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. One hundred and fourteen, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, some are much more populous than others.

Senator REED. Those are small counties.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you spend this money?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Excuse me, Senator, Harrison County is about 29 by 30 in all.

Senator REED. Well, I mean rather small in population, with no large cities there?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the largest city in the three counties?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, there is Bethany, Albany, and Stanbury. There is not much difference. About 2,500, I should say.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you spend this money there?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I spent it in going over the different counties, in automobile hire, in seeing parties in different parts of the counties.

The CHAIRMAN. And in advertising?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay any workers at the polls or caucuses?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no primaries, did you?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. We had——

The CHAIRMAN. Mass meetings?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Mass meetings and delegate conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. And you selected the delegates at the mass meetings for the county convention?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. In one or two counties; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of the counties instruct for Lowden?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The delegates to the district convention, you saw they were for Lowden?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, that was what we were there for.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. That was what we were trying to get.

The CHAIRMAN. And did it turn out that way? Did you get them?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir; all except Harrison County. We had a split in Harrison County, and we had a very hard fight there.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom were you fighting?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, we were fighting among ourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you fighting as to the presidency?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For whom was the other crowd?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. They were for Wood.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you say about their expenditure of money?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I do not know anything about it at all. I think they had some money, though.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there evidence of spending money?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir. That was generally accepted, generally supposed, that they were spending money.

The CHAIRMAN. What were the issues on which the people were expressing this difference as between these two men? Was there any issue at all?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I do not think so, no.

The CHAIRMAN. It was just a question of getting delegates?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was a question of personal influence?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir. There were a good many that did not feel that we needed a military man for President; that is about all I heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Were any of the other candidates for President represented at all?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I think not; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any sentiment for them?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Not much, I do not think.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any sentiment for Wood, or for Lowden, before you got to work?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, there was considerable Wood sentiment.

The CHAIRMAN. Considerable Wood sentiment?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir; in our county.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were to combat that?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir. We had a very strong sentiment in Harrison County for Wood, and it continued, as far as that is concerned, because they got a part of the delegation.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time did you put in on this?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I put in from—I was busy from about the 1st of January up until practically March.

The CHAIRMAN. And you knew this was Lowden money?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no secret about it?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Not a bit on earth. I was out for Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the delegates from that district?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Dr. Lindley and L. C. De Hart.

The CHAIRMAN. They were the Lowden delegates.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I understand they voted for Lowden up here.

The CHAIRMAN. They voted for Lowden?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Cole a delegate at large?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Mr. Cole?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cole, yes.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of the State does he come from?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. He is down from about St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I have. You may proceed, Senator Reed.

Senator REED. What is your business?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I am a physician.

Senator REED. Doctor, you have been in practice up there a good many years, have you not?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. About 25 or 30 years.

Senator REED. I suppose in that length of time you have established quite a practice, and you have kept pretty busy?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I am tolerably busy; yes.

Senator REED. What did you do with your patients between January and March, when you were out on this business?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I saw some of them, but I did most of this work in an automobile, and I would get back home during the night and probably see them that evening, or later that night, or the next morning, and then be off again with the automobile.

Senator REED. Did you say you spent the whole \$1,275?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You did not have any of it left?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, sir.

Senator REED. You spent it on automobiles. Did you have an automobile of your own?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, sir.

Senator REED. They were hired automobiles, were they?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Well, you were out from January to March; that is 60 days. How much did you pay per day for an automobile?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I do not know. I know I paid \$180 at one time for automobile hire.

Senator REED. How many times did you pay \$180?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I guess I paid about probably \$300 automobile hire.

Senator REED. Whom did you pay it to?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. A fellow named Cummins, most of it.

Senator REED. Do you ordinarily hire an automobile from Mr. Cummins?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. From Mr. Cummins?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Did this bill that you paid him include only the automobile hire for political purposes that you were working at, or was it your regular business also?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, it was both.

Senator REED. Both?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. How much do you ordinarily pay per month for automobile hire?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Oh, about \$50 or \$75.

Senator REED. And you paid him about \$300, and you were out two months on this work, and your ordinary bill would have been from \$50 to \$75; so you paid out of this money \$150 to \$200 for automobile hire. Now, what did you do with the rest of the \$1,200?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I was in every township of our county twice. We have 20 townships in the county. As I say, we had two conventions in our county, and I was in every township in the county twice.

Senator REED. Well, you were riding around the country in these automobiles during the day, but you got home nights. What was your expense? What were you paying this money out for?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, just at the different towns, different people.

Senator REED. You were not handing it out to the boys, were you?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No; but just making myself generally useful. I guess, like a ward politician would.

Senator REED. That leaves me entirely in the dark. I can't understand what you did with this \$1,000. You have accounted for the automobile hire. You left home in the morning, and had your breakfast at home, and came home at night. Now, what did you do with it?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Not always; I said part of the time.

Senator REED. Well, what did you do?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I would go into a town, and it is no trouble to spend money among the voters, if you have it to spend.

Senator REED. It is all dry up there, is it not?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. They tell me they are making a lot of moonshine in southern Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, not in Iowa.

Senator REED. You were not, of course, paying out any money for that?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Oh, no; certainly not.

Senator REED. Now, what did you do with this \$1,000?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I gave some dinners.

Senator REED. Well, where?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. At Ridgeway and Albany.

Senator REED. How many people were there?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I did not keep a count.

Senator REED. How much did you pay out for dinners at Ridgeway?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I could not say.

Senator REED. As much as \$3, was it?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I can eat \$3 worth myself when I am hungry.

Senator REED. Well, not with the prices we get it for out in those good country towns in northern Missouri. I think you would have some trouble with \$3 worth.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I remember once of having four or five at one time.

Senator REED. Do you remember about how much you paid; about 50 cents a meal, was it not, anyhow?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. No, about 75.

Senator REED. About 75. Now, what did you do with the \$1,000, Doctor?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I spent it in different places over the district. We had a mass meeting in Gentry County.

Senator REED. Did you pay the expense of that?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Part of it.

Senator REED. How much?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I do not know. I got different delegates there. Our county, Harrison, is right on the border of Gentry, and I was over there a number of times, and up in Worth County also.

Senator REED. How much did you pay out, now, for this meeting?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, now, that is hard to tell.

Senator REED. Let us not get this doubled up. We have already accounted for the automobiles. Now, I want to know what you paid elsewhere. You said you had a meeting. How much did you pay for the hall?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Oh, I could not say. I was going over the county; I was over Gentry County, and I was over Worth, and elsewhere, and De Kalb, but I did not do much in De Kalb.

Senator REED. Well, we have taken care of the automobiles, and you had your breakfasts and suppers at home; but I am trying to find out what you did with that \$1,000.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. Well, I spent it for Lowden.

Senator REED. Well, I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. I will say, by the way, that I made two or three trips to St. Louis, and about, on an average—I expect one trip a week to Kansas City and Excelsior Springs.

Senator REED. That would make six or seven trips.

Mr. KAVANAUGH. About 8 or 10, would it not?

Senator REED. What is the fare down there?

Mr. KAVANAUGH. About \$4.

Senator REED. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MR. NAT GOLDSTEIN.

The witness was previously sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Goldstein, you were before the committee at Washington?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you testified at that time about receiving \$2,500?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a delegate to the Chicago convention?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe you testified at that time that if Senator Lowden was not nominated you were going to return the money?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I think I testified that whether he was nominated or not I was going to return the money.

The CHAIRMAN. You were going to return the money if he was not nominated, and if he was nominated you were going to use it—

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Well, I will not be sure of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you returned the money?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you return it to?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Whom did I give the check to?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I first offered it to Mr. Babler while I was in Chicago, and he asked me to turn it over to Mr. Morse.

Senator REED. At the Chicago convention?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir. I left here on Friday evening, and I wanted to leave it here before I left.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you turn it over to Mr. Morse?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Yes, sir. I have the check here, if you want to see it.

The CHAIRMAN. You turned it over in the form of a check?

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a check of June 11, 1920, Liberty Bank of St. Louis, payable to Louis L. Emmerson, \$2,500, signed "Nat Goldstein," and signed on the back, "Louis L. Emmerson." So it reached Mr. Emmerson.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. It certainly did.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. GOLDSTEIN. Do you want this any more?

The CHAIRMAN. We do not want it. Keep it for a souvenir. Have you anything, Senator Reed?

Senator REED. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MR. R. E. MOORE.

The witness was previously sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Moore, you were sworn in Washington?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were on the stand in Washington?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time you testified to having received \$2,500 from Mr. Emmerson.

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And if Gov. Lowden was not nominated, you were expected to return the money?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir; that was my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you done so?

Mr. MOORE. My statement was that after all of the unpleasantness connected with it, I intended to return it when I got to Chicago, which I did.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you return it, and to whom?

Mr. MOORE. I returned it in a check, gave it to Mr. Morse.

The CHAIRMAN. A check made payable to Mr. Emmerson?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For \$2,500?

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you that check with you?

Mr. MOORE. I have. Here it is. I think I shall have it framed.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; there is no use destroying it. This is a check on the Mississippi Valley Trust Co., dated June 11, 1920, payable to Louis L. Emmerson, for \$2,500, signed by R. E. Moore, bearing the name of Louis L. Emmerson on the back. Whom did you give the check to?

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Morse—E. L. Morse.

Senator REED. Was that before or after Lowden was defeated?

Mr. MOORE. Before; June 11 is the date.

Senator REED. When was the nomination made?

Mr. MOORE. It must have been the 12th.

The CHAIRMAN. Saturday.

Mr. MOORE. No; Friday, Senator—no; Saturday. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The nomination, that is.

Mr. MOORE. Yes; that is right; Saturday night.

Senator REED. That was the 12th, was it?

Mr. MOORE. Let me see; that was the 12th; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I want to ask.

Senator REED. Just a moment. This did not go through the St. Louis clearing house, I notice, till June the 29th.

Mr. MOORE. It was late in getting through. I noticed that myself. I do not get my checks back until the end of the month, however.

Senator REED. I know, but they go through the clearing house promptly.

Mr. MOORE. Yes, sir; I should think so. Evidently it was delayed in transit. That is the way it was.

Senator REED. Anyway, you gave back the money?

Mr. MOORE. I gave back the money.

Senator REED. All right. What did Mr. Emmerson say when you said, "Take back your gold"?

Mr. MOORE. I did not talk to him. I did not hear from him, Senator.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. MOORE. That is not enough to mean much in my young life. I am still young and ambitious, but I do not want to have any more trouble.

Senator REED. That is all right. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MR. JOSEPH BLACK.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name to the reporter.

Mr. BLACK. My name is Joseph E. Black.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home?

Mr. BLACK. Richmond, Ray County, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. BLACK. Lawyer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any of this money, Mr. Black, that seems to have been floating around?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you receive?

Mr. BLACK. \$525.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom?

Mr. BLACK. Mr. Morse, of Excelsior Springs.

The CHAIRMAN. In one check?

Mr. BLACK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. BLACK. The first check was \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. BLACK. Well, my recollection is that that was about the 5th of December, 1919. The next check was about the 1st of January, 1920, for \$100. There was another check about the 18th or 19th of February for \$200. There was another check for \$25 either on the 5th or 6th of May. That is \$425. Then there were different amounts given me in cash, amounting to \$100.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you to do with that money?

Mr. BLACK. I was to visit different parts of the State and try and create a Lowden sentiment, looking for the election of delegates to the congressional conventions and the State convention, to elect delegates to the national convention who would be favorable to Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time did you spend at that?

Mr. BLACK. I worked at that from the 1st of December until after the State convention was over, but not every day.

The CHAIRMAN. When was the State convention?

Mr. BLACK. May 5.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not put in all of that time, did you?

Mr. BLACK. Oh, no; not all of that time, but off and on during that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write letters?

Mr. BLACK. No, sir; I did not write any letters. I used the telephone.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you use up all that money?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. In connection with traveling expenses, telephone, and automobile?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You did not give away any sums of money?

Mr. BLACK. I paid nobody any money excepting for my traveling expenses and hotel bills.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you do any automobiling?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have your own automobile?

Mr. BLACK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a hired automobile?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many counties did you have charge of?

Mr. BLACK. I can not say that I really had charge of any number of counties. Of course, I had charge of my own county, Ray. I

was in Clay, Clinton, and Caldwell. I did not go into Dekalb, but I had conferences with people from Dekalb County.

Senator REED. Did you preside at the convention that was held at Excelsior Springs to elect delegates to the national convention?

Mr. BLACK. I did.

Senator REED. Who was elected?

Mr. BLACK. D. R. Lindley, of Stanbury, in Gentry County, and L. F. De Hart, of Camden, Mo.

Senator REED. They were Morse men?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The Morse crowd was in control?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You and Mr. Morse had been friends, politically, for a long time, had you not?

Mr. BLACK. Thirty years.

Senator REED. And you are a practicing attorney?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So the fact is that Morse did win in that district?

Mr. BLACK. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. With instructions?

Mr. BLACK. No instructions.

Senator REED. You heard Mr. Kesterson's testimony, didn't you?

Mr. BLACK. I did.

Senator REED. Were you in that campaign of 1912?

Mr. BLACK. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Were you on the same side that Kesterson was on in that campaign?

Mr. BLACK. In 1912?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. In 1912 Mr. Kesterson was supporting the Morse crowd, and at Excelsior Springs, at the convention commonly known as the ball-and-bat convention, made a speech in which he denounced the followers of Roosevelt, bitterly denounced them from the stage, in the hall in which the convention was made.

Senator REED. The only question I wanted to inquire about was whether you know anything about how the expenses were paid. Mr. Kesterson testified to some mysterious method of writing his name on the back of a blank check, drawn on some unknown person, and to be signed by some unknown person. Do you know anything about the financial transactions?

Mr. BLACK. As I understood him, that occurred in 1916; not in 1912, but in 1916, as I understood him.

Senator REED. No; 1912, and not 1916. In 1916 he says he quit Morse.

Mr. BLACK. Oh, yes; that is right. That is his testimony. I have known Mr. Morse intimately for 30 years. I have had all kinds of transactions with him. We are not only intimate personally in a friendly way, but in a political way we have worked together all those years. I have never known him to conduct business that loosely. I have never known him to give checks in blank.

Senator REED. Well, the statement is that he presented to Kesterson blank checks which Kesterson indorsed. Then the check would be cashed somewhere—Mr. Kesterson did not know where—and presumptively, according to Kesterson's story, it was shown on some

fund, to be paid by somebody. Do you know anything about the method of payment in that campaign?

Mr. BLACK. I never heard of that being done, and never knew of it being done, and I do not think it was done. I never knew Mr. Morse to give a check of that kind.

Senator REED. You do not know of any fund that was being checked against?

Mr. BLACK. In 1912?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. BLACK. There was a fund which was being checked against in 1912, but that fund, as I remember now, was controlled from headquarters in St. Louis. The headquarters of the Taft propaganda were at the Planters' Hotel. There was a fund. I do not know how much. I have heard it variously estimated from \$50,000 to \$75,000; and, in fact, I think Mr. Stiefel, Mr. Otto Stiefel, told me that his contribution to that fund was something like \$45,000.

Senator REED. Stiefel was managing the Taft fight, was he?

Mr. BLACK. Well, he was one of the managers.

Senator REED. One of the prominent managers?

Mr. BLACK. One of the prominent managers; yes, sir.

Senator REED. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything, Senator Spencer?

Senator SPENCER. No.

Mr. BLACK. Is that all you want?

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, sir.

(Witness excused.)

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MR. E. L. MORSE.

The witness was previously sworn.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Morse, have you a complete statement now of the moneys that you have expended?

Mr. MORSE. I have got all of the checks I paid out up to the 2d of June. There may be some that are out that are not through the bank yet.

Senator SPENCER. How much do they aggregate?

Mr. MORSE. About \$31,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You have some more paid during the convention?

Mr. MORSE. Well, no. I told you this morning I would fix up a statement of what I paid during the convention, and carry it on up when I make a settlement with Lowden, and the settlement I make with him I will turn in to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not made the settlement yet?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir. There are some hotel bills yet.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the expenses of the delegation, or part of the delegation, paid to Chicago?

Mr. MORSE. No. But as to several of the workers; we had some workers up here, and I think there was room rent; that is all.

Senator SPENCER. But not delegates?

Mr. MORSE. Not delegates.

Senator REED. What kind of workers?

Mr. MORSE. Well, some fellows, some parties, who were supposed to have influence, friends of the delegation, you understand, and they

wanted them up here to hold them in line. We thought there was going to be a break.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hold them in line?

Mr. MORSE. No; we did not.

The CHAIRMAN. How did Missouri vote?

Mr. MORSE. Well, they voted, I think, on the first vote, 20 or 21 for Lowden, and the remainder was scattered.

Senator REED. How many did you have in the whole delegation from Missouri? What was the total of the Missouri delegation, how many?

Mr. MORSE. Thirty-six—or 34.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Goldstein or Mr. Moore vote for Gov. Lowden?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir; I do not think they voted at all. I do not think they were there.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not vote at all?

Senator REED. Were their proxies there?

Mr. MORSE. I could not say as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Missouri cast a full delegation vote or were they two shy?

Mr. MORSE. I think they were two shy. That is my understanding of it. I am not sure about that, though. I think the chair called attention to the fact.

Senator REED. Mr. Morse, you heard Mr. Kesterson's testimony, did you?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What are the facts about this entire transaction that Mr. Kesterson testified about?

Mr. MORSE. The facts were that Mr. Kesterson, from early in the preconvention days of the campaign, came to me and said he understood that I was going to make a fight for Lowden, and said he could do some good in Harrison and Mercer Counties. And I thought he might; I thought he would have some influence, especially in Mercer County, so when he came to me I gave him a check; and the first check I gave him was \$100. He said he would go up there into Mercer County and work for the Lowden delegation; and then he came back a short time after that and wanted another \$100.

Senator REED. For the same purpose?

Mr. MORSE. For the same purpose.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. MORSE. And he contended with me that he was going to pay the expenses of the delegations down, and that he wanted some more money; and finally he got out of me, I think, in the neighborhood of about \$800.

Senator REED. Did you pay him all this money for work in the campaign for Lowden?

Mr. MORSE. Absolutely.

Senator REED. Well, what is there in this story of his that you were paying him an old debt, incurred some time back?

Mr. MORSE. I never heard of it before in my life.

Senator REED. Well, what is there about the story that in the campaign of 1912 you would present him with blank checks, and have

him indorse them, and then get them filled out for a sum of money, and not give him the money?

Mr. MORSE. He evidently must be mistaken. He is a little bit giddy, I think, in his statement, as evidenced by the fact that he is out on parole now for writing checks on banks that have no deposits to cover them.

Senator REED. Has he been convicted and sentenced, and is on parole?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; that is my understanding.

Senator REED. And that is the kind of man you pay \$25 per day to for molding public opinion, is it?

Mr. MORSE. That was in the 1912 campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. He had not been convicted then?

Mr. MORSE. No, sir. That is my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. When was he convicted?

Mr. MORSE. My understanding is that he was convicted, and they got him out, and he went and turned to preaching.

The CHAIRMAN. Preaching?

Mr. MORSE. Yes; he reformed, became a reformer.

Senator REED. He has not gone to editing a paper yet, has he?

Senator SPENCER. Was that reformation before 1912?

Mr. MORSE. That was after.

Senator REED. Mr. Morse, when you gave your first statement, there were, I think, several thousand dollars that at that time you did not have your checks for.

Mr. MORSE. No.

Senator REED. Now, I suppose these checks include some names that you did not give in the original statement?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Could you tell us what those names are?

Mr. MORSE. Well, there is a fellow named Pryor, from the sixteenth district, that I gave \$100 to.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a delegate to the national convention?

Mr. MORSE. He was not a delegate then. He was running as a delegate, and I gave it to him to help him be elected as a delegate.

Senator REED. To help him pay his expenses?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you think of any others?

Mr. MORSE. No; not of delegates.

Senator REED. I am not speaking of delegates. You were undertaking, when you were here before, to account for all of the money that you got from Mr. Lowden. You recall that there was considerable of a difference between the amount of money you had received and the amount you could remember, speaking from recollection, that you had paid out. Now, you have brought your checks here, and I suppose they practically fill a gap, do they?

Mr. MORSE. Yes.

Senator REED. That means, then, that there must be some names in here of men you did not give us before. Can you tell us what those names are?

Mr. MORSE. These checks are miscellaneous checks that I used for my own expense account. Here is the State committee, \$100. I have marked it there. I do not know what the transaction was, but it was

for the Lowden campaign. Here is the Pryor matter. Now, here are the Babler checks. I think I have practically given them all.

Senator REED. I think, in view of the fact that there has been so much of dispute—that is, newspaper dispute about these payments, the best thing to do is to put into the record a list of these checks. Mr. Reporter, you may put down the date, the amount, the payee, and whether they are indorsed, and if indorsed by the payee, show it.

Mr. MORSE. I will leave them with the committee.

Senator REED. Hand them to the reporter, and give him your address so he can get them back to you.

Mr. MORSE. All right.

Senator REED. The Babler checks, showing the payment of money to Mr. Babler, at the head of the list. The rest of them put in by date, if you please, and if there are several checks to one person please group them.

(The checks are as follows:)

Exhibit 47, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., December 26, 1919. Excelsior Trust Co., to the order of cash, \$1,610; signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 48, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., January 10, 1920. Excelsior Trust Co., to the order of cash, \$4,325; signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 49, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., January 17, 1920. Excelsior Trust Co., to the order of cash, \$1,619; signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 50, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., February 26, 1920. Clay County State Bank, to the order of J. L. Babler, \$3,050; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed J. L. Babler.

Exhibit 51, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., March 7, 1920. Clay County State bank, to J. L. Babler, \$486.66; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed J. L. Babler.

Exhibit 52, Excelsior Springs, Mo., May 8, 1920. Clay County State Bank, \$4,203.50, to W. F. Grantges; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed W. F. Grantges.

Exhibit 53, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., May 8, 1920. Clay County State Bank, \$1,000; payable to A. H. Doermann; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed A. H. Doermann and W. F. Grantges.

Exhibit 54, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., January 20, 1920, to cash (Charles Jones), \$100; signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 55, dated Excelsior Springs, Mo., January 20, 1920, to cash (State committee), \$100, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 56, dated January 27, 1919, cash (Henry Miller), \$50, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 57, dated December 23, 1919, to E. T. Lindley, \$300, indorsed E. T. Lindley, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 58, dated March 8, 1920, to T. W. Hukriede, \$500, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed T. W. Hukriede.

Exhibit 59, dated December 24, 1919, to T. W. Hukriede, \$1,000, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed T. W. Hukriede.

Exhibit 60, dated May 2, 1920, to T. W. Hukriede, \$1,050, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed T. W. Hukriede.

Exhibit 61, dated December 17, 1919, to cash, \$200, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 62, February 9, 1920, to J. W. Kavanaugh, \$150, signed J. W. Kavanaugh (draft).

Exhibit 63, January 21, 1920, to Dr. J. W. Kavanaugh, \$500, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. W. Kavanaugh.

Exhibit 64, February 20, 1920, to J. W. Kavanaugh, \$200, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. W. Kavanaugh.

Exhibit 65, December 15, 1919, to J. L. Babler, \$200, signed E. L. Morse. indorsed J. L. Babler.

Exhibit 66, December 5, 1919, to George B. Dyer, \$300, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed George B. Dyer.

Exhibit 67, February —, 1920, to William Mitchell, \$25, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. W. Mitchell.

Exhibit 68, January 13, 1920, to cash (Mitchell), \$100, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 69, February 2, 1920, to H. Gartside, \$150, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed H. H. Gartside.

Exhibit 70, February 12, 1920, to W. H. Hallett, \$800, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed W. H. Hallett.

Exhibit 71, February 3, 1920, to Mr. Crouch, \$50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed E. H. Crouch.

Exhibit 72, January 21, 1920, to Link Folk, \$200, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Link Folk.

Exhibit 73, December 23, 1919, \$50, to cash (Folk), signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 74, January 27, 1920, \$200, to cash (Groomer), signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 75, January 7, 1920, to W. S. Cole, \$500, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed W. L. Cole.

Exhibit 76, February 3, 1920, to L. F. DeHart, \$100, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed L. F. DeHart.

Exhibit 77, May 4, 1920, to B. P. Sigler, \$50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed B. P. Sigler.

Exhibit 78, April 9, 1920, to John Pryor, \$100, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed John Pryor, jr.

Exhibit 79, January 26, 1920, to Gentry County Bank, \$150, signed William Scurry.

Exhibit 80, January 30, 1920, to Patterson Savings Bank, \$25, charged to account of E. L. Morse, signed William Scurry.

Exhibit 81, January 17, 1920, to cash (Double), \$200, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 82, May 5, 1920, to Grant Double, \$100, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Grant Double.

Exhibit 83, May 6, 1920, to J. E. Black, \$25, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. E. Black.

Exhibit 84, February 18, 1920, to J. E. Black, \$200, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. E. Black.

Exhibit 85, December 19, 1919, to Joe Black, \$100, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Joe E. Black.

Exhibit 86, January 15, 1920, to Joseph E. Black, \$100, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Joseph E. Black.

Exhibit 87, January 5, 1920, \$500, to John Albus, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed John Albus.

Exhibit 88, April 2, 1920, to John Albus, \$1,250, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed John Albus.

Exhibit 89, January 30, 1920, \$100 draft, on L. E. Morse, signed J. W. Eversman.

Exhibit 90, January 31, 1920, \$50, to cash (Eversman), signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 91, February 28, 1920, to cash (Eversman), \$200, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 92, November 15, 1919, \$10, to cash, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 93, November 16, 1919, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 94, November 24, 1919, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 95, November 24, 1919, to Planters Hotel, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 96, November 25, 1919, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 97, December 4, 1919, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 98, December 7, 1919, to Joseph McCoy, \$50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Joseph McCoy.

Exhibit 99, December —, 1919, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 100, December 11, 1919, to the Willards Hotel Co., \$208.55, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Willards Hotel Co.

Exhibit 101, December 12, 1919, to the Willards Hotel Co., \$25, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Willards Hotel Co.

Exhibit 102, December 15, 1919, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 103, December 20, 1919, to cash, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 104, December 23, 1919, to the Jefferson Hotel, \$37.35, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Hotel Jefferson Co.

Exhibit 105, December 24, 1919, to cash, signed E. L. Morse, \$15.

Exhibit 106, December 29, 1919, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 107, December 31, 1919, to Jefferson Hotel Co., \$63.45, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Jefferson Hotel Co.

Exhibit 108, January 3, 1920, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 109, January 3, 1920, to the C. M. & St. P. Railroad, \$32.46, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed C. M. & St. P. Railroad.

Exhibit 110, January —, 1920, to the Elms Hotel, \$7.50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Elms Hotel.

- Exhibit 111, January 5, 1920, to the Drake Hotel Co., \$69.70, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Drake Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 112, January 5, 1920, to the Drake Hotel Co., \$100, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Drake Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 113, January 6, 1920, to the Western Union, \$6.04, signed E. L. Morse (by K. M.), indorsed Western Union Co.
- Exhibit 114, January 7, 1920, to cash, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 115, January 7, 1920, to the Elms Hotel, \$5, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Elms Hotel.
- Exhibit 116, January 7, 1920, to Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co., \$45.20, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co.
- Exhibit 117, January 7, 1920, to Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co., \$22.30, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co.
- Exhibit 118, January 10, 1920, to Baltimore Hotel, \$31.80, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Hotel Baltimore.
- Exhibit 119, January 14, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 120, January 15, 1920, to cash, \$20, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 121, January 16, 1920, to Interurban, \$5, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Robert Thomson.
- Exhibit 122, January 17, 1920, to Planters Hotel, \$2.90, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Planters Hotel.
- Exhibit 123, January 17, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 124, January 20, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 125, January 21, 1920, to Interurban, \$2.00, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Robert Thomson.
- Exhibit 126, January 21, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 127, January 22, 1920, to Perkins & McMurry, \$9.17, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Perkins & McMurry.
- Exhibit 128, January 23, 1920, to Clay County State Bank, order of J. E. Black, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. E. Black, for \$10.
- Exhibit 129, January 24, 1920, to cash, \$2, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 130, January 26, 1920, to Elms Hotel, \$9, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Elms Hotel.
- Exhibit 131, January 26, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 132, January 26, 1920, to cash \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 133, January 27, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 134, January 28, 1920, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 135, January 29, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 136, January 31, 1920, to bearer, \$2, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 137, January —, 1920, to self, \$200, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 138, February 4, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 139, February 4, 1920, to Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co., \$29.60, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co.
- Exhibit 140, February 5, 1920, to cash, \$20, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 141, February 6, 1920, to cash, \$50, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 142, February 6, 1920, to C., M. & St. Paul R. R. Co., \$34.08, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed C., M. & St. P. R. R.
- Exhibit 143, February 7, 1920, to Western Union Telegraph Co., \$2.92, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed W. U. Tel. Co.
- Exhibit 144, February 9, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 145, February 9, 1920, to Perkins & McMurry, \$10, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Perkins & McMurry.
- Exhibit 146, February 12, 1920, to Sam Higbee, \$5, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed S. D. Higbee.
- Exhibit 147, February 12, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 148, February 12, 1920, to Planters' Hotel, \$9.50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Planters' Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 149, February 13, 1920, to Sam Higbee, \$1, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Sam Higbee.
- Exhibit 150, February 15, 1920, to Perkins Drug Co., \$10, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Perkins & McMurry.
- Exhibit 151, February 16, 1920, to Richard Waters, \$5, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Richard Waters.
- Exhibit 152, February 18, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 153, February 19, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 154, February 22, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 155, February 22, 1920, to cash, \$70, signed E. L. Morse.

- Exhibit 156, February 23, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 157, February 24, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 158, February 25, 1920, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 159, February 27, 1920, to cash, \$3, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 160, February 28, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 161, March 2, 1920, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 162, March 3, 1920, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 163, March 4, 1920, to Eby Motor Co., \$15, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Eby Motor Co.
 Exhibit 164, March 5, 1920, to Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co., \$51.70, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co.
 Exhibit 165, March 5, 1920, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 166, March 6, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 167, March 6, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 168, March 6, 1920, to cash, \$15, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 169, March 8, 1920, to Congress Hotel, \$16.55, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Congress Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 170, March 8, 1920, to cash, \$50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. L. Babler.
 Exhibit 171, March 10, 1920, to Western Union, \$6.71, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed W. U. Tel. Co.
 Exhibit 172, March 11, 1920, to the Elms Hotel, \$10, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed The Elms Hotel.
 Exhibit 173, March 12, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 174, March 14, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 175, March 15, 1920, to Congress Hotel, \$25, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Congress Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 176, March 19, 1920, to Claypool Hotel, \$20, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Claypool Hotel.
 Exhibit 177, March —, 1920, to Planters Hotel, \$15.70, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Planters Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 178, March 22, 1920, to The Drake Hotel Co., \$100, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Drake Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 179, March 22, 1920, to cash, \$16, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 180, March 26, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 181, March 24, 1920, to Claypool Hotel Co., \$15, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Claypool Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 182, March 26, 1920, to cash, \$3, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 183, March 26, 1920, to C. M. & St. Paul R. R., \$17.58, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed C. M. & St. P. R. R.
 Exhibit 184, March 27, 1920, to Claypool Hotel Co., \$15, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Claypool Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 185, March 27, 1920, to S. E. Morse, \$5, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed S. E. Morse.
 Exhibit 186, March 27, 1920, to cash, \$100, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 187, March 28, 1920, to cash, \$30, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 188, March 29, 1920, to cash, \$50, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 189, March 29, 1920, to cash, \$50, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit No. 190, March 31, 1920, to Planters Hotel, \$50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Planters Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 191, March 31, 1920, to Claypool Hotel Co., \$5, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Claypool Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 192, April 1, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 193, April 5, 1920, to Claypool Hotel Co., \$10, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Claypool Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 194, April 6, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 195, April 6, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 196, April 7, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 197, April 8, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
 Exhibit 198, April 9, 1920, to Planters Hotel Co., \$50, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Planters Hotel Co.
 Exhibit 199, April 9, 1920, to Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co., \$48, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co.
 Exhibit 200, April 9, 1920, to Planters Hotel, \$51, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Planters Hotel.
 Exhibit 201, April 13, 1920, to cash, \$10, signed E. L. Morse.

- Exhibit 202, April 13, 1920, to Western Union, \$20.34, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Western Union Telegraph Co.
- Exhibit 203, April 13, 1920, to cash, \$6, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 204, April 14, 1920, to cash, \$5, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 205, April 15, 1920, to the Willards Hotel Co., \$70, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Willards Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 206, April 16, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 207, April 17, 1920, to cash, \$25, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 208, April 17, 1920, to cash, \$60, signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 209, April 21, 1920, to the Willards Hotel Co., \$25, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Willards Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 210, April 22, 1920, to the Willards Hotel Co., \$170, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Willards Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 211, April 23, 1920, Willards Hotel Co., \$75, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Willards Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 212, April 26, 1920, to Planters Hotel, \$77.59; signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Planters Hotel.
- Exhibit 213, April 28, 1920, to Baltimore Hotel, \$10; signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Hotel Baltimore.
- Exhibit 214, April 28, 1920, to Baltimore Hotel, \$59.24; signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Hotel Baltimore.
- Exhibit 215, April 29, 1920, to cash, \$5; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 216, April 30, 1920, to H. H. Morse, \$5; signed E. L. Morse, indorsed H. H. Morse.
- Exhibit 217, May 1, 1920, to cash, \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 218, May 4, 1920, to cash, \$15; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 219, May 5, 1920, to Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co., \$33.25; signed Sault Water Co., indorsed Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co.
- Exhibit 220, May 5, 1920, to Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co., \$45.70; signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Kansas City Long Distance Telephone Co.
- Exhibit 221, May 6, 1920, to cash, \$50; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 222, May 7, 1920, to cash, \$5; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 223, May 8, 1920, to cash, \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 224, May 9, 1920, to Congress Hotel, \$100; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 225, May 10, 1920, to Congress Hotel, \$34.95; signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Congress Hotel.
- Exhibit 226, May 10, 1920, to cash, \$30; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 227, May 10, 1920, to Western Union, \$17.43; signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Western Union Telegraph Co.
- Exhibit 228, May 11, 1920; to Planters' Hotel, \$52.10; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed Planters' Hotel Co.
- Exhibit 229, May 11, 1920; to cash, \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 230, May 11, 1920; to cash, \$25; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 231, May 15, 1920; to cash, \$20; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 232, May 15, 1920; to cash, \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 233, May 15, 1920; to Excelsior Trust Co., \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 234, May 16, 1920; to cash, \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 235, May 16, 1920; to cash, \$5; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 236, May 19, 1920; to Pollittle ———, \$20; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed Pollitte ———.
- Exhibit 237, May 19, 1920; to cash, \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 238, May 20, 1920; to Planters' Hotel, \$56.37; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed Planters' Hotel.
- Exhibit 239, May 20, 1920; to cash, \$5; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 240, May 20, 1920; to cash, \$30; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 241, May 25, 1920; to cash, \$10; signed E. L. Morse.
- Exhibit 242, May 25, 1920; to Baltimore Hotel, \$25; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed Baltimore Hotel.
- Exhibit 243, May 25, 1920; to W. E. Templeton, \$10; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed W. E. Templeton.
- Exhibit 244, May 26, 1920; to Interurban, \$5; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed C. C. & St. L. Ry. Co.
- Exhibit 245, May 26, 1920; to Baltimore Hotel, \$10; signed E. L. Morse; indorsed Hotel Baltimore.
- Exhibit 246, May 31, 1920, to Baltimore Hotel Co., signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Hotel Baltimore.
- Exhibit 247, June 3, 1920, to cash, \$27.50, signed E. L. Morse.

Exhibit 248, June 4, 1920, to C., M. & St. P. R. R., \$32.35, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed C., M. & St. P. R. R.

Exhibit 249, June 5, 1920, to Congress Hotel Co., \$22.80, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Congress Hotel.

Exhibit 250, June 5, 1920, to Moir Hotel Co., \$42, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Moir Hotel Co.

Exhibit 251, June 7, 1920, to Moir Hotel Co., \$20, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Moir Hotel Co.

Exhibit 252, June 7, 1920, to John Albus, \$25, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed John Albus.

Exhibit 253, June 15, 1920, to Baltimore Hotel, \$10, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed Hotel Baltimore.

Exhibit 254, June 16, 1920, to J. L. Babler, \$20, signed E. L. Morse, indorsed J. L. Babler.

Senator REED. I will ask this general question to cover the whole situation: When you gave moneys out to men and asked them to go and get delegates did you disclose to them what the purpose was, and the plan, to get a convention that would ultimately elect delegates who would be favorable to Mr. Lowden?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; every time.

Senator REED. And did you let them know that this money was money that had been contributed on behalf of Mr. Lowden, either by himself or somebody else?

Mr. MORSE. Yes, sir; contributed by Mr. Lowden for the Lowden campaign benefit.

Senator REED. You made no concealment about it?

Mr. MORSE. I made no concealment to anybody.

Senator REED. And you do not think you were doing anything wrong when you went at it open and above board?

Mr. MORSE. No; I do not.

Senator REED. I do not think of anything else I want to ask Mr. Morse.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything you want to suggest yourself, Mr. Morse?

Mr. MORSE. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Spencer, have you anything?

Senator SPENCER. No.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF MR. JACOB L. BABLER.

The witness was previously sworn by the chairman.

Senator REED. Mr. Babler, you know Mr. Rhodes, of course?

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. How much money did you give Mr. Rhodes during the campaign or during this transaction?

Mr. BABLER. Just one check for \$200.

Senator REED. I do not know whether I asked you about that when you were on the stand before or not. Did I inquire about that?

Mr. BABLER. I think so.

Senator REED. What was your statement?

Mr. BABLER. My statement was that he used \$30 and returned \$170.

Senator REED. Yes. That is all in the record.

Mr. BABLER. Yes.

Senator REED. I will not bother you about that, then. Thank you, sir.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

TESTIMONY OF MR. CHARLES A. HAYS

The witness was sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name to the reporter.

Mr. HAYS. My name is Charles A. Hays.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. HAYS. Decorator.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that?

Mr. HAYS. I am a decorator.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home?

Mr. HAYS. Harrisonville, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you one of the parties who paid money?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you receive?

Mr. HAYS. \$300.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Babler.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the purpose of it?

Mr. HAYS. It was to get uninstructed delegates to a convention.

The CHAIRMAN. In some particular county with them?

Mr. HAYS. Well, over the district.

The CHAIRMAN. Over the district?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What district?

Mr. HAYS. The sixth district.

The CHAIRMAN. The sixth district?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend to that work?

Mr. HAYS. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you spend all of that money?

Mr. HAYS. I certainly did.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you spend it?

Mr. HAYS. I spent it on railroad fare and hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any other money?

Mr. HAYS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Hays.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Reporter, place in your report the depositions of Mr. Patterson, Mr. Kesterson, Mr. Rhoads, Mr. Hallett, Mr. Gartside, Mr. Everman, Mr. Folks, and Mr. Hall.

(Said depositions are inserted herewith, as follows.)

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Washington:

On this the fifth day of July, A. D. 1920, before me, a Notary Public for the county and State aforesaid, personally appeared _____, known to me to be the person he represents himself, who first duly sworn, upon his oath deposes and states that he is one of the printed hearings held on the first day of June, 1920, before the committee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Sixty-sixth Congress, in connection with a list of names to whom J. L. Babler alleges he gave Lowden campaign funds in Missouri, the following statement appears: "I gave, as I remember it, M. E. Rhodes \$200."

Affiant further states that the said J. L. Babler did not give to him \$200 or any other sum of the Lowden campaign fund; affiant further states that he had no knowledge of the Lowden campaign fund in Missouri until he read an account of the same in a Denver newspaper on or about June 2d, 1920, and knew nothing of the hearing before the Senate subcommittee or the testimony of the said Babler until he read an account of the same in the St. Louis Globe Democrat June 5, 1920; affiant further states that the said Babler never mentioned the candidacy of Gov. Lowden to him either personally or by letter, and that he (this affiant) neither communicated verbally nor by letter with the said Babler, or to any other person in Missouri or out of Missouri concerning the Lowden campaign fund or the candidacy of Gov. Lowden; affiant further states that he attended neither the thirteenth district nor the State Republican conventions, and had no connection whatsoever with the Lowden campaign.

M. E. RHODES.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this the 5th day of July, A. D. 1920.

[SEAL.]

PARKE M. BANTA,
Notary Public.

My commission expires January 18, 1921.

IN THE MATTER OF THE INVESTIGATION OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN FUND BEFORE
THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS.

SWORN STATEMENT OF HOLMES HALL, OF SEDALIA, MO.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Pettis, ss:

Holmes Hall being duly sworn, upon his oath states as follows:

I am a resident of Sedalia, Pettis County, Missouri, and have resided in said county and State since November 18, 1878, the date of my birth.

During the latter part of January, 1920 (I have no way of fixing exact date), I was in the city of St. Louis and called at the office of Hon. Jacob L. Babler, vice president of the International Life Insurance Co., of St. Louis, and who is also Republican national committeeman from Missouri. At that time I had concluded what business I had in St. Louis and had some spare time on my hands, and my call on Mr. Babler was merely a friendly call upon a personal friend. We had a very pleasant visit together and discussed politics in general and the situation in Missouri in particular, and more particularly the situation in the seventh congressional district of Missouri, in which district I reside.

During the conversation I had with Mr. Babler, I understood that he would be a candidate for reelection as national committeeman, and that he was very much interested in the nomination of Governor Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, who was also my choice for President. Mr. Babler and I both thought that I might be of some service to Governor Lowden's campaign and that if I would make a trip into some of the counties of our district and see certain influential Republicans I might aid materially in bringing about the election of two delegates from our district who would favor the nomination of Governor Lowden; and at the suggestion of Mr. Babler, I agreed to go from St. Louis to Springfield, Missouri, and which necessitated my going from St. Louis to Springfield and from Springfield to Kansas City on my return, and I agreed to subsequently see other parties who lived in different parts of our district. Mr. Babler offered to pay my expenses and my recollection is that he further indicated that he was willing to compensate me for my time and services, but as I was perfectly willing to assist in the election of delegates favorable to Governor Lowden's nomination, and also to assist in any way I could in the reelection of my friend, Mr. Babler, as national committeeman, I declined to accept any compensation for time or services, but did insist on having Mr. Babler pay my expenses, and before leaving his office he gave me a check for one hundred dollars, to cover whatever expenses I might incur on the particular trip we had in mind and for any subsequent trips or services rendered in behalf of Governor Lowden's candidacy.

I made the above-mentioned trip and during the next week or two spent a considerable time and incurred additional expenses in behalf of the same cause, and my recollection is that I also made two trips to Kansas City, which is outside of our district, for the purpose of conferring with certain parties who reside in my district, but who happened to be in Kansas City at the time.

I was again in St. Louis to attend the Lincoln Day banquet, which was held there February 12. I going to St. Louis a day or two in advance of the banquet and returning to my home in Sedalia the morning of the 13th. Some time while in St. Louis on this occasion (I have forgotten the exact date but it probably was February 11), I conferred with Mr. Babler again in regard to the progress that was being made and about several county conventions which were soon to be held, for the purpose of electing delegates, and the matter of expenses was again mentioned, and as I had them expended more than the original one hundred dollars paid to me by Mr. Babler, and as further expenditures were considered advisable, he gave me another check for two hundred dollars and I continued more or less active in behalf of Governor Lowden until and during the seventh Missouri district convention, which was held at Sedalia, March 22nd. And although I was not a delegate to our congressional convention, I was in many, if not most of the conferences and aided somewhat in making the combination for the election of two delegates from our district, one of whom I knew was favorable to the nomination of Governor Lowden, and the other of whom I had reason to believe preferred his nomination, and as proof that my judgment was correct, I will state that both the delegates from our district voted for Governor Lowden on the first ballot at the recent Republican national convention at Chicago. I will also add that at the time of the election of our delegates, I understood that they were both favorable to the reelection of Mr. Babler as national committeeman, and that at Chicago one of the delegates voted for Mr. Babler's reelection and the other delegate voted against his reelection.

I will further state that the money paid to me by Mr. Babler was used by me to pay traveling expenses and legitimate incidental personal expenses, and not one cent of same was given by me to either delegate elected from this district, or to anyone who was at any time a candidate for delegate. I do not remember the exact conversation I had with Mr. Babler in regard to the source of the money paid me for expenses, but I will state frankly that I knew positively during both of our conversations that he was very active in behalf of the nomination of Governor Lowden, and it was my belief at the time I received this money from Mr. Babler that it was from the Lowden campaign fund, notwithstanding the fact that the checks given me were Mr. Babler's personal checks.

HOLMES HALL.

On this 14th day of June, A. D. 1920, before me personally appeared Holmes Hall, who being duly sworn, upon his oath states that he has read the foregoing statement and that the facts stated therein are true, according to his best knowledge, information, and belief.

[REAL.]

ETHEL M. JACOBS,

Notary Public, Pettis County, Missouri.

My commission expires August 25, 1920.

THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE, DEKALB COUNTY,
Woonsocket, S. Dak., June 15, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON,

United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Yours of June 5 just reached me here in Dakota. In reply will say, first, I never received \$300 from anyone; but I did receive \$225. Twenty-five dollars of it was to pay my way to and from St. Louis, the other to be used in getting out the county vote to elect delegates to the congressional convention that would help elect delegates to the national convention who would be favorable to Gov. Lowden. There were some traveling expenses to pay out of this, but most of it went to pay auto hire to get out the vote.

Hoping this is plain to you, I am

Yours, for Republican victory this fall,

B. L. FOLKS.

MOBERLY, Mo., June 19, 1920.

Hon. Senator KENYON,
Chairman, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In compliance with your request for a sworn statement of for what purpose I expended some money given me by Mr. Babler, have this to say:

I live in Moberly, Mo. On or about January 22, 1920, I was in St. Louis, Mo., and called on Mr. Babler in his office, and as usual we talked politics awhile, and as I was getting ready to leave his office, he said, "I am going to give you my personal check for campaign expenses," and he handed me his check of \$200. Do not think I told him I was for Mr. Lowden on this occasion, but did tell him I was for Mr. Lowden at another time when I was down there. I have been an active Republican for about 30 years, and have known Mr. Babler for about 12 years. I do not know whether Mr. Babler expected me to work for Mr. Lowden for the presidential nomination or to use my influence in the district to elect delegates favorable to him for the national committeeman. I did not keep any record of my expenses, but I helped to organize our county mass meeting; attended district meeting at Chillicothe; was three days at our State convention in Kansas City; went into the third district in which we made a hard fight to elect a Congressman, and spent three days; made several trips to St. Louis and other points in State. As I have said, I have no record of my expenses, but I am satisfied that I have spent more money in the campaign than given me by Mr. Babler, and I worked and used my influence for Mr. Lowden and Mr. Babler at every opportunity.

Very respectfully,

L. W. KELLY.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
County of Randolph, ss:

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 19th day of June, 1920, at my office in Moberly, Mo.

[SEAL.]

JEROME A. RIDGEL,
Notary Public.

My term expires August 9, 1923.

GALLATIN, Mo., June 10, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON,
Chairman United States Senate
Committee on Privileges and Elections.

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your recent letter inclosed find statement as per your request.

Yours, truly,

JOHN W. EVERMAN.

• STATEMENT.

John W. Everman, of lawful age, states, upon his oath, as follows:

I received money on three different occasions during February, 1920, amounting in all to about \$300, I presume, to the best of my knowledge at this time, from a young Mr. Morse, of Excelsior Springs, Mo., a son of E. L. Morse, to be used for my auto hire and other necessary and incidental expenses connected with my seeing people to interest them in Lowden, as Mr. Morse knew I was a Lowden man from the beginning, with Johnson as my second choice.

I paid no money I handled to anyone as a salary or to get their vote. I kept no itemized account regarding the money, for I paid as I went, leaving no bills to be brought up. Sometimes I paid hotel bill or for meals, often I spent several dollars for good cigars to hand out, and usually my auto hire was all the way from about \$10 to \$25 per trip. I made an effort to see all good influential men in politics and try to influence them for Lowden if possible; and in addition to the money mentioned above I also spent some of my own money, probably about \$150; but I paid no money to get votes, and paid no salary to anyone.

JOHN W. EVERMAN.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 10th day of June, 1920.

[SEAL.]

DAISIE D. PATTERSON,
Notary Public.

My commission expires February 12, 1921.

HAMILTON, Mo., June 10, 1920.

HON. WILLIAM S. KENYON, Chairman,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am inclosing my affidavit, in compliance with your request of the 4th instant, relative to the money received by me in connection with the presidential campaign.

Am sorry that my statement can not be more detailed, but for your information this was my first (and I am sure my last) venture in politics, and I find I know nothing about it.

Trusting the affidavit will satisfy your committee, I am,

Very truly, yours,

HAROLD H. GARTSIDE.

AFFIDAVIT.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
County of Caldwell, ss:

Before the undersigned, a notary public in and for the county and State above written, personally appeared Harold H. Gartside, who, being by me duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: That some time about February first, 1920, he received one hundred fifty dollars (\$150.00) from E. L. Morse to defray his expenses or part of them in making the race for delegate to the national Republican convention; that nothing was said about being for any candidate, but to keep an open mind and vote according to the caucus of the Missouri delegation; that this money was spent, according to his best knowledge and belief, as follows: \$65.00 for expenses over Caldwell County, including automobile and other incidental expenses; \$50.00 for expenses to Excelsior Springs and Kansas City, Mo., for conferences; \$35.00 given to Glen Boutwell, of Nettleton, Mo., to defray similar expenses in his behalf; that the exact date of receiving the money or the dates of the expenditures are not now remembered by him; but he does know that the expenses were greater than the amount given him, the difference of which he did not then or since ask for; that the reason he does not recall or have any means of checking same up was that he had never been in politics before and had no idea that it was right or wrong in accepting funds to help defray expenses, as he did not care originally to make the race.

HAROLD H. GARTSIDE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of June, 1920.

[SEAL.]

WM. MCAFEE, Notary Public.

My term expires January 28, 1923.

JUNE 23, 1920.

Senator WILLIAM S. KENYON,
Chairman Committee on Privileges and Elections, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: Replying to your inquiry of June 4, I herewith submit my statement as to money received and disbursements of same in connection with the campaign for delegates from Missouri to the national convention at Chicago.

If my statement is not entirely satisfactory, and you will advise me, I will be glad to appear before your committee at its next hearing and submit to such examination as your committee may desire to make.

Your very truly,

W. H. HALLETT.

WHH/MJ.

BEFORE THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS—IN THE
MATTER OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

STATEMENT OF W. H. HALLETT, NEVADA, MO.

I, W. H. Hallett, of Nevada, Missouri, being first duly sworn upon my oath, say that in February, 1920, I received a check from E. L. Morse for the sum of \$300; that I was advised that the money was from a general fund that had been raised locally in Missouri, and was never advised prior to the investigation by this committee that the money had been furnished by any candidate; that I was frequently called in conference with the Republican leaders in the State who were active in the preconvention campaign and with Republican leaders in

the fifteenth Missouri district who were endeavoring to elect an uninstructed delegation to the national Republican convention at Chicago; that the sum of \$271.35 was spent by me for transportation, including automobile hire, hotel bills, telephones, and other necessary and legitimate incidental expenses; that before making a settlement with the party furnishing the money I learned through the investigation at Washington that the money had been furnished by the manager of Gov. Lowden; that I then returned to Gov. Lowden the sum of \$300, being all the money that I had received from any source; that no part of the money was given to any delegate or any candidate for delegate nor to any person or persons for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence his or her vote at any convention or for a delegate to any convention, or for any other purpose than above stated.

W. H. HALLETT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23d day of June, 1920.

[SEAL.]

RICHARD S. HART,
Notary Public.

My commission expires August 4, 1921.

STATE OF MISSOURI,
County of Cass, ss.

Charles A. Hays, being duly sworn, upon his oath states that he resides in Harrisonville, Cass County, Mo., and has resided in said county about 34 years.

Affiant states that he is now and was at the times hereinafter mentioned secretary of the Republican central committee of Cass County, and secretary of the congressional committee of the sixth congressional district of Missouri.

Affiant states that along the latter part of December, 1919, he received from St. Louis, Mo., a letter from one Mr. A. H. Doerman, who is employed in the International Life Insurance Co., and being the same company with which Mr. J. L. Babler is connected, stating that Mr. Babler would like to see me in St. Louis on the following Monday morning and also stated that my expenses would be taken care of.

Upon the receipt of the letter I made a trip to St. Louis and went to the office of Mr. Doerman, and we two then went to see Mr. Babler. Mr. Babler in our conversation told me he wanted delegates selected to the Republican national convention who would go uninstructed, but who would work in harmony and would vote as a unit when it came time to vote, and asked me if I would assist in securing such delegates. Mr. Babler mentioned Mr. Will Allen, of Clinton; and, afterwards, Mr. Doerman mentioned Mr. Jim Hall, of Bates County. Mr. Babler also asked me if I would get in touch with the chairmen of the Republican central committee of the sixth district and see if these men were agreeable. When I left Mr. Babler's office he gave me a check for \$100 to pay my expenses.

During the conversation with Mr. Babler Mr. Lowden's name was not mentioned. Mr. Doerman told me in the conversation, after we had left Mr. Babler's office, that Mr. Babler was the national committeeman from Missouri, and would like to be reelected, and as Mr. Babler was formerly from the sixth district, he would like very much to have the indorsement from the district. I had already made up my mind I was for Mr. Babler for reelection before I went to St. Louis. Mr. Doerman did not mention Mr. Lowden's name during the time I was in St. Louis. I will further state that during any conversations or any correspondence I had with Mr. Babler he never discussed with me Mr. Lowden as a candidate for President on the Republican ticket, and never mentioned Mr. Lowden to me. Then, on or about the 8th of January, 1920, at a meeting of the State committee, at Kansas City, Mr. Babler gave me another check for \$100; and, then, prior to the 29th of January, 1920, I wrote to Mr. Babler for more money for expenses, and he sent me another \$100. I do not recall that I received any other checks from Mr. Babler, but I may have received another between January 8 and 29, but if I did I do not now recall it.

Will state that after I came back from St. Louis, on or about January 1, 1920, when I received the first check for \$100 from Mr. Babler, I spent a great deal of my time in going over the sixth district getting the district

organization at work and doing such work as I thought necessary to get the Republicans out to the conventions. I paid my expenses to St. Louis and other places I visited out of the money Mr. Babler sent me. I did not keep an itemized statement of my expense account; I visited every county in the district more than one time, except Dade County. And I put in most of my time in visiting different points in the district, and in carrying on a correspondence with the various committeemen in the district. I make my living as a carpenter and paperhanger, and left my work to do the work for my party; and, if I had counted the time I lost from my regular business and my expenses, it has cost me far more than the amount of money I received from Mr. Babler.

I made no effort to get delegates from the sixth district for any particular candidate for President on the Republican ticket, but my object was to get the Republican organization to working and to see that good men were selected to the various conventions—what I mean by good men is that I wanted men who would work harmoniously in the Republican Party and men who stood well and had stood well in the Republican Party.

I think the sentiment for Mr. Lowden for candidate for President in the sixth district was strong all along; there was no effort made to get delegates favorable to him—he was naturally strong in this district, and it was not necessary to make a fight for him here.

I do not know why Mr. Babler had Mr. Doerman send for me to come to St. Louis, unless it was because he knew I was his friend and favorable to him for reelection as national committeeman. He also probably knew I had been active in Republican politics in this district for a number of years.

I do not know why Mr. Babler had Mr. Doerman sent for me to come to St. given him by Mr. Morris and Lowden money—and I do not know yet that it was.

I do know that the only purpose for which I received this money was to pay my expenses for going over the district to organize it and get the Republicans at work, and to see that delegates would be selected at the various conventions who would work in harmony for the party and for the ultimate success of the party—we wanted this campaign to have no trouble in our party and to have a solid front in the fight to carry Missouri for the Republican cause.

Further deponent saith not.

CHARLES A. HAYS.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 21st day of June, 1920.

[SEAL.]

C. D. EIDSON, *Notary Public*.

My commission expires January 22, 1924.

In answer to inquiry from William S. Kenyon, chairman, Committee on Elections Expenditures; dated Washington, D. C., June 5, 1920:

STATE OF MISSOURI.

County of Mercer, ss:

Grant Duple, being duly sworn, upon his oath states that he is clerk of the circuit court and ex-officio recorder of deeds within and for said county in said State; that he is chairman of the Republican central committee of said county, and is a member from said county of the congressional committee of the third congressional district of said State.

That on January 8, 1920, when in attendance at a meeting of said congressional committee, at Excelsior Springs in said State, at which meeting John Frost was nominated, as a candidate for Congress in said third district, after said meeting had adjourned, E. L. Morse approached him and asked him if he was in need of campaign money in his county, and Morse gave him \$200, but Morse did not mention for what purpose the money was to be used, nor did not state who contributed the same, that the principal part of said contribution was used in the Frost campaign for Congress, and that to my knowledge none of said money was expended in the interest of any presidential candidate; the amount was entered to the credit of the funds of the county central committee and used as needed, the same as other moneys contributed to the committee from other sources, to defray the current expenses of the committee.

That a day or two before the meeting of the Republican State convention, at Kansas City, Mo., on May 5, 1920, E. L. Morse asked him by telephone message if he was to attend the State convention; he answered that he was; Morse then

stated that he wanted to take care of his expenses; that at said convention on June 5, Morse handed him a check for \$100 but did not at any time, state how or in who's interest said funds were to be expended.

GRANT DUBLE.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this June 12, 1920.

[SEAL.]

J. A. THOMPSON,

Notary Public Princeton, Mercer County, Mo.

My commission will expire August 22, 1923.

STATE OF MISSOURI,

County of Greene, ss:

Roscoe C. Patterson, of Springfield, Mo., being of lawful age and duly sworn, upon his oath says that on the 2d day of June, 1920, he was informed that Jacob L. Babler, Republican national committeeman from the State of Missouri, had testified before the investigating committee of the United States Senate that was charged with the duty of investigating the expenditures in connection with presidential campaigns and that his testimony was in part to the effect that he had turned over to this affiant the sum of \$1,000 from campaign funds in his hands alleged by him to have been Lowden campaign funds; that immediately thereafter this affiant says that he sent the following telegram to the senatorial investigating committee, to wit:

JUNE 2, 1920.

Hon. WILLIAM S. KENYON,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

I have never received at any time or from any person any money from the Lowden campaign committee and had no knowledge of the existence of such a fund in Missouri until the recent newspaper disclosures.

Replying to the statement of Mr. J. L. Babler before the senatorial investigating committee, I desire to make the following statement: In 1913, as a member of the Republican State committee from the seventh district, I favored the election of Mr. Babler for chairman to succeed Mr. Politte Elvins, who resigned. From that time on until the meeting of the congressional convention at Sedalia this year Mr. Babler and myself were on friendly terms. During the year 1914 Mr. Babler, as the chairman of the Republican State committee, interested himself in trying to secure candidates for Congress in the various Democratic districts in order to build up the Republican organization and the party spirit. He urged me at that time to become a candidate in the seventh district and told me he would use his influence to have my campaign financed by the national or congressional committee.

Again in 1916 he urged me to become a candidate, and Mr. Holmes Hall, of Sedalia, Mo., called me by long-distance telephone from Babler's office in St. Louis and urged me to announce my candidacy for Congress, saying that if I would do so Mr. Babler would contribute \$1,000 toward my campaign expenses; he stated that he was talking from Babler's office, and before the conversation closed Mr. Babler took the telephone and reiterated what Mr. Hall had just told me. For business reasons I declined to make the race in both 1914 and 1916.

In the latter part of 1919 I announced my candidacy for Congress without any promise of financial aid from anyone. On January 7 of this year, while attending a meeting of the Republican State committee in Kansas City, I met Mr. Babler. We discussed politics in general and during the conversation Mr. Babler mentioned my candidacy for Congress and congratulated me on my announcement. He recalled that he had frequently before urged me to make the race and referred to the conversation he and Mr. Hall had with me over the telephone in 1916 and said that he still meant just what he said at that time. He then gave me his personal check for \$1,000 as a personal contribution toward my campaign for Congress. There was nothing whatever said that indicated that the money was from the Lowden campaign committee, and I did not know that anyone was handling money in the interest of Gov. Lowden or for any other presidential candidate. I took the check on the statement that it was a personal contribution from Mr. Babler and knew nothing to the contrary until Mr. Babler's testimony before the senatorial committee.

I might add that Mr. Babler gave me the check on January 7, while the press has quoted Mr. Babler as saying that he had not received any Lowden money until late in February.

I wish to say in justice to the delegates from the seventh congressional district to the Republican convention that there was a very radical difference between Mr. Babler and myself as to who the delegates to the national convention should be, with the result that the delegates selected, to wit, Messrs. Houston and Hedrick, were not the ones urged by Mr. Babler.

As to Mr. E. L. Morse, I desire to state that I have never had any business, political, or financial relations with him at any time or at any place.

ROSCOE PATTERSON.

This affiant further states that on the 5th day of June, 1920, having received information that Mr. Babler could likely be reached by letter at his office in St. Louis, Mo., on or about the 6th day of June, 1920, this affiant dictated and caused to be sent by registered mail the following letter with a certified check for the sum of \$1,000 inclosed therewith, payable to the order of Jacob L. Babler and addressed to Jacob L. Babler, International Life Building, St. Louis, Mo., to wit:

JUNE 5, 1920.

Mr. JACOB L. BABLER,
St. Louis, Mo.

SIR: In 1913, as a member of the Republican State committee, I favored your election as chairman of that committee. From that time until the congressional convention at Sedalia this year I continued to be friendly to your political interests. During all of that time you professed in many ways your friendship for me. In 1914 you requested me to enter the race for Congress in the seventh congressional district and stated at the time that if I would do so you would see that my campaign was financed by either the national or congressional committee. In 1916 you again urged me to become a candidate for Congress, and made the same assurances that you had previously made in 1914. In the early part of 1916 you had Mr. Holmes Hall, of Sedalia, Mo., to call me by long-distance telephone from your office and urge me to enter the race. In the course of the conversation Mr. Hall stated that if I would announce my candidacy you would contribute \$1,000 toward paying the expenses of the campaign, and before that conversation closed you took the telephone and reiterated what Mr. Hall had just said to me.

I just learned yesterday that as late as December, 1919, in a conversation that you had with Mr. J. H. Mason, in St. Louis, who was twice the Republican nominee for attorney general in Missouri, you requested him to urge me to enter the race for Congress this time, and stated to him that if I would do so you would see that my campaign was financed; that you realized that this was a Democratic district and that it was asking too much for me to make the race at my own expense, but that you believed that with the proper effort in this district we could win. I could mention numerous others to whom you have made similar statements.

In the latter part of 1919, without any promise of financial aid from anyone, I announced my candidacy for Congress. On January 6 or 7 of this year, while attending a meeting of the Republican State committee in Kansas City, I met you. We discussed politics in general and during the course of the conversation you mentioned my candidacy and congratulated me on my announcement. You recalled and mentioned the fact that you had frequently before urged me to make the race and referred to the conversation you and Mr. Hall had with me in 1916, and said that you still meant just what you said at that time. You then gave me your personal check for \$1,000 as a contribution toward my campaign for Congress. You said nothing whatever indicating that the money was from the Lowden campaign fund and I took the check on the assumption that you were simply carrying out your previous statements and assurances of what you would do if I became a candidate for Congress.

I note that you are quoted by the press as saying that you never received any of the Lowden money until the latter part of February of this year. If you will look at the returned check that you gave me you will see that it was dated either the 6th or 7th of January of this year.

I mention these matters to you for the reason that, judging from your conflicting newspaper interviews and your testimony before the senatorial investigating committee in Washington City, your memory must be very hazy and for the further reason that your protestations of friendship in past years appear in the light of recent developments to have been insincere and but mere lip service.

I note from your testimony before the senatorial investigating committee that you say that you had given me \$1,000 of the Lowden money. If you are correct in your statement that you did not receive the Lowden money until February then the only conclusion I can draw is that you must have given me your own money and then reimbursed yourself out of the Lowden fund when you received it or that you were hard pressed to account for the fund that you had received and took this means of doing so. I have also thought that possibly you decided to implicate me in this unpleasant affair because of your failure in your effort to dictate to me at the congressional convention at Sedalia this year as to who I should be for as our delegates from this district to the national convention.

Regardless of what your motives were I feel that you have done me an unpardonable wrong and an irreparable injury and that you have proven yourself false to your professed friendship for me and that you have forfeited mine, and feeling this way about it I do not want to be under any obligation whatever to you. I am therefore sending you my check for \$1,000, certified by the bank upon which it is drawn, to cancel the donation to my campaign expenses that I was under the impression that you were so generously making as a testimonial of your interest in and friendship for me.

ROSCOE PATTERSON.

Roscoe C. Patterson, the above-named affiant, further says upon his oath that the facts stated in the above and foregoing are true and correct according to his best knowledge and belief, and that affiant has never at any time knowingly received any sum or sums of money from Jacob L. Babler or any other person from the Lowden campaign funds or from any other funds of any presidential candidate, and that the sum of \$1,000 received from Jacob L. Babler was received and considered to be by this affiant as a personal contribution from the said Jacob L. Babler to this affiant toward the payment of this affiant's campaign expenses as a candidate for Congress in the seventh congressional district of the State of Missouri; that upon learning that the character of the contribution had been brought into question by Babler's testimony this affiant returned the amount thereof to the said Jacob L. Babler.

ROSCOE C. PATTERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me at Springfield, Mo., on this 10th day of June, 1920.

[SEAL]

ORVILLE E. GORMAN, *Notary Public*.

My commission as a notary public will expire on the 13th day of November, 1921.

STATE OF MISSOURI.

County of Mercer, ss:

Now, on this 8th day of June, 1920, comes before me, Archie N. Kesterson, a notary public within and for Mercer County, Mo., Ben F. Kesterson, who, being by me duly sworn, upon his oath says:

My name is Ben F. Kesterson. I reside in Princeton, Mercer County, Mo. My occupation is a lawyer.

I have never received from any candidate for President of the United States, or anyone representing him, during this campaign, either directly or indirectly, one cent for my support of any such candidate, nor have I received any sum of money whatsoever for the purpose of disbursing same in connection with any such candidacy.

The statement by E. L. Morse, of Excelsior Springs, Mo., before the subcommittee of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, that I received \$1,000 from the Lowden campaign fund, for which I was to support or do any work in the interest of Gov. Lowden, is false and untrue. The only sum I ever received in support of any candidate during this campaign year was the sum of \$100, which sum was to be used by me in advertising a meeting for Senator Hiram W. Johnson, at Princeton, Mo., during the special election in the third congressional district of Missouri. I was requested to come to Kansas City and meet Senator Johnson, and to arrange for a meeting to be held at Princeton, Mo., where Senator Johnson was to speak in the interest of John E. Frost, the Republican nominee for Congress in the third district. I was asked to call together a number of prominent Republicans of Mercer County at a dinner in the New Fullerton Hotel, in the early part of February of this year, on the evening Senator Johnson was to speak here. This, I did, and some 50 or 60

prominent Republicans were invited and attended this dinner. After paying the expense of the dinner and the distribution of advertising matter over the county, and some hotel bills of parties who had attended this meeting, the \$100 received by me did not cover such expense.

This \$100 was paid to me by E. L. Morse, of Excelsior Springs, and was represented as coming from the congressional committee of the third district.

I was not a delegate to any of the conventions in my own county; neither was I a delegate to the district or State convention. I never talked to any delegates elected in this State, concerning whom he should support for the nomination for President.

I have taken no active part for or against any aspirant for the nomination on the Republican ticket for President of the United States.

BEN F. KESTERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of June, 1920.

[SEAL.]

ARCHIE N. KESTERSON,
Notary Public.

My commission expires December 19, 1921.

(And thereupon the committee adjourned until Thursday, July 8, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Chicago, Ill.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m. (Chicago time), in room 653, Federal Building, Chicago, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Reed, and Spencer.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the reporter your name in full, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. JOHNSON. Henry Lincoln Johnson, Atlanta, Ga.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of the gentleman you sent to Washington to testify?

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. M. H. Karnes, of Atlanta, Ga., Ostel Building.

The CHAIRMAN. You were subpoenaed to be in Washington, but you were busy in Chicago at that time, so we excused you; but there were some things we wanted to take up with you.

Mr. JOHNSON. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There were two lines of examination. First, the expenditures of money in the preconvention campaign, and second, we would like to ask you a few questions about the suppression of the colored vote in the South. Now, we will take up the last one first, I think.

Mr. JOHNSON. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the general situation, for instance, in Georgia?

Mr. JOHNSON. As to the suppression of voters in Georgia, there are about 5 counties out of 156 in that State where a Negro, on his application to the tax collector, who is ex officio the registration officer, may, as other citizens of the State, register to become a voter in elections.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the qualifications?

Mr. JOHNSON. The qualifications are, for voting in Georgia, that a person must be a male person over 21 years of age, and must have resided in the State for 12 months, and in the county wherein he proposes to vote 6 months prior to the election. He must have paid all taxes required of him since the constitution of the State of Georgia of 1878, down to the date of his application for registration to the tax collector.

Under what we call the Hoke Smith amendment to the suffrage laws of Georgia there were other qualifications added, among them being that a person who, himself or his ancestors, prior to 1868, had the right to vote, was not encumbered by any of the qualifications exacted therein.

The CHAIRMAN. That makes a distinction between the white vote and the colored vote?

Mr. JOHNSON. Exactly, because the fifteenth amendment was not operative in that State until after that date. That is what we generally call the grandfather clause.

Senator SPENCER. Has that been passed upon in Georgia?

Mr. JOHNSON. It has been passed upon in Georgia, but the Republicans of that State have disregarded it on the ground that the Supreme Court of the United States has nullified it, both in the Maryland and Oklahoma cases, in the opinions handed down by Mr. Justice Hughes, or if not handed down by him, admittedly prepared by Mr. Justice Hughes.

Another qualification is that any person who himself engaged in, or any lineal descendant of any person who engaged in, the Revolutionary War, the Indian wars, the War between the States, and the recent wars with Mexico, and the War with Spain were immune from the exactions stated in what we generally call the Hoke Smith disfranchising law. Obviously there were no Negroes in Georgia who could qualify as to those old Indian and Mexican wars very much. That exempted from the rigors of this law all of the veterans of the War between the States and the descendants of those veterans, which practically comprehended all of the white persons of Georgia, but did not comprehend only such colored persons of Georgia as ran away and joined what we call the Yankee army. Section 3 of that law provides that any person who is of good character, who has conducted himself right in his community, also would be entitled to register and vote, if he could not qualify under the antecedent two requirements. But the statute as to how good character was to be established, the vital part, knowingly the vital part of the Smith-Hardwick disfranchising statute was obviously intended to be a means whereby all Negroes could be excluded at the arbitrary will of the tax collector, and, indeed, the language of Senator Hoke Smith at Valdosta, Ga., on the passage of that law comprised these words, practically verbatim, that they were devising a law which by its requirements was such that no Negro, however erudite and qualified, could vote, but that no white man, however unfortunate, could be excluded.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, a colored man could vote, on the character question, if he had the affidavit of two Democrats?

Mr. JOHNSON. Surely; but on the character question, Senator, in the last nine months I have had printed, with other friends—Mr. Karnes and Mr. Watson—upward of a quarter of a million of what we call Stepping-Stones to Registration.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean Tom Watson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, no; one less glorious. I refer to Joseph H. Watson, of Albany, Ga., a Negro, and M. H. Karnes, a white man, and myself, a person of color, under the statutes of my State.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say you have done, Mr. Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. We have gotten out a quarter of a million of what we call Stepping-Stones to Registration, in which we asserted that good character was presumed under the law; in every jurisdiction where the English and American law obtained good character was universally admitted and presumed; and that good character being presumed, it was up to the tax collector to offset the presumption of the law by proof of bad character; and that in the statute itself it unfortunately carried its own weakness by prescribing who was not of good character, so far as voting purposes are concerned, in that it provided that no person who had been convicted of the embezzlement of public funds, treason, a felony, or a crime involving moral turpitude should have the right of franchise—that is, they were automatically disfranchised.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any crime specified having to do with the right of franchise—a violation of the right of franchise? Was that included?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, if any person had been convicted of embezzlement or larceny of public funds, of the violation of a public trust, or the commission of a crime involving moral turpitude, then automatically such person, whoever he might be, stood disfranchised and not eligible to be registered by the tax collector in the State of Georgia.

Senator SPENCER. Did that disfranchisement apply to anyone who had been convicted of any crime connected with voting, or depriving of anyone of the right of franchise?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; unless that particular crime involved moral turpitude. Moral turpitude, Senator, we take it, and we feel the fact to be, refers to those crimes that generally show an abandoned and wicked character, generally sounded in larceny and kindred crimes, such as robbery, burglary, which involve the matter of larceny, but are connected with other offenses. Those are generally admittedly, under our English jurisprudence, crimes involving moral turpitude. Or take perjury, for instance, false swearing. Now, in these Stepping-Stones to Registration we invited, we begged, every Negro, and every other man who had not been convicted of any such offense as that, who had paid his taxes, all taxes required of him by the statute, by the State, by the county, and by the municipality since the establishment of the present constitution of the State of Georgia, of 1878, what we call the Bob Tombs constitution—who had not been convicted of any of these offenses catalogued in the statutes of the State—to go immediately to the tax collector and demand that he be registered; and if the tax collector told him that he must be of good character, he should say, “I am of good character”; and categorically we told them that. Now, that was for the purpose of getting citizens of the State of Georgia who, under every form of every kind of law, were entitled to register and to vote in that State the privilege of so doing. Then the issue came.

I have had to institute mandamus proceedings in different portions of that State.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, a dozen or more.

Senator SPENCER. To compel the tax collector to issue a certificate?

Mr. JOHNSON. To compel the tax collectors. Well, of course, I got one or two in in time, that will not be moot. The others now would be moot, because the statutes of the State of Georgia require

that all persons, to be eligible to vote in presidential or congressional elections, must be registered on or before six months prior to the Tuesday following the first Monday in November, which is the general election.

Senator SPENCER. How many decisions did you get on these applications?

Mr. JOHNSON. I have not gotten any yet, because we were just on the adjournment of court; but there are about three cases that will not be moot. The others will confessedly be moot, because we can not get decisions that will be in time.

Senator SPENCER. Three cases were filed in time?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So that if a decision is in your favor it will relate back?

Mr. JOHNSON. It will relate back.

Senator SPENCER. And enable those men to be registered?

Mr. JOHNSON. Now, it has been a struggle for the Republicans in Georgia to get a chance to vote; and in all of our struggles the Democratic Party, under the direction of Senator Hoke Smith, and under Mr. Thomas E. Watson and former Senator Thomas W. Hardwick, has put the genius of his life into the suppression of, not the right of citizens to vote, but the right of Negro citizens to vote. Now, when I make that statement, I want to make this additional remark: I have practiced law in Georgia for upwards of 23 years, ever since I finished in the law school at Ann Arbor, Mich.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you graduate?

Mr. JOHNSON. Let me see.

The CHAIRMAN. Just approximately.

Mr. JOHNSON. About 1892 or 1893.

Senator SPENCER. Then did you move right down to Atlanta?

Mr. JOHNSON. Sir?

Senator SPENCER. Where did you move to then?

Mr. JOHNSON. Right straight back into a little country village of 1,800 people.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that where you were born?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I was born at Augusta, Ga., educated in the public schools there, received my classical training at Atlanta University at Atlanta, Ga., and took my professional training at Ann Arbor, Mich.

Senator SPENCER. And now you live where?

Mr. JOHNSON. I went right straight back to Jackson, Ga., and practiced law right there in that country town.

Senator SPENCER. That is where you live now?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir; and then I came back to Atlanta.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in Atlanta now, do you not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir; and I want to say that I feel absolutely that I have the confidence and respect of every member of the Georgia bar of respectability.

Senator SPENCER. Now, tell us what per cent, in your judgment, of the colored vote of Georgia that is eligible to vote is allowed to vote?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, there is, in my judgment, Senator, about 85 per cent of the Negro vote in Georgia outrageously suppressed and disfranchised, not under the forms of the law, but by means of brutal force and intimidation.

Senator SPENCER. That is, 85 per cent in your judgment out of every 100 colored men in Georgia, who by right ought to vote, are kept from voting?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. We have in the State of Georgia about 1,300,000 or 1,250,000 Negroes, under the census of 1910, and we have about 1,700,000 white people. There are about 250,000 or 300,000 more white folk in Georgia than there are black folk. That is, prior to the hegira, I mean, the mighty exodus.

Senator SPENCER. That is, in the last two or three years?

Mr. JOHNSON. The last three or four years.

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. Growing out of the State being honeycombed with blood lust, lynchings, and the incineration of human beings, for all manner of offenses, such as disputing a white man's word.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that many colored people are leaving Georgia?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. For the last four or five days I have taken it upon myself, while in this town, to go down here to the Polk Street Station, where the Dixie Flyer comes in, and where the Seminole Limited comes in, at the Twelfth Street Station here, and where the Royal Palm Limited comes in, that comes from the heart of the South; and every time they burn a human being in Georgia you find the poor people of that race, filled with apprehension, traveling to a kindlier shore. And in the last seven days during which I have been here there has not been a day in which there were not from 150 to 200 coming into this town seeking refuge from their tormentors.

Senator SPENCER. What class of people are those generally?

Mr. JOHNSON. Senator Spencer, to my certain knowledge, some have been men of the finest character that I have known since I was a boy, men who have been farmers, who have lived on their farms, who owned them and cultivated them, and others who were tenants for farmers and who toiled for such wages as their employers chose to give and were paid off when their employers chose to pay them off. But beyond all that, take, for instance, an incident which occurred at Milan, in Telfair County, Ga., the case of old man Washington, 68 or 70 years old, who lived across a little old country way in that turpentine town from a family of a woman and two girls. The father had died a year before—this occurred only seven or eight months ago—and when the father died of pneumonia there were two sons, one of whom died at Camp Wheeler just shortly after the death of Congressman Gardner, at Macon, in the service of his country, and the other boy was then wounded in the hospital in Argonne Woods. One night three drunken white ruffians went to that home, unprotected as it was by reason of the two sons having been given to their country, and God Almighty having taken the father—without any protection—three drunken white ruffians went there at night to take those girls out, demanding them to be victims of their lust. And when they broke away from the shooting there at their home, and when they ran and would secrete themselves and were still pursued by those vicious barbarians—and I use no words here in Chicago that I would not use in Atlanta, Ga., and throughout that State; I want that understood, and I want it distinctly understood—when old man Washington heard the screaming of the girls and their crying

to-morrow; if they let any 50 or 1,000 men in Georgia go to any convention uninstructed, I would take my chances and go to the convention uninstructed and see whether they were going to be for the man I was for or not; and if I was for Senator Reed or for Senator Kenyon, or anybody else, I believe the majority would say, "Well, Lincoln, we agree with you on the proposition."

Senator REED. You must be quite an influential man.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I do not know about that. I am simply a fellow, Senator Reed, who has been under considerable tribulation.

Senator REED. But you must be an influential man to lead men around that way, get them uninstructed and then have them go with you.

Mr. JOHNSON. I will tell you why they feel kindly toward me. I have practiced law in that State for about 23 years, and I have never hesitated to speak out about the matter of the barbarous incineration of human beings in that State; and I have the confidence of the bar of that State, and they feel that I must have some little advocate somewhere, Senator. That is why.

The CHAIRMAN. Then this fight and the spending of the money in the town you spoke of was on the national committee fight?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And who was opposing you for national committeeman?

Mr. JOHNSON. A variety of gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. JOHNSON. Col. Henry Blun, of Savannah, a banker; Mr. Roscoe Pickett, of Pickens, Ga., a former State senator; and Mr. Clark Grier himself was not averse to being national committeeman. All of those are white gentlemen.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that fight tie up with the presidential fight?

Mr. JOHNSON. It did, really; it tied up with the presidential fight.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to get at.

Mr. JOHNSON. It did, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the money that was spent by you, was that reimbursed to you in any way by the Lowden forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, no; oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money did you receive from the Lowden forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. About \$9,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, that was money that was used in this particular town that you speak of—that is, the other money, I mean; was that used by the Wood forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or by the Johnson forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. In Dublin Mr. Grier and Mr. Cole, and the gentlemen with him, wanted the delegate, when elected—they wanted to indorse Gen. Wood and instruct the delegate to vote for him.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the fight there?

Mr. JOHNSON. That was the fight there. And I did not care who was elected, and did not care anything about it. I just wanted whoever was elected, the delegate in that district, to be absolutely uninstructed, and take my chances when we got to Chicago with him. So they spent about a couple of thousand dollars there that day.

The CHAIRMAN. In that one day?

Mr. JOHNSON. Surely, right there.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they spend that? They did not buy any delegates, did they?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, I do not know whether it was the buying of a delegate or not. It was just handing out the money to the different boys around, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, just how was that?

Senator SPENCER. Were those boys delegates?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, they were delegates in the convention, and well-wishers.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a county convention?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, sir; that was a district convention.

The CHAIRMAN. A district convention?

Mr. JOHNSON. The twelfth congressional district of Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. The twelfth district convention was held at this particular town?

Mr. JOHNSON. At this particular town; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the chairman of that?

Mr. JOHNSON. J. J. Jenkins was temporary chairman of the convention. He was chairman of the district that called the convention and presided until its temporary organization, and the organization chairman was Dr. Johnson, of Valdosta.

The CHAIRMAN. We had some testimony from Mr. Karnes that at one convention the chairman of the meeting complained very much because they were voting contrary to the way they had been paid to vote.

Mr. JOHNSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And there was some surprise expressed?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; not the chairman. Mr. Grier was complaining; Clark Grier.

The CHAIRMAN. And there was surprise expressed that he paid them before they voted?

Mr. JOHNSON. That was the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. This meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about that. Who said that?

Mr. JOHNSON. J. J. Jenkins, of Dublin, Ga., in 1916 was elected chairman of that congressional district executive committee, and he presided and called the meeting to order. After he called it to order a Dr. Johnson, of Dublin, Ga., in no way related to me by blood or otherwise, was elected the temporary and permanent chairman of that convention. He presided. Clark Grier, who lives at Augusta, Ga., but who was formerly, in 1916 and before, of Dublin——

The CHAIRMAN. A white man?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. JOHNSON. And was formerly postmaster there under McKinley and under Roosevelt, who was formerly the postmaster there at Dublin, but who since that time had removed to Augusta, Ga., had in charge the matter of being interested in having a delegate instructed to vote at Chicago for Gen. Wood. It was he who was interested in that, so interested that he used the money that he had.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who was the Georgia representative of the Wood forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, there were several of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were some of them?

Mr. JOHNSON. Capt. Henry Blun, of Savannah, Ga., who did not so much represent Gen. Wood as he did Gen. Hitchcock.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON. You know how the thing comes up. I know that that Capt. Blun thinks there is nobody in the world but Gen. Hitchcock.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have money to spend?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, not that he has ever told me or that I know of my personal knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, let us get back to the Grier matter then. Grier was over at this convention that day?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say about the expenditure of money?

Mr. JOHNSON. He spent it around, down over a little hall, over the drug store; he called all the boys in and excluded all the rest of us, saying he had personal conversations to have with them; and then he went up to the courthouse—the public courthouse—and when the proposition was made by a delegate by the name of McRay, from a little town that they call Caldwell, about 9 miles out in Lowndes County—or Laurenz County; that is, Dublin is in Laurenz County—he made a motion to instruct the delegate to vote at Chicago for Gen. Wood. When that was done Prof. Henry A. Hunt, principal of the Fort Valley High and Industrial School, at Fort Valley, Ga., who was a boy with me in college at Atlanta University, and my friend—they made arrangements for me to make a little talk before the motion was put, and I talked about the expectation of a Republican Congress, and that we wanted to put an end to lynching by having a Federal law enacted against it, because a State court would never do anything about it; and they were very pleased with that idea, and so when Prof. Hunt made his motion to lay the motion of McRay on the table, out of 34 votes 32 of them—31 or 32—voted to lay the motion on the table; and the motion did lie on the table, and it did lie so much on the table that when Mincey came here to Chicago he voted with me, because I was for Gov. Lowden and voted for Gov. Lowden.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he make this statement?

Mr. JOHNSON. When the motion was laid on the table, Mr. Grier lost his head, and he just went around like a wild man hollering to delegates, and he said, “I have given you money, and I have paid you your money here, and you have let Link Johnson come here and carry you astray,” and all that kind of thing; and he asked for the return of the money. The boys came to me and I said, “Why, just keep what you have got. I shall take all this matter before the grand jury, and see if there is any law in Georgia against corrupt practices”—the corrupt practices act, and all that business. Then Mr. Grier got frightened about the matter, so my friends were left with the money, and I was glad to have it that way.

The CHAIRMAN. He paid them before they voted?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, yes, sir. It was before taking, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is considered a good political manager. is he?

Mr. JOHNSON. We thought he was up to that hour.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, were there other instances of the expenditure of money in that way, that you can tell us anything about?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, you know there are 156 counties in the State of Georgia, and geographically it covers a territory approximately 350 miles in length and about 275 miles in breadth. We have, for instance, 12 congressional districts, with an average of 13 counties in a district; that is not always true; there are some exceptions. For instance, in my district, the fifth Atlanta district, there are only 5 counties. The ninth congressional district, in which Senator Pickett lives, has 19 counties in it.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be a big job.

Mr. JOHNSON. But on an average there are 13 counties—on the average. Now, in this Dublin district, which covers a territory that is larger by far than the State of Delaware or the State of Rhode Island. It extends 175 miles in length, and it is a hard matter to go through those counties—a very hard matter—and I had to go through them; and for the last 12 months I had been right in touch with the boys. I wanted to be national committeeman.

The CHAIRMAN. You were elected national committeeman?

Mr. JOHNSON. I was; by the votes of white men from Georgia, who have lived there and still live in Georgia, and who were born in Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. How was your delegation as to color?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, we had 17.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were white?

Mr. JOHNSON. And I got 12 votes for national committeeman and Mr. Pickett got 3—that was 15; and 2, one white man and one colored man, would not vote either way.

The CHAIRMAN. How many colored men were there in the delegation and how many white?

Mr. JOHNSON. There were about five or six, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Five or six white men?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. Let me see. I could tell you definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is near enough.

Mr. JOHNSON. All right, sir. Fourth district, Williams; fifth, John Martin; seventh, D. C. Cole; ninth, Pickett and his men—that is two more—how many is that?

Senator SPENCER. That is five.

Mr. JOHNSON. And Goree, at large.

Senator SPENCER. That is six.

Mr. JOHNSON. I think that was about all.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you delegate at large?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, yes; and have been since 1896, Senator. I have been a delegate at large from Georgia ever since 1896, when I went to Senator Spencer's home for the first time at St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any indication of the amount of money spent by the Wood forces in Georgia, judging from what you spent yourself in the Lowden matter?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, my expenditure would not be a fair test. I was spending my money to try to create an organization in the State to last more than this campaign, and the other fellows were interested just simply in getting delegates to the convention; so I

do not think it would be a fair test, Senator. In a general way, I think they spent about—all the way from \$65,000 to \$80,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that was spent there by the Wood forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was spent by the Lowden forces?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, well, now, I got \$9,000 from Illinois. I did not get any from Gov. Lowden. I suppose it came from statesmen who were interested very much in Gov. Lowden. I did not question anything about that. Mr. Joseph H. Watson, of Albany, Ga., a colored man, put up \$2,500 cash to put into this.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to the \$9,000?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, yes, sir. I spent between \$7,000 and \$8,000 of my own property in this matter.

Senator SPENCER. In this election?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. In connection with your candidacy?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. We spent about \$20,000 all told.

The CHAIRMAN. About \$20,000?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That covered the presidential matter and the national committee matter——

Mr. JOHNSON. The national committee matter.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, it was involved.

Mr. JOHNSON. I would say so.

The CHAIRMAN. There was an attempt to take the organization away from you?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. It was a race question.

The CHAIRMAN. A race question?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir; the race question against me, because of the way God Almighty had made me. That is all there was to that, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. Is there any interference with the voting of colored men in the primary—in the Republican primary?

Mr. JOHNSON. We have no primaries in our State; the Republicans have no primaries. The Democrats have primaries generally, because, you see, the Democrats——

Senator SPENCER. How do you elect your delegates to district conventions? By mass meetings?

Mr. JOHNSON. This year we did it all by mass meeting. For instance, I am chairman of Fulton County. After the national committee met and issued its call, and after the Republican State central committee met on February 28 and made its call for the State convention, and after the fifth congressional district, in which my county is located, met and issued its call for the district convention, then I called my committee together, the Fulton County committee together, and we made our call for our Fulton County convention. You see, at the one mass meeting there were elected the delegates both to the district and the State convention.

Senator SPENCER. There is no interference with the presence of colored men at the Republican mass meetings?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, no. Now, for instance, there was no forcible interference; there was no forcible opposition made to us, except that the Democrats had considerable concern about our election this

year in Georgia, on the ground that the Democrats did not want a Negro to be a member of the national committee or anything else. They are very much interested in it now. Mr. Clark Howell is complaining about my being a Negro; not about my character, not one word about that, not one word about the esteem I have from my neighbors, who live near me, but on account of being a Negro.

Now, Mr. Clark Howell is very much afraid that Hardwick and Hoke Smith and their friends are going to bolt the Democratic Party and split it up; and the only way that they can offset the Hoke Smith-Hardwick split down there in Georgia is by holding me up and saying, "You-all must come together, because we have the bugaboo of a Negro being a member of the national committee otherwise," when he knows that the boss in the State of Georgia is a white man, Col. C. P. Goree, a white man, chairman of the State committee; so it is simply a question of race matter.

Senator SPENCER. Do you think there is any probability of such a split?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, no; oh, no; 75 years from now Georgia is going to be just as thoroughly Democratic as it is to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. That is probably the best piece of news the Democrats have had for some time.

Mr. JOHNSON. True.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one State you think is certain.

Mr. JOHNSON. Is it not all borne out by the evidence at hand? Have we not had tidings from those who had trouble at San Francisco the other day, and do we not read in the press the commendations of Mr. Cox from those who were treated badly there? I have in mind some very distinguished gentlemen who were mistreated at San Francisco, but who congratulate themselves on the nomination of Mr. Cox.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this: How many votes are cast normally in Georgia?

Mr. JOHNSON. Now, when we had the McKinley campaign on, we carried 40 counties for McKinley, for the Republican ticket.

Senator SPENCER. Forty out of how many?

Mr. JOHNSON. At that time there were 142 counties.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did that vote amount to? The Republican vote, I mean.

Mr. JOHNSON. Forty-eight thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Forty-eight thousand?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Democratic vote, how much?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, about 85,000 or 90,000.

Senator SPENCER. In the whole State?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. 85,000 or 90,000?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many white people are there in Georgia?

Mr. JOHNSON. About 1,700,000, under the census of 1910.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many are there now?

Mr. JOHNSON. About 1,300,000, approximately.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about the proportion of illiterates, illiteracy, in the colored race in Georgia?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. We exceed in illiteracy the white people in Georgia by just about 5 or 6 per cent now.

The CHAIRMAN. Five or 6 per cent?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. We have made considerable strides and we have had a lot of benevolent institutions helping us; a good many teachers from your State, Senator, have come down there, and we have been trying like everything to reduce it.

The CHAIRMAN. They are good people, are they not?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, all of them are very beautiful people. Now, I want to make this statement and say that not one dime of the money that has ever been spent in Georgia has been given to a delegate that was at this convention, not one dime. This money there, all of it——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is hardly true, because the money was sent to you, and you were a delegate.

Mr. JOHNSON. Surely, sir, but this whole thing is centered around this: Take the Lily Whites, Harry Edwards, Hastings, McClue, Boatwright, and all that Lily White crowd: they had a conference with the national committeeman of the State of Georgia. I understand on good authority that the evening before the Lily White convention met there was a meeting between Mr. Harry Stillwell Edwards and a chief member of the Democratic national committee, and they dined together; and the next day Mr. Harry Stillwell Edwards was put out as candidate for United States Senator, because they anticipated that the Republican Party was going to put forth Mr. George Williams, of Dublin County, in his fight for the United States Senate on that day. So to anticipate it, the Democrats bother around with our politics more than they do with their own.

The CHAIRMAN. They brought out a Republican candidate, you say?

Mr. JOHNSON. They brought out Harry Stillwell Edwards as a Lily White candidate for United States Senator, and that was done that day, when the evening before Mr. Edwards dined with a chief functionary of the Democratic Party in that State. Now, that was done to anticipate our nomination of Mr. Williams. We ran Mr. Williams in 1918 for the Senate, and we carried some counties. Let me tell you what we did. There is absolutely utterly nothing in a name, Senator. Mr. Harris, the sitting Senator, a personal friend of mine of many years' standing, since the days he was with Senator Clay there—Mr. Harris, the Democrat, carried Lincoln County, Ga., overwhelmingly. Mr. Williams, the Republican, carried Jeff Davis County overwhelmingly. That is true. It just happened to be that down in Jeff Davis County we have about 75 per cent Negroes, and up in Lincoln County the white people have about 75 per cent, so you can just make your choice as to loyalty there.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing in a name.

Mr. JOHNSON. There is nothing whatever in a name.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a good many Johnsons down there in Georgia, and yet Hiram Johnson did not have many delegates.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, he was not without his friends, Senator. He was not my friend, exactly, because I do not like the Senator very much on account of the color question, and his love for Senator Vardaman down in Mississippi, the letter the Senator wrote to Senator Vardaman, which I did not like very much. I like all the rest of it.

I love all Republicans; just so you say "Republican," I am right there.

The CHAIRMAN. They all look alike to you.

Mr. JOHNSON. But I did not like that letter to Senator Vardaman down in Mississippi.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not remember that.

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; saying that it would be a calamity to the Commonwealth of Mississippi not to return Senator Vardaman to the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. You had quite a spirited Democratic contest down there, did you not?

Mr. JOHNSON. How is that?

The CHAIRMAN. I say, they had quite a spirited Democratic contest down there?

Mr. JOHNSON. We sang when there was trouble at our State convention, but we had no other means of entertainment. The public press said that when they met they not only sang, but they had other inducements that did not sound good to Mr. Roper, who has charge of the Volstead Act enforcement. And another thing: My campaign was far less expensive than that of our mutual friends, the Democrats. Now I call to mind Senator Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia—not Senator, but would-be Senator Thomas E. Watson, on the Hoke Smith-Hardwick combination that went to San Francisco and got turned down—Mr. Watson made this public statement, that notwithstanding that his friends had control in certain counties, had all the county machinery and the emolumentary offices, such as tax receivers, sheriffs, clerks of courts, commissioners of roads and revenues, and all those things, still Mr. Watson had to put up \$5,000 of his money to get into that thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much was spent in that campaign?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, there were about eight of the gentlemen that were running, and I suppose they treat all Democrats just alike, and that would be \$40,000. Usually in the Democratic primaries there they spend any amount of money. I have seen them buy votes in Atlanta, Ga., at \$5 a head, in the Democratic primary, right in Atlanta, Ga., time without number, and the Democratic Legislature of the State of Georgia have refused absolutely to put any limitation on campaign expenses in the State of Georgia. There is no corrupt-practices act.

Senator REED. You don't want it when you get \$9,000 in a chunk?

Mr. JOHNSON. Not a bit, especially when I have to contend with things such as I meet in Georgia, Senator; I need \$50,000.

Senator REED. Well, it would be kept quite pure when it is in your hands.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, it is a question of a little money and force against the Constitution and laws of your country. Take your choice.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you get away from that I want to ask you: Do you know how many Federal officials were on the Democratic delegation to San Francisco?

Mr. JOHNSON. A majority of them, as I am informed and believe. It was generally run, in the campaign in Georgia, by the admin-

istration forces in Atlanta; there is Mr. Hooper Alexander, and Mr. Blalock—we generally call him "Bub" Blalock; he is the collector of internal revenue of Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they on the Democratic delegation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; and they ran the whole thing; they ran all the Hoke Smith and the Watson people out.

The CHAIRMAN. You know the Democratic delegation to San Francisco. I wish you would give us the Federal officials or postmasters, and those connected with the Department of Justice in any way.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I understand generally that the administration and the officeholders generally ran the thing. If I could have a list of it I could identify every one of them, because I believe I know everybody in Georgia, white and colored.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say that the majority of them were officeholders?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; and they ran it. And Mr. Fleming, of Atlanta, Ga., who was chairman, was admittedly under the influence of Mr. Stovall, Mr. Pleasant A. Stovall, editor of the morning paper there, who was formerly minister to Switzerland, and who came to see that the job was done right; that is, Pleasant A. Stovall, of Savannah, Ga. And they ran out the Hoke Smith-Hardwick-Watson combination. The officeholders ran it. They ran the whole State, and they ran the other fellows out, notwithstanding they said they had the majority. Our steam roller here was an institution of benevolence compared to the steam roller there, because Mr. Charlie Barrett, who was the chairman of the Tom Watson-Hoke Smith delegation, and who is the president of the National Farmers Alliance, told me that it was an institution of benevolence as compared to anything that was done there. That is what they said about the Republican situation here.

The CHAIRMAN. He was on the Watson delegation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Oh, he was the chairman of the delegation.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the chairman of the Watson delegation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; he was the chairman of the Watson delegation, and my good friend.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the Watson-Hoke Smith vote compare with the Palmer vote?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, the Watson-Hoke Smith combination had the people. They had a great majority of the people, and they really had the majority of the delegates, but the Democratic officeholding administration machine invoked what they called rule 12, and under rule 12, notwithstanding the majority in a county would be for Hoke Smith, or for Hardwick, or for Tom Watson, they just turned a majority into a minority and appointed their administration forces, and they went there for Palmer, and they were seated, and the other fellows were turned out. We have done no such outrage here at the Republican convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any district attorneys, or anybody connected with the Department of Justice on the delegation from Georgia?

Mr. JOHNSON. Not that I recall. I don't know if Mr. Hooper Alexander was there; he is the district attorney for the northern district of Georgia. I had considerable troubles of my own, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you what you observed.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Hooper Alexander was the storm center; he was running things.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any investigators or employees of the Department of Justice throughout the State working for Mr. Palmer?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; the State was honeycombed with them.

The CHAIRMAN. The State was honeycombed with them?

Mr. JOHNSON. I used to travel from one part of the State in my automobile to the other, and I would meet them all down the road, and they would ask me what did I think about the thing, and to put in a little word, too. Strange as it seems, I have got some good friends among the white people in Georgia.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get that. Did you meet employees of the Department of Justice, investigators or anything else, working through Georgia for a Palmer delegation?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I couldn't say as to that, Senator. I wouldn't want to say as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you said it was honeycombed with them. What did you mean by that?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; but when it comes to the direct employees of the Department of Justice, as to identifying a particular man as doing a particular stunt for his boss, I wouldn't say anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you see Government employees spending their time in that way?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, I don't call to mind just now.

The CHAIRMAN. But your impression is that there were many of them?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir. Now, I have been in this thing ever since I left school, Senator, and I have been a delegate, and all these things, and this is the most economical campaign that we have ever waged. It was the most economical campaign that we have ever been in, and so far as our side of this business is concerned, my money was more or less given to me; the leader was my selection as national committeeman, and Senator, you can see how that thing manifested itself. The thing was carried at last to the floor of the Republican convention, the first time in the history of the Republican Party, and it was not so much against electing a man, but it is the race hate, and this proposition of race hate, the interminable, the ungodly race hate, and they forget God, and they forget Chateau Thierry and they forget no man's land.

Senator SPENCER. Is that true on both sides?

Mr. JOHNSON. No, sir; it was true only as to me.

Senator SPENCER. Well, I mean now race hate. Is there a corresponding race hate among the colored people, as there is among the white?

Mr. JOHNSON. None whatever. We have the spirit, and I speak in that spirit, of "Forgive them Lord, for they know not what they do."

Senator SPENCER. What did you mean when you said that under rule 12, when a county would give a majority for Senator Smith or

Senator Hardwick, the county delegates would be counted against them, and for Palmer?

Mr. JOHNSON. Now, the operation of rule 12 among the Democrats, as far as I can understand it, is this: The Tom Watson and the Hoke Smith crowd contended for what they call the county unit plan; that if they got the majority in a number of county units, taking the county as a unit, they really had the State. But if you take a county like Fulton County, Ga., where the Democrats would poll about 15,000 votes in that one county in the primary, that would equal all the votes that you would ever poll in the entire ninth district, for instance, because there were some counties so sparsely settled that even the Democrats could not get a delegate down from there, like the mountain counties, and Tom Watson had a majority of those little counties.

Senator SPENCER. But that didn't do him any good, because the majority in the other counties——

Mr. JOHNSON. The majority in one county would cover more than Senator Watson would get in the whole district. They had several candidates for President down in Georgia, but some didn't quite develop among the Democrats.

Senator SPENCER. Do you see any practical way by which the Congress of the United States could regulate the expenditures of money for presidential candidates?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do not. I do not, Senator. You take the primaries; the primaries have been the most unsatisfactory means of determining the public will of any institution.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say unsatisfactory?

Mr. JOHNSON. Unsatisfactory. It was certainly unsatisfactory in the State of Maryland, where less than one-third of the Republican vote in that Commonwealth came out.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you think it is less satisfactory than to have some few men in the back room determining nominations?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, personally, Senator, I am of the opinion that the people like leadership; that the people like a good, strong robust leadership.

The CHAIRMAN. They like to put it in the bosses hands and take it away from the people?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir; it is my personal opinion, that where they have a strong leader in whom they have confidence, I think they would rather have that than anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, isn't that the very thing that you are complaining of about the white people in Georgia, taking it away from the hands of the people?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; one is an appeal to reason, and the other is appeal to force.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, primaries need some changes, but I am sorry to hear you advocating taking this power away from the people.

Mr. JOHNSON. Not at all, Senator. I don't mean that. I mean such leadership as the people themselves have confidence in.

The CHAIRMAN. You take the primary away from them, and where do they have any chance?

Mr. JOHNSON. Now, the primary in some other way, if it will be reduced to a matter of local leadership, Senator, I think that should be done.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, there is an effort all over the country now by the political bosses to get away from the primary, and I hope you are not going to join that movement,

Mr. JOHNSON. Don't you think, Senator, that if the primary in a State were centered upon some local man—I mean the primary so far as the direct primary for the presidency is concerned—that that is all right, but where there are a lot of names, a lot of candidates the people don't know, and don't have confidence in, it is not so good. Now, where people have confidence in a particular man there you have good results with the primary, and there it ought to be had.

The CHAIRMAN. Where you have a long list of men to nominate there may be faults in that; people may not know who they are; but you would not take the primary away for the nomination for President or Senator or governor, or in cases of that kind?

Mr. JOHNSON. Not the presidential primary; no. I thought your question related to the primary itself. That gets the thing all mixed up. I think the people like to repose some trust and judgment in their accredited leaders. I am of that abundant opinion—it may be in error—but I do believe that even to-day, Senator, under the enlightenment that we all have, that the people themselves still wish to repose some confidence and trust in their public servants.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I hope for the sake of your people that you will not join in this movement to get rid of the primaries in this country.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, now, that is the presidential primary, Senator. I don't want to see the presidential primary taken away.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think we can have a presidential primary and vote all over the United States on the same day, and have some limitation of expenses, though not an unreasonable limitation, for there has got to be a lot of money spent—a lot of it—but in legitimate ways?

Mr. JOHNSON. Senator, I don't see how that will be. It would not leave anything for the election in November. There is no use of having two elections then.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you merely choose within your party. Of course, in the South the Democrats control.

Mr. JOHNSON. I agree with the Senator's views in regard to the presidential primary, but in a State, within the State, where the neighbors of a man know him and have respect for and confidence in him, let the party put that man forward and trust him to go to a convention and to do the square thing for all the people.

The CHAIRMAN. The primary will do that, won't it?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, now, Senator, you get it all mixed up and tangled.

The CHAIRMAN. I know; I know. I am just against this campaign that is going on all over this country to get rid of the primary. It is the political bosses who are doing it, and apparently may have some success with it, but it will be done after a fight.

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, it may be devised so they can go to the men in the State and leave it to their judgment, and leave them some discretion as to leadership; then, I think, it will be all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us get back here now to something else. We agree pretty well on most things. When Mr. Karnes was before us he gave us what he claimed was the Hitchcock plan in the South.

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; the delegates to the State convention voted for national committeeman.

Senator SPENCER. Delegates from here and all over the State when they get to the State convention elect a national committeeman?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So when you got to Joplin you had the duty of electing a national committeeman for your party?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You also had the duty of electing two delegates to San Francisco?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who did you feel indebted to for that \$150? Who did you really feel that you were rather indebted to for it?

Mr. O'NEILL. Daley gave it to me.

Senator SPENCER. Daley?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; but he had gotten it, I imagine, from Goltra, because Goltra's name was signed to the check. My understanding from Daley was that Goltra brought the checks into headquarters, and he brought one there for each of the committeemen, and called them off, and I hadn't been to a meeting—in fact I hadn't been to a meeting for five months.

Senator SPENCER. And he looked you up and gave it to you?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; he knew he would see me in a day or two following that. I see Daley every couple of days.

Senator SPENCER. Then when you got to Joplin, anybody that Daley wanted to go to San Francisco, would you be for him?

Mr. O'NEILL. I didn't have anything to do with Daley's district.

Senator SPENCER. Daley is in a different district?

Mr. O'NEILL. Twelfth district.

Senator SPENCER. Did he exercise some influence with all the delegates in St. Louis as to who would go to San Francisco?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I don't suppose everybody; he would have exercised some influence with me.

Senator SPENCER. That is, anybody Daley wanted to go to San Francisco you would be for them?

Mr. O'NEILL. I would consider them; I don't know as I would be for them. I had somebody else in mind.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have somebody in mind whom you wanted to go to San Francisco?

Mr. O'NEILL. I had one.

Senator SPENCER. Who was that?

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Roberts.

Senator SPENCER. Was he one of the delegates?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; they turned him down.

Senator SPENCER. How were they selected? Did you have nominations for each delegate?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who was selected?

Mr. O'NEILL. Sam Lazarus and Tony Steuver.

Senator SPENCER. There was no contest for national committeeman, was there?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Were Mr. Lazarus and Mr. Steuver Daley's choice, too?

the manager of the Wood campaign, and when Gen. Wood is elected I will be the Postmaster General," say, for instance, and all these statesmen wanting to be postmasters—that is the thing that counts. Now the colored people don't want to be postmasters; it is the white men. And that is the thing that counts, that every one of them is a candidate for postmaster. Now, for instance, take Fred Dismuke, he was a postmaster under Gen. Hitchcock, and if Gen. Wood was elected you couldn't make him believe that he wouldn't be postmaster again. Now, Mr. McKee had been postmaster at Atlanta, and if Gen. Wood was elected, he would believe that he would again be postmaster. And Mr. Blun had been postmaster at Savannah, Ga., and if Gen. Wood was elected, he would expect to again be postmaster at Savannah, Ga., and so on ad infinitum.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any promises made of postmasterships in this campaign?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes. Now, I had a very splendid white gentleman friend of mine from a little town near Atlanta, who was really my friend, and is my friend to-day, an honorable little white man, who said, "Lincoln, I am going to cast my fortunes with you, my boy, and they tell me I will never be the postmaster; but I would rather be with you, my boy, than to be the postmaster, my boy." That is an illustration. Now, Mr. Cole was assistant postmaster at Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. Clark Grier was the postmaster at Joplin, Ga.; Capt. Blun was the postmaster at Savannah, Ga.; and Mr. Akerman was the postmaster at Cartersville, Ga.; and Jack Spence was in the revenue service; and Mr. Charlie Williams, from the fourth district, was a deputy internal-revenue collector there; and Fred Dismuke, of Thomasville, Ga., was a postmaster; and Mr. Schwartzweiss, at Waynesboro, was a postmaster there, and every one of them we figure in this thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any people working with you who desired to be postmasters?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, there were some of my friends that would not suffer the crown to be offered to them too many times, Senator, but if they would get it, it would be a virgin experience of theirs.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you promised them?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; I wouldn't do that. I wouldn't have the temerity to promise postmasterships. I might say that I would use my kindly offices even with the Senator from Iowa, and all that kind of thing, but I would not give them a promise; I would tell them that I would write a letter to my friend over in Missouri, Miss Haley, the colored woman that was alternate at large from Missouri. Now, that is the extent to which I would go. I would chance to know somebody that would know somebody. I would expect to get next to the Senator from Minnesota through my friend, Mr. W. T. Francis, a Negro who is an elector up there in Minnesota. There are a variety of Negroes who are trying to hold themselves up as best they can, Senator, and we don't care anything about it, and we have got a little teamwork in this country, and we have been scattered through the country, with our relationships, and the alumni of the different universities in this country. It is a new dawn for us, and we are trying to do the best we can. We were represented in every one of the great slaughters in France. Bright boys from the universities; three from my own town.

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PRESIDENTIAL · CAMPAIGN · EXPENSES ·

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 7

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
St. Louis, Mo.

The subcommittee met pursuant to adjournment at 10 o'clock a. m., Friday, July 9, 1920, in the United States court of appeals court room, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Spencer, and Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Matters the committee are investigating here have been brought to its attention in such a way that they felt they should be investigated, and as they may involve in a way some personal matters as to Senator Reed he will sit with the committee only to constitute a quorum. He does not desire to take part in the proceedings, and will not. Senator Edge and Senator Pomerene not being here, it is necessary to have Senator Reed to make a quorum, otherwise he would not sit at all with the committee.

Senator REED. The statement made is entirely satisfactory to me.

TESTIMONY OF PATRICK P. O'NEILL.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name to the reporter, Mr. O'Neill.

Mr. O'NEILL. Patrick P. O'Neill.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. O'NEILL. President of the Metropolitan Auto Service Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you hold any position with the Democratic Party in St. Louis?

Mr. O'NEILL. City committeeman.

The CHAIRMAN. City committeeman for what ward?

Mr. O'NEILL. First ward.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the general duties of a city committeeman in St. Louis?

Mr. O'NEILL. To see that the vote is gotten out and keep the ward organized.

The CHAIRMAN. And take part in the selection of delegates to county conventions?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't understand Missouri politics, so I will have to ask you a question or two and you can enlighten me on it. You have a county convention to select delegates to the State convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. We have a ward convention; ward mass meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. The ward convention selects delegates directly to the State convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And how many wards have you in St. Louis?

Mr. O'NEILL. Twenty-eight.

The CHAIRMAN. How many delegates do you have to each ward?

Mr. O'NEILL. There is one for each 200 votes cast at the last presidential election.

The CHAIRMAN. One to each 200?

Mr. O'NEILL. I think that is what it is.

The CHAIRMAN. And this delegate goes directly to the State convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When was your State convention held for the selection of delegates to the national convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Every ward held a mass meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh; it is a mass meeting, is it?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Everybody attends a Democratic mass meeting?

Mr. O'NEILL. We send out notices to the Democratic people to attend.

The CHAIRMAN. Just the Democrats get a notice?

Mr. O'NEILL. Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. You can tell a St. Louis Democrat?

Mr. O'NEILL. We know them here.

The CHAIRMAN. Then they select delegates on the basis of what your vote was?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir. I announce how many delegates we are entitled to and they nominate them.

The CHAIRMAN. When was your convention held in Missouri and where to select delegates to the San Francisco convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. To the San Francisco convention?

The CHAIRMAN. To the State convention.

Mr. O'NEILL. To the State convention at Joplin you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the State convention was held at Joplin, was it?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And selected delegates to the national convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir. Our convention, however, to select delegates to the Joplin convention was held in March; I don't remember what date it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take an active part in the selection of delegates to the State convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the only thing that the State convention had to do was to select delegates to the national convention.

Mr. O'NEILL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. There were no state issues involved in that at all?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you give us the date of your district convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't remember what the date was; I think it was in March.

The CHAIRMAN. Some time in March?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; that we held a mass meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were you for for President; who were you working for?

Mr. O'NEILL. For President?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. O'NEILL. I had no choice; I didn't care who; McAdoo, Cox, any of them would have satisfied me. Whoever the Democrats named I am for; I don't care.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you been interviewed about helping to get delegates to the State convention who would be for any particular candidate for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; absolutely, no.

The CHAIRMAN. No one talked to you about it?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any money paid you by anybody, or given you by anybody, to use in the district convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; I got \$150.

The CHAIRMAN. \$150?

Mr. O'NEILL. Check for \$150.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that from?

Mr. O'NEILL. It was signed by Edward F. Goltra?

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Edward F. Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. National committeeman.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has he been national committeeman?

Mr. O'NEILL. About eight years, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his business?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. He is active in politics?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. I couldn't say; I never asked him who he was for; I haven't spoke to him in six years.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get the check?

Mr. O'NEILL. From Lawler Daley.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Lawler Daley?

Mr. O'NEILL. The chairman of the city committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know him pretty intimately?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This \$150 was given to you in one check?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; it was made out to the order of cash.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you at the time it was given to you?

Mr. O'NEILL. I think I met Daley on Jefferson Avenue and Olive one night.

The CHAIRMAN. On the street?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Handed you on the street?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; it was handed me by Daley. He says, "Here is the money for your expenses to Joplin." I says, "Is this signed by Goltra?" He says, "Yes; Goltra give the checks down at headquarters."

The CHAIRMAN. Was this after your district convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And were you a delegate to Joplin?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had had no money given to you before that day?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir. This was, I think, either the day or second day before we left for the Joplin convention. It was in the evening; I was out there with my wife, and I seen Daley on the corner and stopped my automobile.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ask him for money?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to get together?

Mr. O'NEILL. As soon as I got out the machine I walked over to him.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say?

Mr. O'NEILL. I says, "Hello, Lawler." He says, "Hello, Pat. Here is your expenses to Joplin."

The CHAIRMAN. Here is your expenses to Joplin?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell him you didn't want the expenses?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were able to pay your own way, weren't you?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you you were to do for that money?

Mr. O'NEILL. Take the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Take the delegates?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were there?

Mr. O'NEILL. Ten.

The CHAIRMAN. Ten delegates from the district?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; 10 from the first ward.

The CHAIRMAN. You were to pay the expenses of all of them?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; they didn't all go. I think there was only two who went.

The CHAIRMAN. Two went?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How far is Joplin from here?

Mr. O'NEILL. I guess about 300 miles; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you give them any of this money?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; I paid their way—bought their tickets.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you pay for the tickets?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know what they cost.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay their hotel bill there?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was that?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know; maybe forty or fifty dollars; somethinglike that; I don't remember what I spent.

The CHAIRMAN. The rest you had for your own?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I spent about \$200, all told.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you away?

Mr. O'NEILL. Oh, several days.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you have gone up there if you had not received this \$150?

Mr. O'NEILL. Sure, I would.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have to have anybody pay your way?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it customary for one to pay the way of the delegates to the State convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; I don't believe it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't that strike you as anything unusual?

Mr. O'NEILL. I never went to only one State convention before, and that was to St. Joe.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid your way then?

Mr. O'NEILL. I paid my own way.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't it strike you as a little unusual that somebody was paying your way to the convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I never paid no attention to it. I didn't ask no questions. He says, "Here, Pat, is your expense money to Joplin."

The CHAIRMAN. Was the check made out to you?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; pay to the order of cash.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see any more checks?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; that is the only one I saw.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't any other checks out on the street that night?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that man's name?

Mr. O'NEILL. Lawler Daley—Lawrence P. Daley.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, he did tell you he wanted you to stand by Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. Oh, No; if he did I wouldn't have accepted the money.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say a moment ago, something about standing by Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. I never said a word about standing by Goltra at any time.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a contest over Goltra at that time?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Haven't you just testified about something about Goltra, about standing by Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir. The check was signed by Edward F. Goltra. If they had said for me to stand by Goltra I would never have taken the money.

The CHAIRMAN. You never said anything about standing by Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir. I was always against Goltra; I am against him yet.

The CHAIRMAN. You are against him yet?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't go there to work for Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Daley against Goltra, too?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't understand about your politics here.

Mr. O'NEILL. I am perfectly willing to answer any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you give us the names of the delegates who went to Joplin?

Mr. O'NEILL. There was Miss Pohlman—I don't know what her grst name is; I think it is Miss Stella Pohlman—and myself. I don't know whether Andy Sheridan went or not; Andy Sheridan was put on. I didn't see him on the train.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you buy a ticket for him?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir. I am satisfied no one else went up of our delegates. I had all the proxies.

The CHAIRMAN. Just you and Miss Pohlman?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you state a while ago that you bought tickets for more than that?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; I said I paid the expenses of the delegates of the ward.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say there were two besides yourself.

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't want you to misunderstand me; I am not trying to evade anything; I have nothing to hide.

The CHAIRMAN. So there were just yourself and one other delegate you paid the expenses?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know whether Sheridan went or not; Sheridan was to go; I don't say he did.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't any copy of this check?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did it read; can you tell us?

Mr. O'NEILL. Pay to the order of cash \$150.

The CHAIRMAN. What bank was it drawn on?

Mr. O'NEILL. I think the Mercantile Trust Co.; I am not sure. I cashed it at the Night and Day Bank, and I indorsed it; put my name on the back of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Signed by whom?

Mr. O'NEILL. Edward F. Goltra.

The CHAIRMAN. And you were going to the convention to work against Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. If he had had opposition, yes; I would work against him.

The CHAIRMAN. You would take his money and work against him?

Mr. O'NEILL. That wasn't his money; that was supposed to be somebody else's.

The CHAIRMAN. Whose was it?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know; somebody's he had collected.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this man Daley tell you this was somebody else's money?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes; Daley said Goltra had collected the money.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you who he had collected it from?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; I taken it he got it from subscriptions here in town.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you who had subscribed?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; not a soul.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have taken the money if it had been Goltra money?

Mr. O'NEILL. Not if it was taken to work for Goltra; no. I wouldn't have taken it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he state the money was given to you for?

Mr. O'NEILL. To pay my expenses to Joplin.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a trip to Joplin?

Mr. O'NEILL. To the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. You received \$200 from the Steuver crowd, we will speak of them in that way, and \$150 from the Goltra crowd——

Mr. STREUTKER. No; we only got \$100 from Mr. Steuver. I made a mistake.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been testifying about \$200?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes; I was wrong about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You got \$100 from one crowd and \$150 from another crowd that were antagonistic to each other; you got them each way?

Mr. STREUTKER. This Goltra crowd wasn't antagonistic. He collected that money.

The CHAIRMAN. He was antagonistic to the Steuver crowd?

Mr. STREUTKER. We didn't figure on getting that money from Goltra; some friends of ours.

The CHAIRMAN. The check had Goltra's name on it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you understand contributed that money?

Mr. STREUTKER. All the different leading Democrats in town.

The CHAIRMAN. Both paid it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. STREUTKER. He said it himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Goltra said it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir. One time he came there and he claimed he didn't have it all collected, but that he would have all in two or three days.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you where it came from and who it came from?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; just said he had been out seeing the leading Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not, of course, have taken the money from both sides of the factional fight?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well; we wouldn't take Ed Goltra's personal money.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't make any investigation of it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Only his word it was not his money.

The CHAIRMAN. If you wouldn't take his money would you take his word?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not Ed Goltra's; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you take his money if you would not take his word?

Mr. STREUTKER. Because he said it was not his money, and he told about going around collecting it and different Democrats donated it to him. I think there is one man here that helped donate part of that money, Mr. Andy Maroney.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. STREUTKER. I didn't ask him how much.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did Goltra collect?

Mr. STREUTKER. He gave each committeeman \$150; that would be about \$4,200.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they all get \$100 of the Steuver fund?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't say that. That only went in that district. I wouldn't say whether they all got it or not.

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Goltra was against Reed?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know, I never spoke to Goltra: I don't know how he stood on that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know how he stood on that?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I haven't spoken to Goltra in six years.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you for or against Senator Reed in the convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. I was for him.

The CHAIRMAN. You were for him?

Mr. O'NEILL. I was for him; personally, I voted for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the delegation from Missouri instructed for anyone for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know anything about that. That is the national convention at San Francisco?

The CHAIRMAN. No; but your convention, did they pass any resolutions instructing your delegates from Missouri for anybody for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear any talk about anyone for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes. I had heard about McAdoo, Gov. Cox; I heard talk about Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Goltra for for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. I couldn't say.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Daley for?

Mr. O'NEILL. Daley would never express any choice to me for President.

Senator SPENCER. You are not a member of the State committee, are you?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You are of the city central committee of the first ward?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How long have you been that committeeman?

Mr. O'NEILL. Either six or eight years.

Senator SPENCER. You are friendly with Mr. Daley?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I mean you and he work together?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. When you went to Joplin the first ward was entitled to 10 delegates?

Mr. O'NEILL. Ten delegates.

Senator SPENCER. And you elected 10 delegates?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. But when you actually went to Joplin you had the proxies, I understood you to say, of eight of them?

Mr. O'NEILL. All of them.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have Miss Pohlman's, too?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you cast all the proxies?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is, Miss Pohlman went down but she didn't really participate?

Mr. O'NEILL. She didn't vote.

Senator SPENCER. So that, really, in the Joplin convention you represented the first ward?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You had all 10 proxies?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you voted those 10 proxies as your judgment led you to vote them?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now, when you saw Daley on the street he gave you that check and said to you, "Here, Pat; here is your expense money to Joplin"?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You knew your expense money was coming?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, I didn't know it at that time; in fact, I didn't expect it.

Senator SPENCER. Had you heard anything about any expense money?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I hadn't attended a meeting in five months, I guess. I don't have time to attend.

Senator SPENCER. The first you knew of any money was what Mr. Daley said to you on the street?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And when he gave you this check, were you surprised that it was signed by Mr. Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes; I was surprised to get it at all; I didn't expect it.

Senator SPENCER. And you said, "Why, that is signed by Goltra"?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Then what did Daley say?

Mr. O'NEILL. Daley says, "Goltra collected the expenses for the delegates to the convention."

Senator SPENCER. Then you took it and used it in connection with the convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now, Mr. O'Neill, is it true that in your own heart there would be a friendly feeling for whoever advanced the expenses to Joplin?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I would not have had a friendly feeling for Goltra.

Senator SPENCER. No; but you said it was not Goltra's money?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; I still say that.

Senator SPENCER. Though Daley told you that the money had been collected by Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And whether he subscribed any of it himself or not you didn't know that, that is right?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I didn't know anything about whether he did or not.

Senator SPENCER. I presume from the fact that his name was signed to the check you knew by that that he had something to do with the collection of it?

Mr. O'NEILL. That he collected it.

Senator SPENCER. Is it fair to say that having taken a man's money for your expenses, you went to Joplin with a friendly feeling for whoever that money was collected from?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Other things being equal.

Mr. O'NEILL. The money wasn't Goltra's money.

Senator SPENCER. Let's leave Goltra out of it. If Daley himself had advanced that money, or had collected that money, there would have been in your heart a very friendly feeling to do anything you could do for the man who had paid the expenses of your whole delegation to Joplin, would it not?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't think that would have influenced me one way or the other.

Senator SPENCER. That is, you would have taken money for your expenses to Joplin from anybody without feeling under any obligations?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; he never remarked about anything at Joplin.

Senator SPENCER. I see that; but when you would go down to the convention with the money of anybody in your pocket, isn't there a friendly feeling toward the things that that man wants done, if you can do them? I don't mean you are pledged to do them.

Mr. O'NEILL. There is a friendly feeling; yes, sir; but Goltra or anybody else couldn't have been mistaken on me. I was against Goltra in St. Joseph four years ago, and I would have been against him again.

Senator SPENCER. That is neither here nor there; let's leave Goltra out of it. I am right, am I not; that any man whose money you take and put in your pocket and use for convention expenses——

Mr. O'NEILL. Unquestionably.

Senator SPENCER (continuing). You feel friendly toward that man?

Mr. O'NEILL. Unquestionably.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, if I had been a member of the Democratic Party, and I come to you and say, "I want to go to the San Francisco convention, here is a check, there is your money," and that is all I said to you—when you went to Joplin, you would feel that as far as you could you would like to work with me and help me out?

Mr. O'NEILL. As far as I could honorably do it, yes, sir; I would feel friendly to you, of course.

Senator SPENCER. And that would be the reason, probably, why I gave you the money. In other words, I would have your friendly feeling.

Mr. O'NEILL. I wouldn't know what your idea was in giving it.

Senator SPENCER. Ordinarily, when a man gives a sum of money he has something in his mind.

Mr. O'NEILL. Sometimes they do, yes; that is, as a rule.

Senator SPENCER. Did you know afterwards that any other central committeemen got any money?

Mr. O'NEILL. I heard they did. I didn't see any of the checks.

Senator SPENCER. But as far as you know and heard they got the checks the same as you did?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who is Mr. Streutker; what is his full name?

Senator SPENCER. What does he do?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think he is in the Internal Revenue Department.

Senator SPENCER. He is probably handy here?

Mr. STREUTKER. I guess he ought to be here unless he is out on the street.

Senator SPENCER. What was said by him when he gave you the \$200?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not a thing. He knew we were all for Steuver and Lazaraus; not a thing said to us, only said, "Here is your expenses."

Senator SPENCER. Did you ask him for some money?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; he told me, "Here is your expenses to Joplin." Outside of that, I don't know where he got it.

Senator SPENCER. You didn't know where or how much had been collected or who collected it?

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. How did you know it was from Steuver?

Mr. STREUTKER. I knew it was from Steuver and Lazarus.

Senator SPENCER. Did you just guess it?

Mr. STREUTKER. I knew they were going to give us some money.

Senator SPENCER. How did you know they were going to give you expenses?

Mr. STREUTKER. Because they always did.

Senator SPENCER. That is, judging by experience of the past you knew you were going to get some money from Mr. Steuver?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir. I don't know whether that was his money or whether he collected it; I won't say that.

Senator SPENCER. But you are satisfied it came either from or through him?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You got \$200 from the Steuver source?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; from the Steuver-Lazarus source.

Senator SPENCER. And \$150 from the Goltra source?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What other money was there?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think that is all.

Senator SPENCER. Just think a minute.

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I think Mr. Brinkman collected some, too.

Senator SPENCER. What Brinkman was that?

Mr. STREUTKER. Ben H. Brinkman.

Senator SPENCER. How much did he collect?

Mr. STREUTKER. I have forgotten whether we got each \$20 or \$25; I wouldn't say. It was not very much from him.

Senator SPENCER. You mean each of the city committee?

Mr. STREUTKER. Those that got it; I don't know who all got it. I think we got \$20 or \$25 from that source.

Senator SPENCER. Who was Mr. Brinkman for; do you know?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; he didn't have anyone.

Senator SPENCER. Were any of your delegates members of the city committee.

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. You are not?

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; the delegates to the State convention voted for national committeeman.

Senator SPENCER. Delegates from here and all over the State when they get to the State convention elect a national committeeman?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So when you got to Joplin you had the duty of electing a national committeeman for your party?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You also had the duty of electing two delegates to San Francisco?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who did you feel indebted to for that \$150? Who did you really feel that you were rather indebted to for it?

Mr. O'NEILL. Daley gave it to me.

Senator SPENCER. Daley?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; but he had gotten it, I imagine, from Goltra, because Goltra's name was signed to the check. My understanding from Daley was that Goltra brought the checks into headquarters, and he brought one there for each of the committeemen, and called them off, and I hadn't been to a meeting—in fact I hadn't been to a meeting for five months.

Senator SPENCER. And he looked you up and gave it to you?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; he knew he would see me in a day or two following that. I see Daley every couple of days.

Senator SPENCER. Then when you got to Joplin, anybody that Daley wanted to go to San Francisco, would you be for him?

Mr. O'NEILL. I didn't have anything to do with Daley's district.

Senator SPENCER. Daley is in a different district?

Mr. O'NEILL. Twelfth district.

Senator SPENCER. Did he exercise some influence with all the delegates in St. Louis as to who would go to San Francisco?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; I don't suppose everybody; he would have exercised some influence with me.

Senator SPENCER. That is, anybody Daley wanted to go to San Francisco you would be for them?

Mr. O'NEILL. I would consider them; I don't know as I would be for them. I had somebody else in mind.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have somebody in mind whom you wanted to go to San Francisco?

Mr. O'NEILL. I had one.

Senator SPENCER. Who was that?

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Roberts.

Senator SPENCER. Was he one of the delegates?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; they turned him down.

Senator SPENCER. How were they selected? Did you have nominations for each delegate?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who was selected?

Mr. O'NEILL. Sam Lazarus and Tony Steuver.

Senator SPENCER. There was no contest for national committeeman, was there?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Were Mr. Lazarus and Mr. Steuver Daley's choice, too?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I assume from what you say that Lazarus's going was because Mr. Steuver wanted him to go or he could not have gone if Mr. Steuver had been against him?

Mr. STREUTKER. Lazarus was a friend of Jim Reed's. They wanted to get the factions together. The majority to whom I talked wanted to send Sam Lazarus and do away with that fight in the Democratic Party because he was a friend of Jim Reed's.

Senator SPENCER. Lazarus was a friend of Reed's, but as a matter of fact if Steuver had been against Lazarus you would have selected some other man, wouldn't you, friendly to Senator Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't answer that. We figured it was best to send a man friendly to Reed. Of course, the chances are if Steuver had insisted on him not going he would not have went. We wanted harmony.

Senator SPENCER. When you made that selection of Lazarus and Steuver who talked it over?

Mr. STREUTKER. The central committeemen had a caucus—that is, I think seven or eight committeemen had a caucus and delegates names were mentioned.

Senator SPENCER. Was Steuver there at the caucus?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; he was not.

Senator SPENCER. You rather represented him?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; we all represented him when his name was mentioned, but about a half a dozen names were mentioned.

Senator SPENCER. When you went into that caucus you had your own mind made up as to the two who you wanted to go to San Francisco.

Mr. STREUTKER. I had my mind made up as to who I would vote for. Of course, I would have abided by the caucus.

Senator SPENCER. But you had your own mind made up as to whom you were going to vote for?

Mr. STREUTKER. I was going to vote for Steuver and Lazarus.

Senator SPENCER. You made up your mind in consultation with Mr. Steuver about that and you and he talked it over?

Mr. STREUTKER. I met him one day and I asked him whether he would go if we would elect him. I met him at the Central National Bank, he is a director there, and I happened to be passing by there, and he was standing in the door, and I asked him in case we should elect him would he go.

Senator SPENCER. He said he would?

Mr. STREUTKER. He told me he would.

Senator SPENCER. How about Lazarus?

Mr. STREUTKER. I forgot who mentioned Lazarus's name.

Senator SPENCER. Did you ask Mr. Steuver about that?

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. But you were satisfied he was satisfactory?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any other money—just think a minute?

Mr. STREUTKER. Let's see; I don't think so.

Senator SPENCER. Of course, you would know; now think.

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I think that is all.

Mr. O'NEILL. Senator, don't misunderstand me. I said, in regard to taking that Goltra check, it would not affect me. I would not have voted for Goltra if he had had opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would have taken a check with his name signed to it and gone to the convention and voted against him?

Mr. O'NEILL. You understand I was told when I took that check that that money was collected by Mr. Goltra to pay our expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you say that you felt that way toward Mr. Goltra; that you wouldn't take the check; I don't want his check; I don't want his money?

Mr. O'NEILL. I told Daley long before that that I wouldn't support Goltra.

The CHAIRMAN. That you wouldn't support him?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes; long before that I told Daley if Goltra had opposition I would not support him.

Senator SPENCER. Was Daley for Goltra?

Mr. O'NEILL. I couldn't say whether he was or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Notwithstanding that you took a Goltra check, got the Goltra money, and went to the convention; that didn't influence you being for Goltra at all?

Mr. O'NEILL. No, sir; because I don't say it was Goltra's money. I didn't take the money with the intention of supporting Goltra.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take the money with the intention of working against him?

Mr. O'NEILL. I would have worked against him if he had had opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take the money with the intention of doing what Daley wanted you to do at the convention?

Mr. O'NEILL. Oh, no; Daley didn't want me to do anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't want you to be for anybody for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the delegates from your district for President?

Mr. O'NEILL. As far as I know they had no choice.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did they vote for?

Mr. O'NEILL. They didn't vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't vote?

Mr. O'NEILL. No; we didn't have nothing to do with the President.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood you to say in answer to Senator Spencer's question you selected two district delegates?

Mr. O'NEILL. You mean from the tenth district?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know; they went to San Francisco and voted.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know their names?

Mr. O'NEILL. Yes, sir; Steuver and Lazarus.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did they vote for at San Francisco?

Mr. O'NEILL. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any interest in this at all?

Mr. O'NEILL. My interest was to send Mr. Roberts as a national delegate.

Senator SPENCER. Which Mr. Roberts?

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Roberts, of the St. Louis Star. I thought he was entitled to go, as he supported the Democratic Party all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. You received \$200 from the Steuver crowd, we will speak of them in that way, and \$150 from the Goltra crowd——

Mr. STREUTKER. No; we only got \$100 from Mr. Steuver. I made a mistake.

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Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

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Mr. STREUTKER. He gave each committeeman \$150; that would be about \$4,200.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they all get \$100 of the Steuver fund?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't say that. That only went in that district. I wouldn't say whether they all got it or not.

Mr. STREUTKER. 2846 Salena Street.

Senator SPENCER. You are the city committeeman from the tenth ward?

Mr. STREUTKER. Tenth ward Democratic committeeman.

Senator SPENCER. What congressional district is that in?

Mr. STREUTKER. Tenth congressional district.

Senator SPENCER. The same as Mr. O'Neill?

Mr. STREUTKER. O'Neill; yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you get some of this \$150, too?

Mr. STREUTKER. I got \$150; yes.

Senator SPENCER. Where did you get it?

Mr. STREUTKER. In the city committee's headquarters.

Senator SPENCER. How many of the committeemen were there?

Mr. STREUTKER. I guess about 20 up there that day; I couldn't tell you for certain.

Senator SPENCER. Was it in the daytime?

Mr. STREUTKER. In the afternoon about 4 or 5 o'clock.

Senator SPENCER. Was there a meeting called for any purpose?

Mr. STREUTKER. Called for that special purpose.

Senator SPENCER. To get the money?

Mr. STREUTKER. To get the checks.

Senator SPENCER. That is, you all knew there was some money coming?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That accounted for the large attendance?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes; it generally does.

Senator SPENCER. What was the purpose of the money?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, right after the delegates were elected to Joplin we appointed a committee of three, I think——

Senator SPENCER. Who do you mean by "we"?

Mr. STREUTKER. The city committee appointed a committee of three.

Senator SPENCER. Who was that committee?

Mr. STREUTKER. Lancaster——

Senator SPENCER. What is his full name?

Mr. STREUTKER. Arthur H. Lancaster.

Senator SPENCER. What ward is he from?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think he is from the sixth. Joe J. Mestres. I have forgotten who the third man was on that committee; it might have only been two on it.

Senator SPENCER. Do you remember Mestres's ward?

Mr. STREUTKER. Mestres is from the seventh.

Senator SPENCER. Are Lancaster and Mestres here?

Mr. STREUTKER. Lancaster is here; I haven't seen Mestres.

Senator SPENCER. Well, you appointed that committee of two or three, whatever the number was?

Mr. STREUTKER. To see if they could get money for a special train to go to Joplin, to take all the delegates.

Senator SPENCER. To raise some money to go?

Mr. STREUTKER. To raise money to pay for a special train, either get transportation or get cheaper rate.

Senator SPENCER. Who were they to see?

Mr. STREUTKER. They were to see anybody that would donate.

Senator SPENCER. Any names suggested?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; just our regular list that we have there, who they always go to see most.

Senator SPENCER. Men of means?

Mr. STREUTKER. Men of means and men who had donated to the party in previous campaigns.

Senator SPENCER. Did they make any report back to the committee?

Mr. STREUTKER. They reported they saw Mr. Goltra and that he volunteered to take up this collection and see what he could get. So a week or so after Mr. Goltra appeared before the committee, and he thought that he could get enough money to pay for the St. Louis end of it, for a special train; that he wanted to take some southeast Missouri delegates with him, too, and he wanted to know exactly how many delegates we would send from St. Louis so he could make arrangements; and he thought he would have the money together in a week or so; that he was going among his friends and make the collection.

Senator SPENCER. Did he tell you how much he was going to raise?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes; he said enough for the special train, whatever that would be.

Senator SPENCER. Was the amount you got reasonably satisfactory, or did you expect more?

Mr. STREUTKER. It didn't pay for the transportation. We thought they would pay for special train in the place of furnishing us the money.

Senator SPENCER. How about the living down there?

Mr. STREUTKER. We had to pay that ourselves.

Senator SPENCER. How many delegates did you have in your ward?

Mr. STREUTKER. Six.

Senator SPENCER. How many went to Joplin?

Mr. STREUTKER. Three and myself.

Senator SPENCER. Four.

Mr. STREUTKER. Four; yes.

Senator SPENCER. You held the proxies of all?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; I held the proxies of all of them.

Senator SPENCER. Were you like Mr. O'Neill—I mean you voted the proxies?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, those that were in there voted themselves. We all stayed together and voted a unit vote. The reason I had the proxies in case one of them wouldn't show, or something. The ward voted them as a unit on everything.

Senator SPENCER. You had the whole six proxies in your pocket, so if they were all away and you were there alone you could have voted for the ward?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. As a matter of fact, only four were there?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who were they?

Mr. STREUTKER. They were myself, Ed McNicholls, Edward J. Mauer, and Mrs. Charles Doran.

Senator SPENCER. Those are the delegates that went from your ward?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You are not a member of the State committee?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who was your choice for delegate to San Francisco down there?

Mr. STREUTKER. Anton C. Steuver and Sam Lazarus.

Senator SPENCER. That was your choice?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And that was the choice of the district?

Mr. STREUTKER. Excepting, I think, the county didn't vote for them, the twenty-eighth ward and O'Neill's ward.

Senator SPENCER. The first ward?

Mr. STREUTKER. The first ward.

Senator SPENCER. You had a large majority?

Mr. STREUTKER. We had a majority.

Senator SPENCER. They were friendly to Goltra?

Mr. STREUTKER. It never came up who they were for for national committeeman. We didn't have nothing to do with that. The national committeeman was elected at Joplin.

Senator SPENCER. By the State committee?

Mr. STREUTKER. By the convention.

Senator SPENCER. By the convention?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Your ward was friendly to Goltra?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; we would have been against Goltra if he had any opposition. I don't think we voted at all. I left before he was elected. I don't know whether anybody voted from my ward.

Senator SPENCER. Do you think that might have had something to do with a friendly feeling toward Goltra?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't think it had anything to do, because he went out to collect that money. I think he gave very little of his money; I think he collected the biggest part of it.

Senator SPENCER. Did Mr. Steuver advance some money in connection with the expenses or otherwise?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, we got some expenses from Steuver, too. We always get it from Steuver, whether he is candidate or not. He always has advanced the south end committeemen money.

Senator SPENCER. He is very generous to the committeemen?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How much did you get from Steuver?

Mr. STREUTKER. We got \$200. I don't think that was from Steuver alone. It was to cover all expenses, and the \$150 from Goltra. The Steuver money was collected—I don't think Steuver gave it all.

Senator SPENCER. You got it from him?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; I got it from another committeeman.

Senator SPENCER. What committeeman,

Mr. STREUTKER. Hughes.

Senator SPENCER. What district is Mr. Hughes from,

Mr. STREUTKER. He is from the eleventh.

Senator SPENCER. How much did he give you, \$200?

Mr. STREUTKER. \$200.

Senator SPENCER. Have you seen Mr. Hughes here this morning?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I haven't. That was to cover expenses.

Senator SPENCER. What is Hughes's full name?

Mr. STREUTKER. William H. Hughes.

Senator SPENCER. What does he do?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think he is in the Internal Revenue Department.

Senator SPENCER. He is probably handy here?

Mr. STREUTKER. I guess he ought to be here unless he is out on the street.

Senator SPENCER. What was said by him when he gave you the \$200?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not a thing. He knew we were all for Steuwer and Lazaraus; not a thing said to us, only said, "Here is your expenses."

Senator SPENCER. Did you ask him for some money?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; he told me, "Here is your expenses to Joplin." Outside of that, I don't know where he got it.

Senator SPENCER. You didn't know where or how much had been collected or who collected it?

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. How did you know it was from Steuwer?

Mr. STREUTKER. I knew it was from Steuwer and Lazarus.

Senator SPENCER. Did you just guess it?

Mr. STREUTKER. I knew they were going to give us some money.

Senator SPENCER. How did you know they were going to give you expenses?

Mr. STREUTKER. Because they always did.

Senator SPENCER. That is, judging by experience of the past you knew you were going to get some money from Mr. Steuwer?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir. I don't know whether that was his money or whether he collected it; I won't say that.

Senator SPENCER. But you are satisfied it came either from or through him?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You got \$200 from the Steuwer source?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; from the Steuwer-Lazarus source.

Senator SPENCER. And \$150 from the Goltra source?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What other money was there?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think that is all.

Senator SPENCER. Just think a minute.

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I think Mr. Brinkman collected some, too.

Senator SPENCER. What Brinkman was that?

Mr. STREUTKER. Ben H. Brinkman.

Senator SPENCER. How much did he collect?

Mr. STREUTKER. I have forgotten whether we got each \$20 or \$25; I wouldn't say. It was not very much from him.

Senator SPENCER. You mean each of the city committee?

Mr. STREUTKER. Those that got it; I don't know who all got it. I think we got \$20 or \$25 from that source.

Senator SPENCER. Who was Mr. Brinkman for; do you know?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; he didn't have anyone.

Senator SPENCER. Were any of your delegates members of the city committee.

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. You are not?

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. Now, then, up to this time we have got the sum that Brinkman collected; you don't know the aggregate of it?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you hear how much that was?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You got \$25?

Mr. STREUTKER. \$20 or \$25.

Senator SPENCER. You didn't get any more than that?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You think every one of the committeemen in the tenth district got the same?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't say so: I think so.

Senator SPENCER. Wouldn't be any reason why he should give it to you?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; no reason why I should get it and no one else.

Senator SPENCER. You got \$200 from the Steuwer-Lazarus fund?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. There isn't any reason why every other committeeman in the 10 districts wouldn't have received it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; that is, friendly to Steuwer.

Senator SPENCER. That is, O'Neill wouldn't have got it?

Mr. STREUTKER. He has never been considered a Steuwer man.

Senator SPENCER. Kingsland would not have got it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Kingsland wouldn't have got it.

Senator SPENCER. In all probability as you look at it those two men wouldn't have got it?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't think they would.

Senator SPENCER. When you take that money from Mr. Steuwer and Mr. Lazarus and Mr. Goltra's fund and the Brinkman fund there is, of course, isn't there, a feeling that as far as you can you are going to help them out and follow their inclinations in the matter?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not the Goltra end of it.

Senator SPENCER. Leave out the Goltra end?

Mr. STREUTKER. We have been with Steuwer for 20 years down that way. He is our so-called leader. That is one reason we are for Steuwer for anything in reason, whether we get anything from him or not.

Senator SPENCER. Whoever Steuwer or Lazarus wanted for President you would be for?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, I wouldn't say Lazarus; I would say Steuwer.

Senator SPENCER. That is, whoever Steuwer wanted for President you would rely on his judgment and you would be for him?

Mr. STREUTKER. I would rely on his judgment.

Senator SPENCER. And the reason of that particularly is because he has always been so generous in helping you out and was in this case?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; not only has been generous, but in getting positions for some of the boys.

Senator SPENCER. Helping them out?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; when he was police commissioner years ago.

Senator SPENCER. Whenever he could he would help out the boys!

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. I assume from what you say that Lazarus's going was because Mr. Steuver wanted him to go or he could not have gone if Mr. Steuver had been against him?

Mr. STREUTKER. Lazarus was a friend of Jim Reed's. They wanted to get the factions together. The majority to whom I talked wanted to send Sam Lazarus and do away with that fight in the Democratic Party because he was a friend of Jim Reed's.

Senator SPENCER. Lazarus was a friend of Reed's, but as a matter of fact if Steuver had been against Lazarus you would have selected some other man, wouldn't you, friendly to Senator Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't answer that. We figured it was best to send a man friendly to Reed. Of course, the chances are if Steuver had insisted on him not going he would not have went. We wanted harmony.

Senator SPENCER. When you made that selection of Lazarus and Steuver who talked it over?

Mr. STREUTKER. The central committeemen had a caucus—that is, I think seven or eight committeemen had a caucus and delegates names were mentioned.

Senator SPENCER. Was Steuver there at the caucus?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; he was not.

Senator SPENCER. You rather represented him?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; we all represented him when his name was mentioned, but about a half a dozen names were mentioned.

Senator SPENCER. When you went into that caucus you had your own mind made up as to the two who you wanted to go to San Francisco.

Mr. STREUTKER. I had my mind made up as to who I would vote for. Of course, I would have abided by the caucus.

Senator SPENCER. But you had your own mind made up as to whom you were going to vote for?

Mr. STREUTKER. I was going to vote for Steuver and Lazarus.

Senator SPENCER. You made up your mind in consultation with Mr. Steuver about that and you and he talked it over?

Mr. STREUTKER. I met him one day and I asked him whether he would go if we would elect him. I met him at the Central National Bank, he is a director there, and I happened to be passing by there, and he was standing in the door, and I asked him in case we should elect him would he go.

Senator SPENCER. He said he would?

Mr. STREUTKER. He told me he would.

Senator SPENCER. How about Lazarus?

Mr. STREUTKER. I forgot who mentioned Lazarus's name.

Senator SPENCER. Did you ask Mr. Steuver about that?

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. But you were satisfied he was satisfactory?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know of any other money—just think a minute?

Mr. STREUTKER. Let's see; I don't think so.

Senator SPENCER. Of course, you would know; now think.

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I think that is all.

Senator SPENCER. Now is the best time——

Mr. STREUTKER. No, that is all I can remember; that is, it all I know of anyway.

Senator SPENCER. You would know if any other men got any?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I would not.

Senator SPENCER. How about any money for San Francisco?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't know a thing about that. We wouldn't have any occasion to have anything for San Francisco.

Senator SPENCER. Who were Mr. Steuver and Mr. Lazarus for for President?

Mr. STREUTKER. Cox.

Senator SPENCER. They voted for Cox?

Mr. STREUTKER. According to the paper reports, I think they did. I think they were for Cox all the way.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. How was the feeling—the Steuver crowd and the Goltra crowd rather against each other?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not very good.

The CHAIRMAN. Not very good?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not very good.

The CHAIRMAN. The fund out of which you secured the \$25—what was the name of that gentleman?

Mr. STREUTKER. Brinkman. He is connected with some bank I think. We sent somebody to him to see if he couldn't collect a little money.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he have a crowd?

Mr. STREUTKER. No. He didn't want anything. We went to the man to see whether he couldn't collect some money to pay the expenses to Joplin.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people went on the money you got, that you paid the expenses to Joplin?

Mr. STREUTKER. I paid railroad fare for two and paid the expenses for the lady.

The CHAIRMAN. That was three?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes. Paid all the railroad fare, and my own railroad fare, and I paid for the meals.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's get the railroad fare. How many went at your expense?

Mr. STREUTKER. Myself and three.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the fare to Joplin?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think it was either \$26 or \$27 a round trip, it was over \$25, \$1 or \$2 over \$25.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you at Joplin?

Mr. STREUTKER. Why, we got there in the morning, and I left the next morning—stayed all that night.

The CHAIRMAN. A couple of days?

Mr. STREUTKER. A day or two; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the hotel bills were?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't know, the lady paid for the hotel, I just gave her the money when we came back to St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. All of this \$375 you received was for expenses?

Mr. STREUTKER. For expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. You received \$200 from the Steuver crowd, we will speak of them in that way, and \$150 from the Goltra crowd——

Mr. STREUTKER. No; we only got \$100 from Mr. Steuver. I made a mistake.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been testifying about \$200?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes; I was wrong about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You got \$100 from one crowd and \$150 from another crowd that were antagonistic to each other; you got them each way?

Mr. STREUTKER. This Goltra crowd wasn't antagonistic. He collected that money.

The CHAIRMAN. He was antagonistic to the Steuver crowd?

Mr. STREUTKER. We didn't figure on getting that money from Goltra; some friends of ours.

The CHAIRMAN. The check had Goltra's name on it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who did you understand contributed that money?

Mr. STREUTKER. All the different leading Democrats in town.

The CHAIRMAN. Both paid it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who told you that?

Mr. STREUTKER. He said it himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Goltra said it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir. One time he came there and he claimed he didn't have it all collected, but that he would have all in two or three days.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you where it came from and who it came from?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; just said he had been out seeing the leading Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not, of course, have taken the money from both sides of the factional fight?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well; we wouldn't take Ed Goltra's personal money.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't make any investigation of it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Only his word it was not his money.

The CHAIRMAN. If you wouldn't take his money would you take his word?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not Ed Goltra's; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you take his money if you would not take his word?

Mr. STREUTKER. Because he said it was not his money, and he told about going around collecting it and different Democrats donated it to him. I think there is one man here that helped donate part of that money, Mr. Andy Maroney.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. STREUTKER. I didn't ask him how much.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did Goltra collect?

Mr. STREUTKER. He gave each committeeman \$150; that would be about \$4,200.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they all get \$100 of the Steuver fund?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't say that. That only went in that district. I wouldn't say whether they all got it or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know whether they all got the \$25?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't tell you that either.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any other funds you can remember of around here?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the two delegates?

Mr. STREUTKER. Sam Lazarus and Anton C. Steuver.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there was a contest in the State convention over delegates at large, wasn't there?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, we were against Hay—Charles M. Hay.

The CHAIRMAN. He was a candidate for delegate at large?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he elected?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; he was beaten.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't it a very spirited contest over the delegates at large?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; he got at least three or four hundred votes, I think. I don't think that vote was close.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any other contest for delegates at large?

Mr. STREUTKER. I forget how many were nominated.

The CHAIRMAN. Nominated eight, didn't you?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, with one-half vote. They elected the men first, and then afterwards, I think, they elected the ladies.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there some lady delegates at large?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes; they had four of them; they had one-half vote each, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. What part did you take in that contest?

Mr. STREUTKER. I didn't take any in the ladies. We agreed—the St. Louis delegates—whoever they voted for; I didn't pay any attention.

The CHAIRMAN. The delegates at large, you didn't pay any attention to them?

Mr. STREUTKER. I mean I voted for the lady delegates that we agreed on; that Senator Kinney and, I think, Shannon, of Kansas City, agreed on. I think we voted for the caucus nominees for ladies.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear anything about other delegates to the convention outside of St. Louis having expenses paid?

Mr. STREUTKER. I couldn't say that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with any of them?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not on that source; no.

The CHAIRMAN. What other issues or fights or contests were there before the State convention?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, the Jim Reed fight was about the only fight there.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you friendly to him?

Mr. STREUTKER. I certainly was. Senator, I would like to make a correction on that—that it was \$100 given me by Steuver.

The CHAIRMAN. You have corrected that. Were the Goltra forces opposed to Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those that came from St. Louis who had expenses paid fighting Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. Reed's name wasn't mentioned when the expenses were paid.

The CHAIRMAN. But these delegates who had the expenses paid were in the convention fighting Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. They were fighting for Reed; I think all St. Louis was for Reed, except the twenty-eighth ward, and I think he got part of the delegates out there—I am not sure about that—and part of the county. You see, the county is in that tenth district also—St. Louis County—and we got part of them votes, and I think we got part of the votes in the twenty-eighth.

The CHAIRMAN. You think these delegates that were paid expenses by Goltra went up there and were for Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. Every St. Louis delegate voted for Reed except a few out of the twenty-eighth ward and St. Louis County.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they for for President, do you know?

Mr. STREUTKER. Why, it wasn't mentioned—President wasn't mentioned—that never came up there. These delegates were all uninstructed that went to San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Goltra supporting Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I don't think he was. No; he was against.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Daley supporting Reed?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think Daley was against him; I think his vote only vote against Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. Had there been another candidate for national committeeman before the time you received this money?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; Goltra never had any opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Goltra never had any opposition?

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

Senator SPENCER. Wasn't James C. Jones running for awhile?

Mr. STREUTKER. Oh, he thought he was; he only thought he was.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he get out of the fight?

Mr. STREUTKER. About a week after he started.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it with relation to these payments of money?

Mr. STREUTKER. That was way before that.

The CHAIRMAN. Way before that.

Mr. STREUTKER. I think he only announced and attended one committee meeting and quit.

The CHAIRMAN. How many men did you say were present at this meeting where you got the \$150 check?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think about 18 or 20.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the checks all made before you got there?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; Goltra delivered them as the ward was called off.

The CHAIRMAN. Goltra was there?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; he was there and handed out a check.

The CHAIRMAN. Handed one to each one there?

Mr. STREUTKER. He did; before he handed the checks he said this wouldn't bind anybody to vote for him or anything.

The CHAIRMAN. He did?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes; he had no opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say what the checks were for?

Mr. STREUTKER. To pay part of the expenses, the money he collected.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say that Steuver would pay the other part of the expenses?

Mr. STREUTKER. Didn't mention Steuver. He said that he couldn't get any more; this was as much as he could get, and it would pay part of the expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. You understood he had collected a part of the money and was dividing it proportionately between you?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir; between 28 committeemen.

The CHAIRMAN. \$150 apiece?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir. I think they all got it, too—\$4,200.

The CHAIRMAN. At that same meeting was this \$25 bonus passed around, too?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; that was after that, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. STREUTKER. Oh, a day or two after, or shortly before we went to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever go to see about it?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I think Steuver collected it; I think we appointed Mr. Steuver a committee to see Mr. Brinkman, and I think he collected it and gave each committeeman—whoever Brinkman wanted to get anything.

The CHAIRMAN. This was given to these different committeemen. The committeemen weren't all delegates to the State convention, were they?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they all were?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they to pay the expenses of the other delegates?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, we had to pay our delegates, to pay the expenses of your delegates, or they wouldn't have got there: it was their fare and our railroad fare, over \$25, and hotel bills and other incidentals.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the customary way of doing?

Mr. STREUTKER. It is down our way, because the people don't have it themselves to pay. The Senator [Spencer] knows conditions in South St. Louis. It has been customary ever since I can remember that expenses were paid to conventions.

The CHAIRMAN. And customary for who to pay them?

Mr. STREUTKER. The different Democratic leaders generally collect that money down our way.

Senator SPENCER. I think that is true. But, now, isn't it also true that when you get the money from any of the leaders, other things being equal, you have a sort of a secret obligation in your hearts to follow them and work with them as far as you can? You wouldn't take the money under other circumstances, would you?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; hardly.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, when you go to a man and ask for his money, or get his money in connection with your expenses, that means that the delegation, as far as it can, is going to carry out his wishes; isn't that ordinarily true?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, down our way we never try to elect anybody except those that are friendly to Steuver. We never get any-

thing from anyone else except from Col. Steuver. We never do any business with anybody else, it seems.

The CHAIRMAN. You did this time?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, no; not exactly; Goltra didn't give all that money.

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't give that from Steuver?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; I would figure that it might be from Dave Francis and other leading Democrats.

Senator SPENCER. There were three sources of money you know of: There was the Goltra money, that the city committeemen, Mr. Lancaster and Mr. Mestres, were to ask Goltra to get?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't say as to Goltra; they were to get it somewhere.

Senator SPENCER. They went to him?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Then there was the money that you thought would come and did come from the Steuver source?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And then somebody also asked Mr. Brinkman to raise a fund?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did they go to any other place to raise the money?

Mr. STREUTKER. Not that I know of.

Senator SPENCER. Of course, if you had thought of any other available source you probably would have. When Goltra handed you that money at the city committee, of course he was there personally?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. He handed each check—did he hand a check to each man?

Mr. STREUTKER. He handed part of them and I think the secretary handed the rest.

Senator SPENCER. Would you say the most of them; he handled them?

Mr. STREUTKER. There were 20 or 22, I would say; and he handed about half and half. If I am not mistaken, our secretary, Jimmy Fitzsimmons, handed some of them.

Senator SPENCER. He called you by your first name?

Mr. STREUTKER. I was standing there and he says, "Here is your check, Henry."

Senator SPENCER. He says "Here is your check, Henry"?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. He says "no strings to it"?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; he made that speech before he handed the checks.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any wink in his eye when he did that?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't know; he is liable to do anything—Goltra.

Senator SPENCER. Before he handed your check he says, "I have got some money, sorry it isn't more, got the checks, and going to give them to you"?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. "No strings to it"?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Of course, everybody there knew he wanted strings to it?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, he wouldn't have got it if we could have got up any opposition to him. We tried to get opposition to him at Joplin, but we couldn't. If we could have gotten any opposition it would not have helped with the St. Louis delegates.

Senator SPENCER. You have been in politics a long while?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How long have you been central committeeman down there?

Mr. STREUTKER. About 10 or 12 years.

Senator SPENCER. And, modesty aside, you are really one of the powers in Democratic politics in the city?

Mr. STREUTKER. I wouldn't say that.

Senator SPENCER. Did it make an impression upon you when Mr. Goltra said that and gave you those checks that he was trying to say as strong as he could, I want some strings on this money to vote for me?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't think that would with him; no, sir. I would not have been for him if he had any opposition. The reason I got this we would have to get everybody his money for the expenses.

Senator SPENCER. As far as the others were concerned, wasn't it the strongest way he could have said, "Boys, I want you to work with me; here is the money"?

Mr. STREUTKER. He might have thought that. I don't think it would have done him any good. Four years ago at St. Joseph he never got any votes out of St. Louis.

Senator SPENCER. How did you get the Steuwer money?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't know how we got it; I can't recall.

Senator SPENCER. Hughes gave you the other?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Was it check or money?

Mr. STREUTKER. Money.

Senator SPENCER. In cash? Did he give you some money for somebody else?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir. He gave me Billy Kaiser's.

Senator SPENCER. So that really he gave you \$200?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. But \$100 for you and the other \$100 for Kaiser?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What ward is Kaiser?

Mr. STREUTKER. Ninth.

Senator SPENCER. That is the eleventh ward?

Mr. STREUTKER. The ninth.

Senator SPENCER. That is probably why you confused the \$200, isn't it?

Mr. STREUTKER. I think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Goltra said to you when he gave you the money, before he gave you the money, "Now, boys, there are no strings tied to this"?

Mr. STREUTKER. He made that speech before he donated the checks.

The CHAIRMAN. How long a speech did he make?

Mr. STREUTKER. I guess about 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. What else did he say besides that.

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't think he said much of anything, only just what a hard time he had to collect money—people didn't want to donate.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, to really show what hard work he was doing for the boys I suppose?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Took 10 minutes to say that?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, it takes him a long time to say very little.

The CHAIRMAN. If there was no contest at all, what was the reason of talking about any strings to it?

Mr. STREUTKER. I don't know. I guess he thought it would be best to say that because he would have an excuse later on if there would be opposition to say some of them didn't vote for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he discuss the national committeeman?

Mr. STREUTKER. No, sir; never said a thing.

The CHAIRMAN. In the speech?

Mr. STREUTKER. No. He never asked us to vote for him. He never even asked me to vote for him or anything.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you hoped opposition would develop to him in the convention?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk that around the convention?

Mr. STREUTKER. We tried to get opposition in St. Louis here.

The CHAIRMAN. And you tried to get opposition in the convention when you were there?

Mr. STREUTKER. On the way, going out on the train, and after we got there, but it was too late.

The CHAIRMAN. You still were talking opposition all the way up to the convention?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that at the time he gave you these checks he knew the opposition was being talked of?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir. He knew we wouldn't be for him if he had any opposition, or if we could get any opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. But he had in mind there might be opposition, of course?

Mr. STREUTKER. Well, I guess he figured it was a little late to get opposition then.

The CHAIRMAN. I guess that is all, Mr. Witness.

Senator SPENCER. We may reach you where?

Mr. STREUTKER. Missouri State grain department.

Senator SPENCER. You are employed there?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What is your position there?

Mr. STREUTKER. Clerk.

Senator SPENCER. What is their telephone?

Mr. STREUTKER. Central 1833.

TESTIMONY OF A. A. LANCASTER.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the reporter your name?

Mr. LANCASTER. A. A. Lancaster.

Senator SPENCER. Arthur A. Lancaster?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. LANCASTER. Automobile business, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the city committee here?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; sixth ward.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any of these checks?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; one.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. LANCASTER. \$150.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom?

Mr. LANCASTER. I think Goltra handed it to me in the committee room.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it this committee room that the witness has just spoken of?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; city committee room.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that given in the daytime or in the evening?

Mr. LANCASTER. It was in the afternoon, I think, about 4 o'clock; somewhere around there.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know the purpose of the meeting when you went there?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes; I was on that subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. Subcommittee to gather funds?

Mr. LANCASTER. I was on a subcommittee appointed by the chairman of the city committee.

Senator SPENCER. By Mr. Daley?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; one of them, Mestres and I.

Senator SPENCER. Were there two or three?

Mr. LANCASTER. I think only two; two that I recall; if there was a third one, I can't recall him. This was about three weeks before this money meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this after the delegates had been selected?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, no; this was possibly three weeks before that Goltra and I and Joe Mestres met together at different times. The first thing they wanted was to try to get a rate from St. Louis to Joplin. In doing those things we telephoned and telegraphed to Washington several times to get hold of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Judge [addressing Senator Spencer], who is the chairman?

Senator SPENCER. Payne?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes; talked with him and did a lot of that kind of thing. Finally we got his consent. At the time we were talking about it we knew that the Republican convention was making an effort to see if they couldn't get a rate of one and one-third railroad fare. That went on for awhile, and we finally got Judge Payne's consent, and then we had to get the consent of the regional board in Chicago. Well, that was up to a week or so before the time to go. There are only two roads going to Joplin, and the Frisco is 80 or 90 miles nearer than the Missouri Pacific.

The CHAIRMAN. How far is it to Joplin?

Mr. LANCASTER. Some three hundred and odd miles, probably. We finally selected the Frisco road, as it was 80 miles nearer. Our main thing on this was we knew that Joplin was a small place, we knew lots of delegates and women were going, and we figured we

could not get hotel accommodations at Joplin. We had been at Joplin before at a convention; I think we were there in 1912. And what we wanted to do was to park those Pullmans and use them for sleeping accommodations in Joplin. That all fell through. There was no question of any money at that time—how to get there—just ways or means and routes of the getting there, and get there as cheap as we could. So it finally came that all these things were thrown down. And finally Goltra and we did talk about the matter——

Senator SPENCER. Who do you mean—"We did"?

Mr. LANCASTER. Mestres and I and Goltra—different times at his office—sometimes talked to him over the telephone.

Senator SPENCER. It was taken up frequently with Goltra?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; no one else consulted about the matter, because Goltra knew all these railroad men, and if we could get it a little cheaper we figured he was the fellow who could do it. But all that thing fell through. And then the question came along how many delegates wanted to go. I think St. Louis was entitled to 298.

The CHAIRMAN. How many did go?

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, we were entitled to that many under the call.

The CHAIRMAN. How many went, do you know?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, I think there must have been 200.

Senator SPENCER. Delegates?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes; and their friends.

Senator SPENCER. I mean delegates.

Mr. LANCASTER. I think as near as we could get at it we settled on, say—we first figured if they all went it would cost \$10,000 to take them. There was no way of getting together that amount of money to do it, unless the people paid their own way, and you know, Senator [Spencer], they don't do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't any of the delegates pay their own fare?

Mr. LANCASTER. If they do, I never heard of it, and I have been in politics for 30 years.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean delegates to the convention never pay their own expenses to the convention?

Mr. LANCASTER. Very few I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Paid all over the State?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who pays their expenses?

Mr. LANCASTER. We go around amongst the people and get money. Democrats still live in St. Louis who have got a little money and willing to contribute. We figured it this way, Senator: That a State convention is a large part of the machinery in electing a President, and it is the duty of our delegates to go, and lots of the fellows in the city committee hadn't the money to pay their way, and it is quite an expense.

The CHAIRMAN. Do candidates pay their expenses sometimes?

Mr. LANCASTER. I have never taken any off of any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of that being done? Do you think that is a common way?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; I don't believe it is, Senator; I don't believe candidates do; and, as a general rule, they are generally poor.

The CHAIRMAN. They may not be in Missouri. In the old day they used to go on railroad passes.

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; in the old days get a train, and possibly two trains, it didn't cost anything; but since the Interstate Commerce Commission has taken charge that has all been gone.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with raising the money?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; I did not. The only thing I had to do, when we found out we couldn't get a cheap rate of any kind on the road and had to pay full fare, Goltra said, "I will go amongst some Democratic friends of mine and see how much money I can raise." Then he asked us to go back and see how many delegates would go. We called a meeting of the city committee and asked each committeeman in the meeting how many delegates he would take. If a man had 10 we figured on taking half of them; if they had 7 they would take 4. Then they didn't know how much money, if any, was going to be collected at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. You know nothing about where the money came from?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; only what Goltra told me; that he would call on some people that were interested in the Democratic Party. It is very much like the city committee. We have maintained headquarters between election times, and some months we get short of funds, and somebody is kind enough to send in to us a check for \$100 to pay up the rent.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Goltra say he would give part of it?

Mr. LANCASTER. He didn't say how much he would give. I never asked him.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he indicate he would give a good part of it?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; he didn't say he was going to give any.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether any of that came from the representatives of any presidential candidates?

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, I couldn't swear as to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know that?

Mr. LANCASTER. I don't know; but it is an obvious fact it didn't; none of us thought so.

The CHAIRMAN. It didn't?

Mr. LANCASTER. I don't see where it would have come from; I would have heard about it if there was any money. I heard about the other a long time ago, and I would have heard about ours, too.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard about the Republicans?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We had so much about that we want to find out about the Democratic money.

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, we will tell you about it; we won't hide her.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Goltra having any opposition at that time for national committeeman?

Mr. LANCASTER. I believe there was a gentleman said he was running, but nobody paid much attention to him.

Senator SPENCER. Who was that?

Mr. LANCASTER. Jimmy Jones, out there in the twenty-eighth ward. Nobody paid much attention to him. We didn't think at that time he would get any opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that contest wasn't involved in this matter at all?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; wasn't any over committeeman or anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Reed contest involved in it?

Mr. LANCASTER. No. My idea about Reed—most of us figured this way—the city committee, the consensus of opinion was this way, Senator, about Senator Reed: We thought that if the fifth district in Kansas City felt like sending Jim Reed as a delegate that they ought to do it. I, as chairman of the twelfth district, wouldn't like somebody to come from the tenth and tell me who my delegates should be. But I don't think the Senator would have gotten very many votes if he had been a candidate for delegate at large. From St. Louis we cast all our votes with the exception that they had 17 votes in the twenty-eighth ward; of course, they went against Reed. But the balance of the whole city voted for Reed on that question.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the question come up in the convention? I am asking for information; it may not be relevant.

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, the Reed question came up this way: Kansas City and Jackson County, the fifth district, wanted to send Reed as one of the delegates to the San Francisco convention. In the call the State committee made a long time previous to that each district selects the district delegates. There are 16 congressional districts in Missouri, and the delegates are to be O. K'd by the convention at large. So therefore in the twelfth congressional district, or in the fifth, or any other one, usually whoever the districts say suits them will suit the convention. But this time they made the call a little different.

The CHAIRMAN. Then when that question came up was there a motion of some kind in the convention?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, yes; there was a motion. As soon as it got to the fifth district in the convention, when they submitted the names of Joe Shannon and Jim Reed, why, then there was a motion made that they be voted on, I think, by the whole convention.

The CHAIRMAN. That the convention would approve them?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes; they wouldn't approve Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that vote?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, that was big; he got all the votes in Kansas City, 178 votes from Kansas City and Jackson County; he got 275 in St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. How many votes was there in the convention?

Mr. LANCASTER. I think it was 1,100, something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a close vote?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, no; it is about 700 to 400.

The CHAIRMAN. Against him?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes; then there was a motion made to resubmit the proposition back to the fifth district for them to submit another name and that was lost. Still St. Louis voted that way.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the Goltra forces against Reed?

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, Goltra never had any forces as far as the city of St. Louis was concerned and Jim Reed was concerned, because we didn't pay any attention to Goltra on that proposition. I think everybody individually had his mind made up the way I told you. We thought the fifth district, or Kansas City, or any other district

was entitled to send their own delegates without having somebody a thousand miles away do it.

The CHAIRMAN. And these men who had their expenses paid from St. Louis really voted for Reed on the contest?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes; sure they did; with the exception of the twenty-eighth ward; I don't know how they voted. There are lots of statesmen out there; I don't know how they vote; we never pay any attention to those fellows. They are all statesmen in the twenty-eighth ward, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mr. Goltra's choice for President; do you know?

Mr. LANCASTER. I never spoke to Ed Goltra about who his choice was, but through newspapers and different ways I thought he favored Palmer; but I never talked to him about who his choice was.

Senator SPENCER. That was a matter of general knowledge?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir. That never came before the committee. They never mentioned President. Now, most of us fellows were wet. Senator, and we figured that Palmer was dry. You take, as a matter of fact, those fellows from south St. Louis, if they went back to south St. Louis after voting for a dry candidate they would shoot them. Those fellows are wet down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you any instructions or any orders from the national administration to defeat Reed?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; not a thing. I don't see how they could give us any instructions. We wouldn't take any instructions from them. Who could give it to them?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know. I have seen Congress take instructions; I thought maybe you might take them.

Mr. LANCASTER. Not that way. Now, in the same connection, with that \$150, I don't think there was a committeeman that wasn't out \$200.

The CHAIRMAN. There is another \$100——

Mr. LANCASTER. There are three congressional districts, Senator, in St. Louis. I am in the twelfth. We don't interfere with any other congressional district; they mind their business and we mind ours.

The CHAIRMAN. Steuver has nothing to do with yours?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; we never knew they made any.

The CHAIRMAN. This \$25 extra bonus, you didn't get any of that?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; we didn't have anything to do with that. Each congressional district calls their own caucus to do their own business. That is how we have been doing for years.

Senator SPENCER. How many delegates have you from the sixth ward?

Mr. LANCASTER. I think seven, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. How many delegates went to Joplin?

Mr. LANCASTER. I went down and all four delegates and the last minute two of them backed out.

Senator SPENCER. Who was it went?

Mr. LANCASTER. I think Andrew Powers, Andy Maroney was a delegate. He was out in the State and he was there.

Senator SPENCER. You had proxies of all of them?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So as far as the sixth ward is concerned, you represented them?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; I was down there.

Senator SPENCER. You voted the seven votes precisely as if they had been there?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. As a matter of fact, nobody but you and Mr. Powers were there?

Mr. LANCASTER. No. Andy Maroney, he was a delegate. They didn't go with me.

Senator SPENCER. Three of you went?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Lancaster, did you have any money talk with anybody except Mr. Goltra?

Mr. LANCASTER. Not me; no, sir.

Senator SPENCER. He raised about \$4,200?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes; it figured up that much about; 28 times 15, that would be 42.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any other money solicited, obtained from any other source that you know about?

Mr. LANCASTER. Not a dollar that I know; I would think I would know if there was anything in the congressional district, because you know, Senator, the twelfth congressional district has got seven wards, seven committeemen. When we had our district meeting, the whole seven were candidates; they all wanted to go to the convention.

Senator SPENCER. Who went from the twelfth district?

Mr. LANCASTER. We sent Judge Eddie Rice and Mike Kinney.

Senator SPENCER. Was all agreed on before you went down there?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes. We don't meet like the Republicans do.

Senator SPENCER. Who engineered the choice of those delegates?

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, I was chairman and brought the seven together.

Senator SPENCER. You are chairman of the congressional committee?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And the seven city committeemen make up the congressional committee?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You all agreed that those two should go?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir; but I was telling you each fellow wanted to go.

Senator SPENCER. All wanted to go. Did you want to go?

Mr. LANCASTER. Sure I wanted to go, but I didn't go.

The CHAIRMAN. How could these men, who had not money enough to go to Joplin, go to San Francisco without being paid expenses?

Mr. LANCASTER. How do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. If a man hadn't money enough to pay his way to Joplin, how could he go to San Francisco?

Mr. LANCASTER. A fellow going to the State convention figures the committee would pay it.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't it as necessary to have every-day folks represented in the national convention?

Mr. LANCASTER. But every-day folks make seven or eight dollars and a little over a day, and would spend \$1,000 to go to San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. They couldn't afford to go to Joplin?

Mr. LANCASTER. They could if they wanted to, but they don't want to.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't somebody pay their way to San Francisco?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. The general principle that you have announced that you must not shut off the poor people and pay their way, isn't it as important to have them at San Francisco?

Mr. LANCASTER. It is as important if they want to go, but my 30 years in politics is that a poor man never cares to go.

Senator SPENCER. Was each one of the delegates in the twelfth district a rich man?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, no; not a rich man, but \$1,000 isn't much.

Senator SPENCER. They couldn't afford to go to Joplin?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, yes. All the committeemen could not afford to go. Senator, if we hadn't got hold of this money you know the committeemen would have went there. I know I would have gone up myself and paid my expenses. We wouldn't have so many people there. St. Louis wants to make a show.

Senator SPENCER. I understood you to say that in your experience the delegates to the Democratic convention always had their expenses paid?

Mr. LANCASTER. I understand that both parties do.

Senator SPENCER. Isn't that true as to San Francisco?

Mr. LANCASTER. I don't think it is true of the national convention. It is true of the State conventions in both parties from my experience, but national conventions are different.

Senator SPENCER. Were you present when Mr. Galtra handed these checks to the committee?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Your check was just as Mr. O'Neill's?

Mr. LANCASTER. All the same.

Senator SPENCER. Did you hear his speech about no strings being attached to it?

Mr. LANCASTER. I don't remember saying anything about strings, something to that effect, he said, "I have collected this much money. There is \$150 for each committeeman."

Senator SPENCER. Did he speak of the difficulty in collecting it?

Mr. LANCASTER. I think he did. I think he had some difficulty in getting it, too.

Senator SPENCER. That, of course, helped to show the amount of gratitude on the part of the committee?

Mr. LANCASTER. We used to have a lot of fellows that used to be able to give, but they have gone off with the other party, all those fellows from Fourth Street.

The CHAIRMAN. Since Barney Baruch left your party?

Mr. LANCASTER. Well; he is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't lost them all yet?

Mr. LANCASTER. I haven't seen his number yet.

Senator SPENCER. Do you recollect Galtra having said anything about strings at all?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, I think he said something to that effect, Senator. I think he said, "I am giving you gentlemen this money for the purpose of paying a part of your expenses." He said, "I got this from some friends who are interested in the city committee."

Senator SPENCER. You have been in politics a long time?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How long have you been city central committee-man down there?

Mr. LANCASTER. This is my sixth year.

Senator SPENCER. It is perfectly true, isn't it, that when delegates go to a convention at the expense of anybody else, or with money that comes from anybody else, that there is a certain feeling of moral obligation to cooperate with them as far as they can?

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, are you talking about delegates?

Senator SPENCER. I am talking about delegates.

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, I will answer that this way——

Senator SPENCER. In other words, if you are a delegate to the convention and somebody pays your expenses and gave you money for going there, so that you were not out a cent out of your own pocket, there would be in your heart a certain moral obligation to that man; you would recognize it when you got the money and you would carry out when you got to the convention, wouldn't you?

Mr. LANCASTER. I will have to answer that question this way: Of the 28 committeemen, each committeeman is the chairman of his own delegation. He selects his delegation. You might say if he carries his delegation and handles it the delegates ain't got anything to do with it. The committeeman votes them or he wouldn't put those delegates on.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, you put on delegates who are going to vote your way?

Mr. LANCASTER. They are going to vote the way I say or they wouldn't be on.

Senator SPENCER. And if you got the money from somebody above, anybody else that furnished the whole amount, you would feel a certain amount of the same obligation that you would expect from your own delegates?

Mr. LANCASTER. I expect I would feel that way, like I would feel in business; I would feel kindly, of course. If I didn't like what he wanted, I wouldn't go there; I wouldn't take his money.

Senator SPENCER. You knew that Mr. Goltra was for Attorney General Palmer for President?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, it was generally known.

Senator SPENCER. Palmer was his candidate?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. And any man that went to the convention with Goltra's money in his pocket had a certain moral obligation to do what he could——

Mr. LANCASTER. You are wrong, Senator. It was not Goltra's money. I ain't got any money either; and sometimes they ask me to contribute to the Democratic Party for different things; sometimes they ask other fellows. I didn't count that Goltra's money, because I knew that Goltra would go out and get as much as he could from his friends, and then, if a little short, he would fill it in; but

he would get as much as he could from anybody else before he would fill in.

Senator SPENCER. But there is no difference as to principle? Take Gov. Francis. Say, for instance, Gov. Francis had paid the expenses of the delegates to Joplin; there would be a feeling that the delegates had to do what they could for Dave Francis?

Mr. LANCASTER. Dave Francis went up there and we gave him without any money or anything else, the indorsement for Vice President.

Senator SPENCER. You and I do not differ about the principle; but with the acceptance of money there is an obligation to help out!

Mr. LANCASTER. I don't think, Senator, the fellow buys you; but naturally, you might feel kindly toward him if he gives you some money to help out, because you would have to go in your own pocket if he didn't give it to you.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Mestres went to San Francisco?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. He wasn't a delegate?

Mr. LANCASTER. No.

Senator SPENCER. Was there a fund to take some of the friends there?

Mr. LANCASTER. No, sir; I never heard of it if there was.

Senator SPENCER. I mean by Mr. Mestres.

Mr. LANCASTER. No; he wasn't a delegate.

Senator SPENCER. But he went?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. As far as you know he paid his expenses?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir. Lawrence Daley went, with his two little children, and I know nobody didn't pay Lawrence Daley's expenses.

Senator SPENCER. As far as you know, neither Mr. Mestres' nor Mr. Daley's national convention expenses were paid?

Mr. LANCASTER. So far as I know. Mike Kinney was a delegate; neither was any money raised for any of his expenses.

Senator SPENCER. Mike Kinney and Mr. Mestres, so far as you know, didn't contribute to a fund to go to San Francisco, and you don't know of any financial assistance in connection with their going?

Mr. LANCASTER. No, sir; nor anybody else. The only money I know about is that \$150 to take these delegates to Joplin; and that it didn't go very far.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Federal officials were on these delegations from St. Louis to Joplin—employees?

Mr. LANCASTER. I don't know. What do you call Federal officials?

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know what a Federal official is?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Holding any Federal position.

Mr. LANCASTER. Collectorship?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. I supposed every Democrat knew what Federal position was.

Mr. LANCASTER. Well, we haven't been holding them for a long time, Senator; we have got to get used to them. I don't know any there. Some State officials were there.

Senator SPENCER. Did you see Mr. O'Neill in the Star there?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Streutker, in the Grain Department?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Who is the man in the Internal Revenue Department here—Mr. Hughes?

Mr. LANCASTER. I didn't see Mr. Hughes—he might have been there—I didn't run across him.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any Federal officials out here before your Joplin convention to see the delegates?

Mr. LANCASTER. None that I saw.

The CHAIRMAN. Doing any work?

Mr. LANCASTER. I never heard of anyone.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any at the State convention?

Mr. LANCASTER. You mean from St. Louis or from Missouri?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, yes; of course, there were some Federal officials up from St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Federal officials were on the State delegation to San Francisco?

Mr. LANCASTER. From St. Louis?

The CHAIRMAN. No; from the State of Missouri.

Mr. LANCASTER. I would have to look the list over; I don't know that, Senator. I know there were none from St. Louis. There were not any from Kansas City.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any postmasters in the Joplin convention?

Mr. LANCASTER. Outside of Selph, I don't know a postmaster in Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a delegate?

Mr. LANCASTER. No; Selph wasn't a delegate.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know anything about the plan of employees of the Government in the High Cost of Living Commission and Public Health Service and others putting in Palmer literature in the official documents that were sent out?

Mr. LANCASTER. I didn't get any.

Senator SPENCER. Did you ever see any of it?

Mr. LANCASTER. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So far as you know, you don't know anything about that?

Mr. LANCASTER. No. I get a lot of stuff.

Senator SPENCER. I mean in connection with the Government—

Mr. LANCASTER. No. I am down here about every day. I hardly miss a day in the Federal building around here, and I never saw any.

The CHAIRMAN. Have there been any investigators of the prohibition question in St. Louis?

Mr. LANCASTER. Oh, yes; full of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Full of them?

Mr. LANCASTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they doing any work—any preconvention work?

Mr. LANCASTER. I never heard of any work outside of going out and getting all the stills they could around here and making themselves generally troublesome in giving some of us committeemen a lot of trouble getting the fellows out of jail after they put them in.

TESTIMONY OF MR. JAMES P. MILES.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the reporter your name, Mr. Miles?

Mr. MILES. James P. Miles.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. MILES. Justice of the peace.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose we might call you "Judge" without offending you?

Mr. MILES. Squire.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you one of the committeemen?

Mr. MILES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any of these checks that have been floating around?

Mr. MILES. I received a \$150 check.

The CHAIRMAN. At the same time that the other gentlemen did?

Mr. MILES. In the committee room.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your check signed by?

Mr. MILES. Well, I wouldn't swear it was signed by Goltra.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to the Joplin convention?

Mr. MILES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a delegate?

Mr. MILES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any delegates with you?

Mr. MILES. Ten, 11 delegates altogether.

Senator SPENCER. Was that your whole delegation?

Mr. MILES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You took your full delegation?

Mr. MILES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. \$150 wouldn't have paid their expenses?

Mr. MILES. No; about \$140 more would pay the expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. That would pay what?

Mr. MILES. Railroad fare, I suppose.

Senator SPENCER. What ward is yours?

Mr. MILES. Fourth.

The CHAIRMAN. That wouldn't pay hotel expenses?

Mr. MILES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What would it take to take a delegation to Joplin and treat them in the ordinary Joplin style and bring them back?

Mr. MILES. Well, the round trip railroad fare would be \$27 apiece, and any room you got would be from \$7 to \$10 a day, besides the eating.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did the convention last?

Mr. MILES. One day and all night.

The CHAIRMAN. It cost about \$50 to take a delegate up and back?

Mr. MILES. I guess it would.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you take the 10 on \$290?

Mr. MILES. Why, the delegates paid the other part themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. They did?

Mr. MILES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any of the delegates pay all their expenses?

Mr. MILES. Pay all?

The CHAIRMAN. Any individual delegate pay all his expenses?

Mr. MILES. This \$150 was given for the railroad fare for the delegates, and what we were short they paid themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. That wouldn't pay all the railroad fare?

Mr. MILES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that we have been told here this morning that was customary always to pay the delegates way to the convention. It didn't hold good in this case?

Mr. MILES. No, sir; the delegates paid their own way.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive money from any other sources?

Mr. MILES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You used really more money than you received?

Mr. MILES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You had to pay some out of your own pocket?

Mr. MILES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your testimony seems to shatter in a way the custom of paying their way?

Mr. MILES. The delegates pay their way; have that money to pay their own way.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the particular reason then of giving this \$150?

Mr. MILES. Well, that was, as I understood, a fund that was raised here by Democrats to help defray the expense of that train.

The CHAIRMAN. And even though your delegates had plenty of money to pay their own way they felt as long as this money was being apportioned it was all right to take it?

Mr. MILES. It was not any money taken. The railroad tickets were bought for them, and the tickets coming back they bought themselves. A roundtrip ticket was paid for; this \$150 was thrown in.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there considerable of a fight over the delegates at large in the convention?

Mr. MILES. I believe there were about some candidates.

The CHAIRMAN. Had anybody talked to you about any presidential candidate?

Mr. MILES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who you should support?

Mr. MILES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the delegates to San Francisco for president?

Mr. MILES. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the delegates from your district for?

Mr. MILES. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't talk it over at all?

Mr. MILES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were up there to select delegates to select a candidate for president. Hadn't you any choice for president?

Mr. MILES. Did I have a choice? Yes; I did have a choice.

The CHAIRMAN. And didn't the delegates seem to have any choice, any work done there?

Mr. MILES. You mean for president in that convention?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MILES. No; wasn't any work done there.

The CHAIRMAN. No work done at all?

Mr. MILES. No; not as far as our delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. Just sent delegates without any choice?

Mr. MILES. Yes; they could go there and vote for whom they pleased.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell anything about the number of Federal officials who were in the convention, or postmasters, investigators?

Mr. MILES. I didn't see any.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't see any?

Mr. MILES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many were on the delegation to San Francisco?

Mr. MILES. You mean——

The CHAIRMAN. How many Federal officials.

Mr. MILES. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether there were any?

Mr. MILES. No; I don't.

Senator SPENCER. What district are you in?

Mr. MILES. In the eleventh congressional district.

Senator SPENCER. Who were your two delegates?

Mr. MILES. John F. Byrnes and Michael Whalen.

Senator SPENCER. Are either of them city committeemen?

Mr. MILES. Both committeemen.

Senator SPENCER. What are Whalen's initials?

Mr. MILES. M. J. Whalen.

Senator SPENCER. What ward is Whalen in?

Mr. MILES. Twenty-sixth.

Senator SPENCER. What ward is Byrnes in?

Mr. MILES. Eighteenth.

Senator SPENCER. You knew generally, as Mr. Lancaster did, that Mr. Goltra was for Attorney General Palmer—that was his choice?

Mr. MILES. No, sir; I didn't know that.

Senator SPENCER. You didn't see it in the paper?

Mr. MILES. I don't believe everything I see in the newspapers.

Senator SPENCER. But, as a matter of fact, wasn't it generally known?

Mr. MILES. I don't remember reading it, if it was in the newspaper.

Senator SPENCER. As far as you were concerned, you didn't have a definite idea of who Mr. Goltra's choice was for President?

Mr. MILES. I didn't care who he was for; it didn't bind me in the least.

Senator SPENCER. You were not with him?

Mr. MILES. I never was with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Miles, did you send any telegrams to San Francisco?

Mr. MILES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. None at all?

Mr. MILES. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That newspaper report was a mistake?

Mr. MILES. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. You saw it in the paper?

Mr. MILES. I saw it. A reporter interviewed me on it.

TESTIMONY OF M. J. McGEE.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. McGee?

Mr. McGEE. Laclede Gas Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the city committee?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What ward are you in?

Mr. McGEE. Twelfth ward.

Senator SPENCER. What district is that in?

Mr. McGEE. Tenth congressional district.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at this meeting where these checks were distributed?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any of the loaves and fishes?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did you receive?

Mr. McGEE. \$150.

The CHAIRMAN. Some one made a speech there that night. Was there only one speech made?

Mr. McGEE. No; this was in the afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there only one speech made?

Mr. McGEE. That was all. Said he collected this money to defray the expenses to the Joplin convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to the convention?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many delegates did you take?

Mr. McGEE. Five and myself.

Senator SPENCER. That is your full delegation?

Mr. McGEE. No; I had 10.

The CHAIRMAN. You had proxies for the others?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Five with yourself, or five in addition to yourself?

Mr. McGEE. No; six altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this money pay the expenses of the delegates?

Mr. McGEE. No; not all of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did some of them pay their own way?

Mr. McGEE. No; what I took paid their fare. The fare is \$25.88 the round trip.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that \$150 covers that?

Mr. McGEE. No; that didn't quite cover it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, their expenses up there; who paid that?

Mr. McGEE. I paid that.

Senator SPENCER. Where did you get that money?

Mr. McGEE. Well, I got a \$100; a party gave me \$100.

Senator SPENCER. That is the Steuver fund?

Mr. McGEE. I couldn't say whether Steuver or not.

Senator SPENCER. Who gave it to you—Mr. Hughes?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that given to you up there?

Mr. McGEE. No; down here.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you use that to pay expenses up there?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that cover it all?

Mr. McGEE. Yes; that covered it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any money from any other sources

Mr. McGEE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it customary to pay the expenses of delegates to the State convention?

Mr. McGEE. Well, it has been, yes; that is, years ago we didn't have any money to pay; we bought no railroad fare.

The CHAIRMAN. All went on passes?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir; but here of late years we either had to collect money or pay their fare.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you make any investigation as to who is paying the expenses——

Mr. McGEE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. When you go to a State convention?

Mr. McGEE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Just take the money when anybody comes around with it to pay expenses?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you feel under any obligations to anybody for that?

Mr. McGEE. Oh, yes; sure.

The CHAIRMAN. If a man pays the expenses of the delegates up there, you rather expect to do as the man wants?

Mr. McGEE. That is, as near as you can; sure.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. What was the object of taking more than one? Why not just take up one and let him vote? What is the use of going to all this expense if they go up there and do as the man wants who furnishes the money?

Mr. McGEE. Out of every delegation of yours there is always four or five who want to go for the trip.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that is conducive to good government and good citizenship?

Mr. McGEE. I don't know as it is. I haven't gone to very many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think it would be better for the State to pay the expenses of the delegates who are unable to pay their own expenses?

Mr. McGEE. I expect it would be; but they always made it a rule to collect enough money to pay for the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. This delegate business here, then, is a sort of a joy ride?

Mr. McGEE. Yes; to a certain extent.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the way you regard it—don't care anything about the vital principles that may be at stake in the convention?

Mr. McGEE. Oh, yes; we do. A good many of them are pretty hard to control after you get them there.

The CHAIRMAN. It isn't hard to control a man if you hand him a bunch of money and you take him up and he is entertained?

Mr. McGEE. Oh, yes; pretty hard to do it. We had some of them who kicked over the traces.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any of them get away from a situation of that kind?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many times have you known of delegates whose expenses were paid to the convention who go against somebody who paid them?

Mr. McGEE. Sometimes they do, when they get something up they didn't like, like the fight over some for the League of Nations and some against it; pretty hard to control that.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a fight over the League of Nations in the convention?

Mr. McGEE. Yes; they fought over the League of Nations.

The CHAIRMAN. Some were opposed; there was no fight over anything?

Mr. McGEE. That is, there wasn't a fight in the open convention, but arguments with the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a fight over Senator Reed?

Mr. McGEE. Well, some of it was over Senator Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. But the League of Nations was never in the fight over Senator Reed?

Mr. McGEE. Well, the League of Nations—was in a fight over the League of Nations, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you adopt a platform at your convention?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anything about the League of Nations in the platform?

Mr. McGEE. I think they indorsed the League of Nations.

The CHAIRMAN. Indorsed it?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, these delegates that went up there, what part did they take in the discussion of the League of Nations?

Mr. McGEE. Well, they didn't have any part only what was on the committee on resolutions, you know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have any copies of the covenants, reading it over?

Mr. McGEE. Oh, no; nothing of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Had they read it, if you know?

Mr. McGEE. Yes; some had. We had two or three lawyers on the delegation; they had read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the only fight you had in the convention?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. These delegates that you took up were virtually yours to vote, weren't they?

Mr. McGEE. Well, I don't know; they voted.

The CHAIRMAN. Voted as you told them to?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How were they as to President?

Mr. McGEE. No part in the Presidency at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were you for for President?

Mr. McGEE. I wasn't for anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a good Democrat?

Mr. McGEE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there work done there for any particular presidential candidate?

Mr. McGEE. No, sir; none at all; never mentioned about any presidential candidate.

The CHAIRMAN. The presidential candidates were not mentioned at this convention?

Mr. McGEE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't hear any of them mentioned?

Mr. McGEE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they talk about up there?

Mr. McGEE. Well, most of the talk up there was about Reed, I guess, going to give him a seat in the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. He was the storm center, wasn't he?

Mr. McGEE. Yes; he was the storm center.

The CHAIRMAN. He overshadowed the real purpose of selecting delegates to San Francisco?

Mr. McGEE. That is about it.

Senator SPENCER. You have been a city central committeeman how long?

Mr. McGEE. Well, six years this last time.

Senator SPENCER. When you take a delegation to the State convention and pay their expenses you expect them to cooperate with you and do what you want them to do, don't you?

Mr. McGEE. Oh, sure.

Senator SPENCER. In this case you had the proxies of every one of those delegates?

Mr. McGEE. I had the proxies of all.

Senator SPENCER. And, in turn, the men who furnished you the money to pay the expenses you expected to cooperate with them and do as near as you could what they wanted you to do, didn't you?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That is the general plan?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. When you got the \$150 check signed by Mr. Goltra——

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You knew you were going to get it when you went to the central committee meeting that night?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Did you know how much you were going to get?

Mr. McGEE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Was it disappointing?

Mr. McGEE. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Gratifying?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. It was gratifying?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. More than you thought you would get?

Mr. McGEE. Well, I didn't think we would get that much.

Senator SPENCER. Now, then, in addition to that \$150 you got \$100 more from Mr. Hughes?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. What were the circumstances of your getting that?

Mr. McGEE. I don't know all the circumstances. I met him and he says, "Here is \$100 for your expenses up to Joplin."

Senator SPENCER. "Here is your hundred dollars for your expenses?"

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You knew that didn't come from Mr. Hughes's own pocket?

Mr. McGEE. I didn't know; I didn't ask him.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have any idea where it came from?

Mr. McGEE. I had an idea.

Senator SPENCER. You thought it came either from or through Steuver?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Because he always has contributed to the expense of the delegation?

Mr. McGEE. Yes; always has.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Hughes is known as one of his assistants?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. A man that works closely with him?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Hughes is a city central committeeman?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. From what ward?

Mr. McGEE. From the eleventh.

Senator SPENCER. Is that Mr. Steuver's ward?

Mr. McGEE. No.

Senator SPENCER. But he is very close to Mr. Steuver?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. When you got that \$100 from Mr. Hughes, was it in money or check?

Mr. McGEE. Money.

Senator SPENCER. You are morally sure that came through Mr. Steuver?

Mr. McGEE. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Either from him or through him?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you get any of that Brinkman money?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How much did you get of that?

Mr. McGEE. Twenty-five dollars. I got that in Joplin.

Senator SPENCER. You got that in Joplin?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. The \$150 you got through Mr. Goltra, and the \$100 through Mr. Steuver, and \$25 you got through Mr. Brinkman; what else was there?

Mr. McGEE. That is all.

Senator SPENCER. Did that pay the expenses of the delegates?

Mr. McGEE. Oh, yes; that paid it.

Senator SPENCER. Paid both car fare and expenses down there?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. It paid all the expenses of the five you took down besides yourself?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. As far as Mr. Steuver was concerned, you sent him as a delegate to San Francisco?

Mr. McGEE. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So far as Mr. Goltra was concerned, you elected him national committeeman of the party?

Mr. McGEE. He had no opposition.

Senator SPENCER. Did Brinkman want anything?

Mr. McGEE. I don't know, not as I know of.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN R. ROLFES.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

Senator SPENCER. What is your ward?

Mr. ROLFES. Thirteenth ward.

Senator SPENCER. Your district?

Mr. ROLFES. Tenth congressional district.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. ROLFES. Clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. In what line?

Mr. ROLFES. Well, at the present time I am not doing anything at all. I formerly was employed in the building commissioner's office. At the present time I am suffering with rheumatism.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you one of the committeemen here?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at this meeting where the checks were distributed?

Mr. ROLFES. I got in a little late.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get in too late to miss the check?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you miss the address?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir; I heard the latter part.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was your check?

Mr. ROLFES. \$150.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do with the check?

Mr. ROLFES. Paid part of the expenses of the delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. How many delegates did you have under control?

Mr. ROLFES. I didn't have any under control.

The CHAIRMAN. How many did you have to take up there?

Mr. ROLFES. We elected 18; only 9 went.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this money to be used for the nine?

Mr. ROLFES. For the expenses of the delegates that went there.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be enough, would it?

Mr. ROLFES. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, how was the rest of it paid?

Mr. ROLFES. Well, some of them paid part of it themselves; there was some little of it paid.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any other money given you to pay expenses?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes; given to pay the expenses—I don't know whether expenses or not.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it given to you for?

Mr. ROLFES. They didn't state what it was given me for; just says, "Here is so much."

The CHAIRMAN. How much was that?

Mr. ROLFES. I got \$100 from one party.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Mr. ROLFES. Mr. Hughes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get any other?

Mr. ROLFES. I got \$25; yes, sir; from another party.

The CHAIRMAN. You got \$275 altogether?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To use for expense money?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get any other money?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When Mr. Hughes gave you the money what did he say?

Mr. ROLFES. Just simply said, "This is from Tony."

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Tony?

Mr. ROLFES. I suppose he referred to Tony Steuver, Mr. Steuver.

The CHAIRMAN. They were antagonistic crowds, weren't they? You were getting money from each side of the contest?

Mr. ROLFES. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't there a contest?

Mr. ROLFES. Not as I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these two crowds friendly crowds?

Mr. ROLFES. What crowds?

The CHAIRMAN. The Steuver crowd and the Goltra crowd?

Mr. ROLFES. I don't know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't know anything about it?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These seven delegates you took——

Mr. ROLFES. We had nine.

The CHAIRMAN. These nine delegates you took up there, did you talk——

Mr. ROLFES. I didn't take them up there; seven went together, and two of the ladies went the day before, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any talk with them about how they should vote in the convention?

Mr. ROLFES. We voted as a unit, under the unit rule.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you do; pass a resolution to vote as a unit?

Mr. ROLFES. Motion passed at the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. And then somebody gets the money to pay the expenses; is that the way it is done?

Mr. ROLFES. Very often it is done. I haven't attended so many conventions; I couldn't say all.

The CHAIRMAN. In this instance you had the unit rule?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you had the money for the expenses?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They voted the way you wanted them to vote?

Mr. ROLFES. I didn't ask them.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't they all vote alike under the unit rule?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir; although, of course, it was cast as the majority vote—cast as the unit under the rule. We had the majority; 10 out of the 19.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any particular controversies among your delegates about how they should vote on anything?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there many things to vote on in the convention?

Mr. ROLFES. Well, there were several things, such as State delegates to the San Francisco convention.

The CHAIRMAN. We haven't got it very clearly here just the contest over the delegates at large. You elected eight delegates with one-half vote apiece?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any ballots in the convention?

Mr. ROLFES. I think there was one ballot.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there were more than eight candidates for delegates at large?

Mr. ROLFES. I think there were.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were defeated as delegates?

Mr. ROLFES. I don't remember that.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were elected delegates at large?

Mr. ROLFES. At large, I think it was Gov. Gardner, Graves, Farrington; I forget the other one, I never thought of it since.

The CHAIRMAN. The Reed question didn't enter into the delegates at large selection, did it?

Mr. ROLFES. No; I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there a fight over the platform, the league of nations?

Mr. ROLFES. There seemed to be some fight. I was out of there several times; I had to leave there, so I didn't attend the whole convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Any talk about presidential candidates there?

Mr. ROLFES. Not that I know of; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the delegates from other parts of the State had their expenses paid?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the delegates to San Francisco, any of them, had their expenses paid?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did the amount from the Goltra fund, \$150, and the amount from the Steuver fund, \$100, and the amount from the Brinkman fund, \$25, which you got, pay all the expenses of your delegation?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir; of those that went there, except two of them: I didn't pay for them at all.

Senator SPENCER. You paid all the expenses of the others?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You were quoted in the papers as having said you didn't get any money and that your delegates paid their own expenses?

Mr. ROLFES. Well, I didn't know who it was talking, and that is the way I told them. To tell the truth, the delegates did buy their own tickets in the first place, and I refunded the money.

Senator SPENCER. Did the tenth district get more than any other district, as far as you know?

Mr. ROLFES. Not as I know of.

Senator SPENCER. Did the other districts participate in the Tony Steuver fund? Did the eleventh or twelfth districts get any of that?

Mr. ROLFES. I don't know who did. I don't know anything except my own.

Senator SPENCER. Do you know whether they got any of the Steuwer money?

Mr. ROLFES. No; I could not say.

Senator SPENCER. You do know that they got the Goltra money, because you were at that meeting?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes; I saw part of them; I didn't see all of them.

Senator SPENCER. Did you also have the proxies of all your delegates?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir; not all.

Senator SPENCER. How many did you have?

Mr. ROLFES. I think I had the proxies of about five or six.

Senator SPENCER. How did you account for your 18 delegates?

Mr. ROLFES. Oh, yes; I must have had more. There were two ladies, and seven were nine, and I had all the rest of the proxies.

Senator SPENCER. You had the proxies of the nine that didn't come?

Mr. ROLFES. In fact, I had more proxies than those; I used the others.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have the proxies of all in case of need?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You had the nine not there?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How many did you have of those who were there?

Mr. ROLFES. All except one.

Senator SPENCER. So that of the 18 delegates—you had your own vote?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you had 16 proxies?

Mr. ROLFES. No; I didn't have but two of them—yes; you are right. I had only 14. I had the proxy of one or two and afterwards they gave the proxy to somebody else, and I don't count that.

Senator SPENCER. You had 14 proxies?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Which, with your own vote, made 15 votes?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So you could have voted at any time that the occasion required 15 out of the 18?

Mr. ROLFES. Let's see—14.

Senator SPENCER. Fourteen out of the 18?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And with your own vote that would make 15?

Mr. ROLFES. No.

Senator SPENCER. You had 13 besides your own?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That makes 14?

Mr. ROLFES. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And two you didn't have?

Mr. ROLFES. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES J. FITZSIMMONS.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporter.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. James J. Fitzsimmons.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Chief clerk in the Missouri State grain inspection department.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a State office?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Appointed by the governor?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the committeemen here?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard this testimony this morning?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Heard some of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you present at this meeting where the checks were produced?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was after the delegates had been selected in your district?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many delegates had been selected in your district?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. In my ward you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. In your ward.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Ten; I believe it was 10; I am not positive; it may have been 11; I think it was 10.

The CHAIRMAN. How were they selected?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. At the mass meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Who presided at the mass meeting?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did some one get up and nominate delegates, or did you have a committee?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. We had a committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You appointed the committee?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I appointed the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you any arrangements with the committee who they should select as delegates?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you keep a watchful eye on that?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Wasn't enough there.

Senator SPENCER. How many did you have there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I don't believe more than 10 or 15.

Senator SPENCER. A mass meeting with 10 or 15?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't seem to be much interest in public affairs. How long was it after these delegates were selected that you had this meeting at 4 o'clock one afternoon?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I don't know how long it was. This meeting was held on a Monday, and the convention was held on the following Thursday. I don't know how long elapsed between the time of the mass meeting and that meeting at the city committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you talked with anyone about raising a fund to pay the expenses of the delegates?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No; not individually.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by that?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Only what was said in the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. In the committee?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the afternoon of the checks?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No; that was when there was a committee appointed, I believe consisting of Mestres and Lancaster.

The CHAIRMAN. What was said?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. They were to see about what rates they could get and about chartering a special train; I don't recall just what.

The CHAIRMAN. And about raising the money?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a check did you receive?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. \$150.

The CHAIRMAN. That was Goltra's?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. It was signed by Goltra, but the way he spoke we were to understand it was not his money. I was never for Goltra.

The CHAIRMAN. Why was he so anxious to have you understand it was not his money?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Something said about strings?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Well, I don't recall whether there were any strings said there or not. He just said it would in nowise bind anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you were to consider—anyone wasn't to consider that he was being bought by Goltra's money?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How many delegates did you take up to Joplin?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. There were two besides myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Did this pay the expenses—this \$150?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive anything from any other sources?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Three of you went, then, on that?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Well, one paid his own way.

The CHAIRMAN. So you had enough money?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Had some left?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I went before the—I left the day before the convention—I believe it was about two days before.

The CHAIRMAN. At this meeting all of the 28 city committeemen got their checks?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Well, all that was there got them, I guess.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. But, knowing it was a meeting to get checks, there was a pretty large attendance, wasn't there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. There was a large attendance.

The CHAIRMAN. Larger than usual?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No; as a rule we have a pretty fair meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, we don't care to call all these members of the committee; is it a fair statement to say they all received a check?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes. I don't know that. Checks were all made out for them, I believe.

Senator SPENCER. Everyone who was there that afternoon got them?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Do you think there were as many as 20 there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes; I think there were 20 there.

Senator SPENCER. O'Neill said about 20 there.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. O'Neill wasn't there.

The CHAIRMAN. Those who didn't get their checks there, do you know how they received them?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I don't recall how they received them.

The CHAIRMAN. After the checks were passed around were there any checks left in the hands of the man who was passing them?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I don't recall who passed them. I called the numbers of the wards.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you called out the numbers of the wards.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And then handed the checks to somebody?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were all the wards called?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes; 28 wards called.

The CHAIRMAN. There wasn't 28 people there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I called the wards anyhow.

The CHAIRMAN. When you would call a ward and it was not represented what was done with the checks?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I don't recall what was done with it.

The CHAIRMAN. You called the wards yourself?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I am positive I called them.

The CHAIRMAN. You were secretary of the meeting?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was president of it?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Mr. Daley.

Senator SPENCER. Has Mr. Daley returned yet from San Francisco?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I have no idea; I haven't seen or heard from him.

Senator SPENCER. What congressional district is your ward in?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Twelfth.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Daley a delegate?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. To the San Francisco convention?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many State officials were there at the Joplin convention?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Federal officials were there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I have no idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the delegates that went to San Francisco?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I know a few of them out of St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. But not in the State?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know how many Federal officials, if any, there are on that delegation?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. The money you got was enough to pay the expenses of your delegation to Joplin and back?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes; it about reached that far. I lost a coat some way that money would not have covered.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it a dry convention up there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. You are quoted in the papers as having said that no money was given to you?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. They asked me if I got any of the Goltra money. I told them no. It was not any Goltra money. I have been against Goltra ever since I have been in the city committee.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know it was not Goltra money?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. He said it was not his.

The CHAIRMAN. He said it was not.

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No; he said this wasn't his money, he collected that, or something to that effect.

Senator SPENCER. Did you read in the paper a statement that he said he gave most of it?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. That was afterwards?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir; that was afterwards.

Senator SPENCER. Did you have the proxies for all your 10 delegates?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. So you could have represented the fifteenth ward if they had not been there?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. There were 298 delegates from St. Louis?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I believe that is the number.

Senator SPENCER. As a matter of fact, about how many attended? Were there more from other wards than yours?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes; evidently. At that time I didn't go up there on that special train.

Senator SPENCER. As far as you can tell were there as many as half of the elected number of delegates at Joplin?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. I couldn't tell you that.

Senator SPENCER. You took 3 out of your 10?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Yourself and two others?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. If you would find this was Goltra money you would feel like returning it, wouldn't you?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. It is gone now.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not have taken it if it had been his money?

Mr. FITZSIMMONS. No; I would have gone out and asked some of my friends to loan me enough money to take them up there if I didn't have enough.

(Whereupon, at 12.30 o'clock p. m. the committee took a recess until 2 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

At 2 o'clock p. m. the committee reassembled pursuant to the taking of recess.

TESTIMONY OF MISS OLIVIA BRUEGGEMAN.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state your name to the reporter?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Olivia Brueggeman.

The CHAIRMAN. You live in St. Louis?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in St. Louis?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. All my life.

The CHAIRMAN. I won't ask you how long that is.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I was born here. It would not be nice to ask me that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been connected with the high-cost-of-living campaign in any way?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What has been your position?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I was executive secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Executive secretary of what?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Of the Missouri women's activities, H. C. L. That is my official designation.

The CHAIRMAN. That was an institution to reduce the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long has that been operated?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. It was first instituted I think along in December, that was when they first made plans for it, but it didn't come into active operation until the 1st of February.

The CHAIRMAN. Of this year.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say "they made plans" who do you mean?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, Mr. Figg and Miss Straus.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Figg?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mr. Howard Figg is the assistant to the Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Miss Straus?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. She is national director of women's activities, H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. These organizations exist in a number of States?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In Missouri the headquarters are in St. Louis?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. In St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. You ladies were appointed by the Department of Justice?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; we were appointed by the Department of Justice, and had to be sworn in by certificates signed by the Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you been active in war work?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Liberty loan drives?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I was chairman of the foreign division of the Federal work in my district.

The CHAIRMAN. Your work in that regard was what recommended you for this work?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I think so. They knew I had organized headquarters and had been active in that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any other officer in the employ of this organization?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No other paid officer. We tried to organize Kansas City, and were to be allowed expenses for Kansas City when it was organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you have the office here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. 210 Calumet Building.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of an office did you have?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We had an office for which we paid \$40 a month rent.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was connected with the staff?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mrs. John R. Leighty was the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And who else?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Miss Mary Semple Scott, publicity director.

The CHAIRMAN. And yourself?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Myself as executive secretary, and Miss Annie Laurie Meehan as stenographer.

The CHAIRMAN. That comprised the whole force, did it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. That comprised our force.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these people on salaries?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; all except Mrs. Leighty.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Miss Scott receive?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Miss Scott received \$200 a month.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your salary?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I received \$150 a month.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the expense of conducting that office per month?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I could give you approximately the expense.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, approximate it.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. It was something over \$500.

The CHAIRMAN. How many offices were there like that in the country?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Eighteen branch offices.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about the expense of these other branch offices?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I think they ran practically the same.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about the personnel, the number of people employed?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; I do not. Under the organization papers which we had, they all were having practically the same personnel; they were organized in the same way.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, just what did your organization do in Missouri?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, we were supposed to organize each county with a county chairman and put her in charge and she was to organize the clubs among the women for the business of reducing the high cost of living.

The CHAIRMAN. How were you going to reduce it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. By teaching them to save their clothes and not buy the essentials—to retrench on nonessentials, I mean.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you issue documents?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We sent letters to them from time to time, to the county chairman; and we sent out a press bulletin once a week to the various newspapers in the various counties. We have tried to have the principal newspaper in each county, the principal newspaper read in the county seat. In all, there were about 219 newspapers, somewhere around that number. I think that was the original number we started out with.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the lady first appointed to this work here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mrs. Frank P. Hayes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she a Republican or Democrat?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mrs. Hayes was a Republican.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did she hold that office, do you know?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't think for more than one or two months.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know why Mrs. Hayes left the office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, an election was held in which Mrs. Hayes was ousted, although there was a tie in the vote. Mrs. Hayes did not vote for herself, did not cast a vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Election for what?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. For this office. Mrs. Hayes was a temporary chairman, and then an election was held in which Mrs. Hayes was very successfully ousted.

The CHAIRMAN. Who voted at the election?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. The women were invited that were heads of various organizations in this city, and it seems that they got more women in it that were from the Democratic side than from the Republican.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, when Mrs. Leighty became chairman—she is a Democrat, is she?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any literature from the Attorney General's department in Washington relative to the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Oh, yes; we constantly received literature. They got up bulletins of which they sent us a sample, and if we wanted it we would send for it.

The CHAIRMAN. These bulletins were made by the Attorney General's office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; they were confirmed. I would say.

The CHAIRMAN. And the money to carry it on came from the Attorney General's office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. From the Attorney General's office. We made the regular voucher form that goes through the Bureau of Investi-

gation or Department of Justice for prosecution or detection of crimes.

The CHAIRMAN. What official documents did you receive from the Attorney General's office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, we just received these statements to be sent out, and we received letters from him authorizing us to use the regular travel transportation—travel-order books that were sent directly from the Attorney General's office.

The CHAIRMAN. Travel around the State?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Travel requests. We just had to fill them out.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mrs. Scott a Democrat, too?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; Miss Scott.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they do much traveling around the State?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; they didn't go around many times; they just made two trips to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Did parties come from around the State to talk to them?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. What do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let me ask you: Wasn't there a good deal of politics carried on in this organization?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, different people connected with political organizations came to our office from time to time; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you in mind who came there to talk with Miss Scott?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; Mrs. Martin, from Cape Girardeau.

The CHAIRMAN. She is the lady who figured somewhat in the State convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; very prominent.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she a delegate from Cape Girardeau?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I think delegate to the State convention and also a delegate to the San Francisco convention. Mrs. Fred Reid came also. She was also a delegate to Joplin.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen them there frequently?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I would not say frequently, but they came several times. I didn't hear any of the conversations, because they usually left right afterwards.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it discovered that you were a Republican, do you know?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. After I had been in some little time.

The CHAIRMAN. How did that arise?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I think I was asked what my politics were.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you at the time?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, I was asked in St. Louis by our organization, then I was also asked in Washington as to my politics.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom were you asked here in St. Louis?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. By Mrs. Leighty. She realized I was a Republican on account the balance of my family were Republicans, and the name figuring prominently, and then I was asked by Mr. Figg.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to go to Washington?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I went to Washington on my dismissal from this office in order to clear up the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you dismissed?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I was dismissed from this office.

The CHAIRMAN. Who by?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mrs. Leighty.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she have the power to dismiss you without the Attorney General?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I haven't been able to fathom that yet, whether she really did have the power.

The CHAIRMAN. At any rate you were dismissed, and you were summoned to Washington?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom did you see there?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mr. Figg and Miss Straus.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Figg was the Assistant Attorney General in charge of reducing the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Miss Straus?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. National director of the women's activities.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they say to you about this office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They wanted to know what we were doing in the office, what we were accomplishing; and then they also requested the political leaning of the various members of the office. They seemed more interested in what our politics were than what we had accomplished.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ask you what you were doing for Mr. Palmer?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They asked if anything was being done for Mr. Palmer, yes. They asked whether we were for Mr. Palmer, and whether we were disseminating Palmer propaganda whenever we had a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you tell them?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I told them the balance of the office was for Palmer, but I was not, being a Republican. That is when he discovered I was a Republican.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he seem a little surprised?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; I don't think he expected to find a Republican in the office.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything said by Mr. Figg or Miss Straus at that time about the work of Miss Scott or Mrs. Leighty for Palmer?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They wanted to know whether they were working for Palmer, and I said I didn't know whether they were actively working for Palmer, but I said I knew they were expressing him favorably as their choice.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say anything about that being necessary to hold a position?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; they didn't say anything about it being necessary, but they exchange glances about that. Then they asked me about my politics, and I told them I was a Republican, and expected to cast a Republican vote, but as far as a Democratic candidate was concerned, I would just as soon see Palmer as anybody else, as they had to run against somebody.

The CHAIRMAN. In relation to that, what do you say about the work in this office; was it devoted to the high cost of living or was it devoted to booming the Palmer campaign?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, as far as the work inside of the office we evidently were not booming the high cost of living, but the other

officers did not put much time in the office, so I don't know what they were doing on the outside.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time did Miss Scott and the other ladies put in the office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No more than several times a week sometimes, and never put in more than two or three hours a day.

The CHAIRMAN. And one of them was drawing \$200 a month salary?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Miss Scott's first name?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mary Semple.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was Mrs. Halsey Wilson?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mrs. Halsey Wilson was a woman that ostensibly was Palmer's woman campaign manager, but she, I think, was under the employ of the H. C. L., from things that I found out in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she traveling through the country?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know how far she went; she did come to St. Louis and made several talks.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find out at Washington that she was connected with the management of his campaign?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know whether she was or not; I thought she was. She talked here for Palmer at two different places.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when she came here—came to your organization—was it presumably to help along in the work you were doing?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; because that is what Mr. Figg said; she was being sent out for the H. C. L. work.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, just what did Mrs. Wilson do here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. She made a talk at the Town Club on Palmer, and then she also made a talk on Palmer at the residence of Mrs. Oscar Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she talking against him?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; she was talking for him. She was boosting him and telling what a wonderful man and how perfectly capable of governing the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What was this Town Club you speak of?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. It is a woman's club. They have an organization like the City Club; an organization of prominent women from both parties, nonpartisan, in the Century Building, and a luncheon club, too.

The CHAIRMAN. How many women were there that day?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. The dining room was full. I couldn't say how many. The club has 1,000 members.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she talk any on the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Never touched on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she talk any other place here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. She spoke at Mrs. Oscar Johnson's at a meeting we held. It was held under the auspices of the H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. H. C. L. is high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We always call it that—H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. That was to discuss the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Presumably.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand, then, this woman was here presumably to help reduce the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At this meeting at Mrs. Oscar Johnson's what did she talk about there?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Palmer; practically the same talk as at the Town Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she say anything at either meeting about how to reduce the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The thing was to elect Palmer President to reduce the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; he was capable of doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. She was then drawing a salary from the United States Government?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. From what Mr. Figg said. I didn't know then who was defraying her expenses, but from things said in Washington it appears she was on the pay roll just as we were and was an H. C. L. worker.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Palmer over here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No. He was expected here. They thought he was coming, and a dinner party was prearranged for him. A number of telegrams were sent, but he didn't appear; he didn't come; it was called off.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where those telegrams are?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They should be in the office of the H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. At the Calumet Building?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. In the Calumet Building.

The CHAIRMAN. Who got up this dinner?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mrs. Oscar Johnson and Mrs. Leighty and Miss Scott were getting up the dinner, to be held at Mrs. Johnson's house.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that held during the campaign?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; just previous to the campaign; it was either in March—no; in April or the early part of May.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Miss Scott a delegate to the Joplin convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mrs. Leighty a delegate?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No. She went to the convention and then voted on a proxy of some one in the twenty-eighth ward. She is from the twenty-fifth. She wasn't elected a delegate, and she went anyway and used a proxy.

The CHAIRMAN. And voted in the convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I understand she voted.

The CHAIRMAN. The twenty-eighth ward was where the fight was being made against Senator Reed?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. That is where the fight was started.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is the ward that Miss Scott was elected from?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In the twenty-fifth ward was there a fight?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; there was a fight in the twenty-fifth ward. The twenty-fifth ward had a fight and Reed won out. Mrs.

Leighty wanted to be a delegate, and that faction tried to do the same thing as in the twenty-eighth, but didn't succeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Were these two ladies for Senator Reed?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Against him?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Extremely against him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who paid the expenses of Miss Scott to the Joplin convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Miss Scott went on the H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Travel order.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean she went on Government pay?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. She used the travel order.

Senator SPENCER. What is that travel order?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, they are issued to Government employees. You have a special form you fill out and present it at the railroad station and transportation is issued to you, and you send a duplicate of it to Washington, and, of course, the railroads will present their original slip to the bureau of the department and collect the railroad fare.

Senator SPENCER. You don't pay anything yourself?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; you don't pay anything. You get both Pullman and train travel.

The CHAIRMAN. How about Mrs. Leighty?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know whether Mrs. Leighty went on it. I don't know whether she used her pass coming or going. I know she used her own railroad fare. Her husband is a railroad man, but I knew she used the travel orders on it. I feel positive myself.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Because I made out the vouchers that were sent back to Washington covering these travel orders.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the vouchers show they were attending the Democratic State convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They would show transportation to Joplin and back.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it show to a Democratic convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; the voucher would state it was on business of the H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the voucher state that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the business of the H. C. L. at Joplin?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, the business would have been to organize Jasper County.

The CHAIRMAN. Did either of them tell you they were going to do that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, they said they were going to try to do it if they had time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they talk with you as to whether they had done it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; it was discussed; they had not done it because Jasper was not organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they say they did not organize Jasper County when they went there for that purpose?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They went to the Democratic convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they say that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; they couldn't leave its sessions.

The CHAIRMAN. These were a couple of ladies who voted against Senator Reed?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Went to the convention on Government expenses?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Ostensibly to organize H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there an H. C. L. organization in that county at all?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Not up to the time of my dismissal.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that date?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't recall; either the 27th or 28th of May.

The CHAIRMAN. They told you they were too busy attending the Democratic convention to organize the county?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this lady from Cape Girardeau whom you mentioned there at Joplin?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Martin?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she cooperating with these ladies in the convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she connected with the H. C. L. in any way?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if people are traveling around to Democratic conventions at the cost of the Government, do you think that tends to reduce the high cost of living any?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I couldn't say. Perhaps they thought because it was a Democratic organization it was all right.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Kansas City convention; that was a Republican convention, wasn't it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they attend that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes. I did, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend it on Government expense?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; we used the travel orders.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you justify that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, we went there ostensibly to organize Kansas City, to get us a Kansas City chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you do anything to organize in Kansas City?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We entertained one woman whom we talked to about becoming chairman, but she didn't take to it; and we talked to another woman, Mrs. Howard McCutcheon, who was very much interested in it, but we never really pursued the thing with her in order to have her to be a chairman, because she turned out to be a Republican. I don't think we had anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. They went to Kansas City?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; Miss Scott and Mrs. Leighty.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they go to a Republican convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. To look on; see what the others were doing.

The CHAIRMAN. You went there at Government expense?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; we did.

Senator SPENCER. Did you go to Joplin, too?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; I didn't go to Joplin.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't understand how you justify going to a Republican convention or Democratic convention at Government expense. We have been told here that the delegates all had their expenses paid going to most of these conventions. How do they justify it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I can not say.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not justify it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I can not justify it. I didn't understand why I was being taken along, except being secretary of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They took you along?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; I was told to get ready and go along.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend the Republican convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; we attended some of the sessions.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you do anything toward organizing that county?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Not do a thing?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; we didn't succeed in getting it organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come back to St. Louis?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; we came back to St. Louis.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the expense is from St. Louis to Kansas City and back?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, the railroad fare is something like \$8.50 each way—three of us, and hotels.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay that with Government money?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; we sent in vouchers for this.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the way the business is being done here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are finding out where some of the money is going we are appropriating.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Where the taxpayers' money goes.

Senator REED. Also furnishes an illustration of how the ladies are purifying the public business.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you asked anything in Washington in regard to these bulletins you were sending out, whether you could put in any Palmer items?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who asked you that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Mr. Figg.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he want you to do?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. He wanted to know if bulletins could not be used to put in articles from time to time concerning Palmer that were coming to these country newspapers without looking like it was Palmer——

The CHAIRMAN. A boosting article?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. A boosting article for Palmer; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. These bulletins you were sending out were with relation to the food question and matters of that kind?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Printed by the Government?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We mimeographed them here altogether.

The CHAIRMAN. You had considerable expense in doing that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We had to run the mimeograph machine and cost of paper.

The CHAIRMAN. But he said to get some articles in about Palmer without anybody knowing——

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Get them in unobtrusively; little reading items about him.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, as far as you saw it here in St. Louis the campaign to reduce the high cost of living was a campaign to boost Mr. Palmer for the presidential nomination; isn't that so?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; though I didn't think it so much when I was in St. Louis as I did afterwards when I went to Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it there at Washington that convinced you of it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. The conversation I had there. I was in conference with Mr. Figg and Miss Straus about two hours, and he talked so much about Palmer and the Palmer candidacy, and whether we were working for him, and did we know who was working for him, and talk of that sort.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they explain to you how they had reduced the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; they didn't explain that to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Has it been pretty effective, your campaign here, reducing it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't think so. The only reducing that happened was this spring, when the prices came down a bit because the spring was late, and they always have sales in the spring, and we didn't do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anyone here at any time during the time you were connected with this bureau by the name of Scott?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; a man by the name of Scott came here.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is he?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. He is a man that came from the Department of Justice, but I didn't see him.

The CHAIRMAN. What was he doing, do you know?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. He came here, met with Mr. Goltra, and called on Miss Scott.

The CHAIRMAN. Met with Mr. Goltra?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Called on Miss Scott?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she ever tell you what the meeting was?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, Miss Scott was contemplating going into another line of Democratic work, and she said, after Mr. Scott was here, something to that effect, that day or the next day, that she wouldn't be with the H. C. L. much longer.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the other line of Democratic work than this?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. It was Democratic educational work, she called it.

The CHAIRMAN. She was going to engage in that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Going to organize Democratic clubs?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Going to organize Democratic clubs in and around the State and the city.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there ever any special agent here from the Department of Justice to look into this matter?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; a man came here around about the 17th of May.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was he?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. His name was Chumley.

The CHAIRMAN. What was he doing?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Seemed to come here to sort of check up on the office and find out what was being done.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he find out anything being done?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well; I was excluded from the meeting, so I didn't hear what was being done. I was told I might go home; I was told to stay outside of the room.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was this man?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. He was a special representative from the Department of Justice.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he trying to find out how the public money was being spent?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Why; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what he was doing here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know what he came here to check up on because I wasn't in the conferences, so I couldn't truthfully state as to what he really came for.

The CHAIRMAN. What proportion of the time while you were there—let me ask you first how many months you were there?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. April and May.

The CHAIRMAN. What proportion of the time do you think was spent in that time in matters relating to the high cost of living and in matters relating to the Palmer presidential campaign?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Of course, the work in the office was in the reports of the high cost of living. We sent out these few bulletins. We didn't do much of anything in the office. There was practically no campaign. St. Louis was never organized. We were right in St. Louis, but there was no attempt at really organizing the city. Occasionally a meeting was held, but it was not very enthusiastically handled and very poorly attended. We finally organized St. Louis about the 1st of May. Mrs. Oscar Johnson consented to become city chairman. We never did any other work. When I was in Washington I learned other cities had been quite a bit more active than we were, and I was rather amazed that we were so far behind. My idea of the H. C. L. it was to be a patriotic matter like the Liberty loans.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why you went into it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. That is why I went into it, and I didn't know it was a political enterprise.

The CHAIRMAN. Your idea now is that it was a political business?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. That is the opinion I got of it in Washington; yes, that it was a political enterprise.

The CHAIRMAN. How many offices like this are in the country?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Eighteen of these offices.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you visited any of them? Do you know whether or not they are conducted the same way?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I imagine they are conducted in the same way. We never exchanged any visits. They are in different States. They are a State office.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not justify yourself, do you—any individual's conduct in the matter, or your own, in using public money to pay the expense of delegates around to conventions?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; I do not. I thought we were an organization that was legitimate and under the Government control.

Senator SPENCER. When Miss Scott and Mrs. Leighty went to Joplin do you know whether they did any work at Joplin?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. In connection with the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; I am informed they did no work.

Senator SPENCER. How do you know that if you were not there?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well they said they had not talked to anybody about it.

Senator SPENCER. They told you so?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; and I also heard them talking together about it; and there is nothing in the files to show anything was followed up in the way of H. C. L. work after the Joplin convention.

Senator SPENCER. When you went with them to Kansas City did you see anybody in regard to the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We saw this Mrs. George Elliott Curtis and asked her to become a chairman, and she wasn't interested; and then we talked at a woman's club there to a Mrs. McCutcheon. She was really interested, and I think that had if she been followed up she would have been the chairman.

Senator SPENCER. Had you made arrangements for either of those interviews before you went to Kansas City, or were they afterthoughts when you got there?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know whether they were arranged or not. I know I had nothing to do with arranging for that.

Senator SPENCER. As far as you know, your only purpose of the visit to Kansas City was in connection with the convention?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes. We were not delegates, we just went there to look on.

Senator SPENCER. How frequently, Miss Brueggeman, was that bulletin that you got out published?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Once a week.

Senator SPENCER. How large a publication was it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Contained about 500 words.

Senator SPENCER. How generally was it circulated?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. As I say, it went to these 219 papers, up-State papers. We sent it to the large papers in Kansas City, but we didn't send it to the St. Louis papers. We got publicity other ways here. Reports came to the office, and that was just a report of the progress and little items of interest.

Senator SPENCER. Were there boosting articles concerning Mr. Palmer in nearly every issue?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; there were not.

Senator SPENCER. How frequently did they appear?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They didn't appear at all at the time of my going to Washington. I don't know if they appeared afterwards. That is what we were asked if we were doing.

Senator SPENCER. As far as any appearance, they did not appear?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; I was asked in Washington whether they could not be used.

Senator SPENCER. Was the inquiry in Washington criticizing you, rather, for not having them appear?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They seemed to think it was expected that such things should appear.

Senator SPENCER. Your conversation in Washington was with Mr. Figg?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. And was inquiring as to what publicity you gave to Attorney General Palmer in the bulletins?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. In the bulletins.

Senator SPENCER. And they suggested to you as to whether it might not be used to boost him?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Who was with you in Washington?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I was alone.

Senator SPENCER. What did you tell him?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I told them it could be used, of course. That covered a wide scope, to give to all the small towns—that is, the larger towns, practically all the county seats; but I suggested it would be wise, I thought, to call the Republican papers out of it and make a special list, if you were going to do that.

Senator SPENCER. Did Mrs. Leighty and Miss Scott receive salaries?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Miss Scott received a salary.

Senator SPENCER. Of \$200 a month?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Mrs. Leighty did not?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Not that I know of.

Senator SPENCER. Tell us what Mr. Figg said, so far as you can remember the conversation in connection with those articles boosting Attorney General Palmer. Did he speak of it upon more than one occasion?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No. We just were on the subject of these bulletins——

Senator SPENCER. How often did you see him when in Washington?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Just one afternoon.

Senator SPENCER. That was the time you had a two hours' interview?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Tell us that interview with Mr. Figg as near as you can, in your own way.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I arrived at the Department of Justice and went right up to their offices, had to wait awhile for Mr. Figg to come in, and Mr. Figg and Miss Straus both came in together; rather Miss Straus came in and took me into Mr. Figg's private office.

Senator SPENCER. That is in the Department of Justice at Washington?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes. I went in there, told him about the condition of our office, what they were accomplishing, and what we were doing, how much was organized, etc. Of course, this whole visit of mine was the outcome of my being put out of the office here. And he wanted to know just why I was put out, and what had led up to it, and had there been any argument or row, or anything of the sort. And I said there had not been, except it seemed to be just a growing feeling against me in some way that I couldn't fathom; I didn't know what it was, and suddenly I was told my services would not be needed, and I wanted him inasmuch as they hadn't—they seemed to feel it was something wrong in the office—if he wouldn't send some one out and investigate and find out about; I had wanted him to ask them what I had done——

Senator SPENCER. How did this talk about Gen. Palmer come up?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I was just trying to think how that did come up. He just asked how did we all feel about the Attorney General. We got to talking in a general way about the Attorney General and his chances for becoming President. He wanted to know what Mrs. Leighty's politics were. "She is a Democrat?" "Yes." "Miss Scott?" I said, "Yes." "Were they working for Palmer, boosting him?" I said, "Certainly." They were boosting him; they were for him more than any other candidate inasmuch as they had intended to have a dinner for him and had intended to invite him here.

Senator SPENCER. What did Mr. Figg say about that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. He seemed to be pleased about that; that was all right. And then it suddenly dawned on him to ask me my politics, too. They wanted to know also whether in the event the other ladies stepped out of the office could I take charge of it. I said I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that after they knew your politics?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; that was before.

Senator SPENCER. Then, he asked you about your politics?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. What did you tell him?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I told him I was a Republican; I hadn't thought in going in that the organization was a political organization; that I thought it was like the Liberty loan—nonpartisan and a patriotic organization.

Senator SPENCER. What did he say about these boosting articles after you told him you were a Republican?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. He said if I took charge would I see those articles would go in? I said as far as the Democratic candidate was concerned I would as soon boost Palmer as anybody else, because they had to have somebody to run against.

The CHAIRMAN. He would be as easy as anybody to beat?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I didn't say that. But I said I had been in charge of public work, and I could do it and put a great deal more punch in the campaign than had been put in it.

Senator SPENCER. Did it occur to you that there was any impropriety in boosting Palmer in that high cost of living bulletin?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They made it plain to me then that it was what they were to have, and I sort of felt them out, too, just to see what they would say about it.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you a little about how you reduced the high cost of living here, because that is pretty interesting. You had committees appointed; for instance, take the shoe business; wasn't there a committee to determine what was the fair price of shoes?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We never appointed any committees like that. We were supposed to appoint committees, but they never were appointed.

The CHAIRMAN. Were appointed?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, never anything of that kind?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We had a bulletin made out of the various committees. I think it was to embrace about nine committees—on food and clothing and budgets, vigilance, and publicity.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get this idea of committees.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. That idea came from Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. On the clothing committee, you would have some clothing merchants on it to determine what the fair prices should be of clothing?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, that really would have been handled by the fair-price commission we were supposed to have.

The CHAIRMAN. This fair-price commission, did you have anything to do with that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. We attended some of their meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. That had been organized?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. That had been organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Who organized that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. That was under Figg. Mr. Figg is really the head of the fair-price commission, and the women's activities, H. C. L., is really the woman's organization under the high cost of living—

The CHAIRMAN. Let's get this high-price commission first. There were appointed here in St. Louis a number of ladies and gentlemen on the fair-price commission?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That would involve all different trades—the shoe trade and the clothing trade and things of that kind—would it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are appointed how?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I couldn't tell how.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it under some Federal office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Judge McDaniels is at the head of the fair-price commission.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, one of the judges here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; one of the judges here. There was a Mr. Williams, or McWilliams—I couldn't say his name—he seemed to be the secretary of the fair-price commission, and he was the active head of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his business?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know what his business was before he was doing that, but I don't think he was doing anything else but this. He is up at the Municipal Courts Building.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, take shoes; how would the fair-price commission be organized on shoes; would shoe dealers be put on it?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. On this whole fair-price commission there are members of the different retail and different businesses. For instance, there is a man there from one of the department stores; I don't remember which one it is; I think his name is Lock—whether from Vandevoort's I don't know—he is one. And then probably somebody from the shoe business—probably somebody from the groceries.

The CHAIRMAN. They fix the fair price on their own article?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They practically do fix the fair price on their own article.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that is a pretty good way of reducing the high cost of living?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. From what we could see, it was a very foolish organization, because they didn't go after anything big; but from one meeting I attended they couldn't do anything but go after one little Greek restaurant that raised 5 cents on pancakes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there anybody on the fair-price commission that dealt in pancakes?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No. One man complained he had to pay more for pan cakes than the last time, and then they called the restaurant man in and investigated him. I never saw them investigate anybody else really.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the extent of their activity?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the high price of shoes?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They didn't seem to bother that very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Limited to pan cakes?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They didn't investigate shoes at all, or clothing. We tried to get it before the associated retailers to do certain things, to exhibit in their windows a clothing outfit for \$100 for women's use, everything they could wear from skin out, but they couldn't see that; they never did it.

The CHAIRMAN. They couldn't see the women's clothes?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Couldn't see what they could get together, what could be bought for \$100. We wanted to put a campaign on that, put a competitive plan on with the associated retail dealers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they were on the committee?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Some of them were?

The CHAIRMAN. The whole thing was a terrible farce?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I should say it was. They didn't prosecute anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anybody prosecuted for profiteering?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. In St. Louis?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, you will have to ask another department for that. They would probably have the records; I never saw anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. With these fair-price commissions doing this wonderful work, what was the need of your organization?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know; it seemed superfluous. As a man said to me, "If the men couldn't catch the profiteers, how would they expect the women to do it?"

The CHAIRMAN. And there were 18 such organizations?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Going around the country?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether they had other members working for them?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. They may have.

The CHAIRMAN. That information we can get at Washington.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. You can get that at Washington no doubt at the headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this organization still going on here?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. To my knowledge, it is.

The CHAIRMAN. The expenses going on just the same?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether that is true of these other 18 organizations around the country?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes. I imagine if they would disband one they would disband all of them.

The CHAIRMAN. The expenses of this office were about \$600 per month, you say?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes; between five and six hundred dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. It might be if the others kept up at the same rate, something over \$100,000 a year being spent on this kind of work?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This fair-price commission, any of these people on salaries?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I don't know whether the board is. I judge this man Williams is, because he doesn't do anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Williams's name?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I can't think what his name is, but he is in Judge McDaniels's office, Judge Spencer will know where that office is, up in the municipal court's building, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, there has not been time since the San Francisco convention to see whether the work of these organizations is as active as formerly?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; I haven't been interested whether they were active or not since I have been out with them. I haven't kept up any interest, I haven't tried. My connections were severed with the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a little feeling against them on account of the manner in which you severed your relations?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I would not have had, only it was noisily exploited in the newspapers they were going to get a policeman if I came in there again, and I didn't want to expose myself to any hoodlumism and I stayed away. I left a few things in the office which I got back recently. I was moving and didn't take them out, and I got them and I haven't been interested in their work in the past. Is that all?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is all. I am much obliged to you.

TESTIMONY OF MISS MARY SEMPLE SCOTT.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the Miss Scott who was mentioned in the testimony?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the high cost of living bureau or commission here, whatever you call it?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your position there?

Miss SCOTT. Director of publicity—vice chairman and director of publicity of the Missouri activities of the high cost of living.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were you appointed by?

Miss SCOTT. By Mrs. Leighty, the State chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And what salary did you receive?

Miss SCOTT. \$200 a month.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you still there?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The business is still running on, is it?

Miss SCOTT. Still going on very actively.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what work has that commission been doing that organization?

Miss SCOTT. Well, our principal object was to organize the women in general in the State as consumers to pledge themselves not to buy anything unnecessary during this crisis of inflated prices. That is our principal object. It is one of education—educating the women of the State. One of our principal objects is to teach them to use a family budget and save money, all they possibly can, and not to pay the unnecessary high prices for anything that they can possibly go without.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that extend to the farmers' wives?

Miss SCOTT. The farmers' wives?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss SCOTT. Well, we have been working principally through the counties and towns, and we haven't gone especially to the farmers; no. I couldn't say that we have not gone to them, no, because maybe some of our county chairmen have reached them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any branch organizations in the State?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Miss SCOTT. We have them in about 35 counties.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you organized Jasper County yet?

Miss SCOTT. We tried to organize Jasper County. We haven't done anything very special down there that I know of; but to explain, I am not the organization chairman. I only handle the publicity.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a delegate to the Democratic State convention?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At Joplin?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been testimony here that you went to the State convention on Government money; is that correct?

Miss SCOTT. I went partly on Government and partly on my own.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you justify using Government money to go to a Democratic—or Republican either—State convention?

Miss SCOTT. How to what?

The CHAIRMAN. How do you justify using public money to go to a convention, taxpayers' money?

Miss SCOTT. Because we thought that a great many of the women we would get to see to work up the high cost of living campaign would be assembled at Joplin at that convention.

The CHAIRMAN. How many women were at that convention; do you know?

Miss SCOTT. At the convention itself?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss SCOTT. I couldn't answer that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Palmer was a candidate for President?

Miss SCOTT. I have heard so.

The CHAIRMAN. It doesn't surprise you any to learn it now, does it? Didn't you go to the convention to do what you could for Mr. Palmer and get a delegation for him, and do what you could against Senator Reed?

Miss SCOTT. Yes; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you went to the Democratic State convention on Government money to work against Senator Reed?

Miss SCOTT. No; I can not say that absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you say about it?

Miss SCOTT. I went to the Democratic State convention as a delegate from the twenty-eighth ward in St. Louis to represent that ward. We went there for other things than to work against Senator Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you justify spending the money of the taxpayers of this country to go to a Democratic State convention?

Miss SCOTT. Because at the same time we went down there to see the women assembled at that State convention to talk to them about the high cost of living.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me just what women that you talked to about the high cost of living.

Miss SCOTT. I talked to Mrs. George Player.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is she from and what is her address?

Miss SCOTT. Joplin, Mo.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she at the convention?

Miss SCOTT. She was a Joplin woman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to her at all about the high cost of living?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say to her about it?

Miss SCOTT. I—rather, Mrs. Leighty asked her if she would be the chairman for Jasper County.

The CHAIRMAN. What did she say?

Miss SCOTT. She said she couldn't go it at that time; that now she couldn't undertake any more work.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the name of another woman you talked to—did you stay at her place?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the name of another woman you talked to.
Miss SCOTT. Mrs. Harry Durst, of Springfield.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she a delegate to the convention?

Miss SCOTT. Yes; I think she was.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew before you went there that she was a delegate, did you?

Miss SCOTT. Yes; I knew she was a delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you ever written her a letter about the high cost of living?

Miss SCOTT. Well, you know I don't write the letters.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you sent her any publicity matters about the high cost of living?

Miss SCOTT. No; I don't remember of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You just thought you might drop onto her there?

Miss SCOTT. No; we expected to see her there.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you talk with her?

Miss SCOTT. Well, I personally talked with her for about an hour.

The CHAIRMAN. An hour?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you at Joplin—how many days?

Miss SCOTT. I was there from the morning of the 21st—no, I was there from the morning of the 22d to the late train on the 23d.

The CHAIRMAN. Two days. Did you attend the Democratic convention?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is two. Who else did you talk to about any campaign for the high cost of living?

Miss SCOTT. I talked to Mrs. Richard Taafe.

The CHAIRMAN. Weren't you making arrangements with her to go to work for the Democratic Party in some other line of work—some educational work?

Miss SCOTT. I talked to her about both.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked to her about that?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That wasn't high cost of living, that was Democratic politics—you were talking about that?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. About how much of the time did you talk to her about engaging in some line of Democratic work—educating the Democrats or Republicans, whatever they might be?

Miss SCOTT. I don't know just how long that conference lasted, but I had a conference with Mrs. Taafe and Mrs. McKnight and Miss Mawrey.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you arranging with Mrs. Taafe at that time to engage in this educational work?

Miss SCOTT. We had been appointed.

The CHAIRMAN. Who had?

Miss SCOTT. Mrs. Taafe had been appointed State chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Miss SCOTT. Well, we were both appointed by Mrs. Antoinette Funk last October.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you receiving any salary on that?

Miss SCOTT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she?

Miss SCOTT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was she doing?

Miss SCOTT. National chairman of educational work under the national Democratic committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she traveling around on public expense?

Miss SCOTT. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date that Mrs. Funk appointed you ladies?

Miss SCOTT. I think it was about the middle of October, if I am not mistaken.

The CHAIRMAN. What year?

Miss SCOTT. If I am not mistaken, it was the 18th.

The CHAIRMAN. Eighteenth of October.

Miss SCOTT. About.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that after the Liberty loan drive was over?

Miss SCOTT. I have forgotten the date of the last Liberty loan drive.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew Mrs. Antoinette Funk was traveling over the country on the Liberty loan drive, didn't you?

Miss SCOTT. She didn't come here for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. When she talked to you about this Democratic work was she still engaged in the Liberty loan drive?

Miss SCOTT. I don't know. She came to St. Louis at the invitation of the League of Women Voters, and I understand they paid her expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who else did you talk with besides Mrs. Taafe?

Miss SCOTT. We talked to Mrs. Rachel Tingle.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was she from?

Miss SCOTT. Butler.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she a delegate?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You talked to her about this campaign to reduce the high cost of living?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk to her anything about Senator Reed or about candidates for President?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You were for Mr. Palmer yourself, weren't you?

Miss SCOTT. I had never positively made up my mind who I was for.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you talked with Mrs. Martin, from Cape Girardeau?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. About Palmer?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. She had been at your office talking politics to you, hadn't she?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And talking about Senator Reed?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let's have some more of them, then, that you talked with.

Miss SCOTT. Well, I think that is all I talked with.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you talked with, two ladies about this campaign. How many did you talk with about politics?

Miss SCOTT. Who did I talk to about politics?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss SCOTT. Well, I talked to Mrs. J. W. McKnight, State chairman, and I talked to Mrs. Kate Morrow, the State secretary of the women's committee.

Senator SPENCER. Did you talk about national presidential candidates?

Miss SCOTT. No.

Senator SPENCER. Mainly about the State situation?

Miss SCOTT. It was about the State entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend the convention pretty regularly; were you there all the time?

Miss SCOTT. Not all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of the time were you away from the convention, do you think?

Miss SCOTT. Well, I couldn't tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, being a delegate, you wouldn't be away very much, would you?

Miss SCOTT. No; I was there most of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Pretty interesting convention?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What time did the convention meet?

Miss SCOTT. I beg your pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. What time of day did the convention start?

Miss SCOTT. Well, the big session started at 9 o'clock at night.

The CHAIRMAN. When did the small session? Was there a session before that?

Miss SCOTT. It started at noon.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how long did the convention run before it adjourned?

Miss SCOTT. You mean that day?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Miss SCOTT. Some time in the afternoon. I wasn't there when it adjourned in the afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what time it adjourned?

Miss SCOTT. About half past 4.

The CHAIRMAN. Adjourned until 8 o'clock at night?

Miss SCOTT. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Then ran all night, didn't it?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there?

Miss SCOTT. I was there most of the night.

The CHAIRMAN. When did it finally adjourn?

Miss SCOTT. At 8.55 in the morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, having been in the convention all night, you were not in very good shape to talk over this high cost of living the next day, were you?

Miss SCOTT. Yes; I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your conversation with these ladies the day after the convention, the day it adjourned, or the day it commenced?

Miss SCOTT. Mostly after the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't these delegates leave Joplin pretty soon after the convention?

Miss SCOTT. Well, not the ones I have spoken of; they stayed there.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you go ahead and organize that county?

Miss SCOTT. Well, I am not the organization chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were helping in it, weren't you?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was there with you from St. Louis?

Miss SCOTT. Mrs. Leighty.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she do anything toward organizing the county?

Miss SCOTT. She tried.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she attend the convention with you?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she a delegate?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember a Mrs. Wilson coming here?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she from Washington?

Miss SCOTT. I don't think that is her home.

The CHAIRMAN. What was her business, do you know?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it?

Miss SCOTT. She was campaign manager for Mr. Palmer.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she engaged in the high-cost-of-living campaign, too?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say she was not?

Miss SCOTT. Not that I know of. She spoke at one of our meetings for us, but I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she address some meetings here for Mr. Palmer?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Miss SCOTT. Well, all that I know of she spoke at the Town Club at luncheon for about 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you arrange the meetings?

Miss SCOTT. I think I had something to do with them. I don't think I absolutely actually arranged them.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever send any telegrams in to Mr. Palmer or his eastern managers about the condition of affairs here politically?

Miss SCOTT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or did you get any telegrams from there?

Miss SCOTT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or your office?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any such telegrams in your office now?

Miss SCOTT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never seen any?

Miss SCOTT. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of your time did you spend at this office here?

Miss SCOTT. Well, my work was publicity work, and I was not supposed to be there all the time. I was generally there from about 11 o'clock until the office closed in the afternoon, but I was in and out.

The CHAIRMAN. What time did you close?

Miss SCOTT. Five o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. You were engaged in your work outside somewhere, publicity work?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was this publicity?

Miss SCOTT. Well, the publicity work consisted of getting everything that you could in the local newspapers and into the country newspapers, and getting it before these clubs and women's organizations of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have in your bulletins that you sent out any little puffs for Mr. Palmer?

Miss SCOTT. No, never.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever requested to do that?

Miss SCOTT. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever go to Washington and see Mr. Figg?

Miss SCOTT. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any letters from Mr. Palmer of a political nature?

Miss SCOTT. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you in relation to the work you were doing?

Miss SCOTT. The office had communication with Mr. Figg on the high cost of living conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your salary come from Washington?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A check on the Treasurer of the United States?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you travel around the State doing this publicity work?

Miss SCOTT. I went to Joplin and I went to Kansas City. That is all I have ever been.

The CHAIRMAN. The only places you went in the State were where the conventions were held and at the time of the conventions weren't they?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you go out to other places and organize?

Miss SCOTT. Well; those were strategical points. We thought we could do more by going to where large numbers of women were grouped.

The CHAIRMAN. Weren't there other women's conventions in the State, women's clubs, entirely women?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, why wouldn't you go there; you would meet more women than at a convention, wouldn't you?

Miss SCOTT. Well; we had our representative at almost all those women's organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you have representatives at Kansas City and Joplin, too, at the time of the convention?

Miss SCOTT. No; because those are not organized.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they ever been organized in these two counties?

Miss SCOTT. I can not say.

The CHAIRMAN. You would know if they had, wouldn't you?

Miss SCOTT. I might and I might not.

The CHAIRMAN. When you went to the Republican convention at Kansas City, did you pay that out of your own pocket?

Miss SCOTT. Part of it I did.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of it did you pay out of your own pocket?

Miss SCOTT. Well; the expense was a good deal, and I took what was allowed by the Government, \$4 per diem, and I paid the rest; about half I should say.

The CHAIRMAN. The Government paid your railroad fare, didn't it?

Miss SCOTT. But that is counting that in.

The CHAIRMAN. Well; I am asking you this question: You went at Government expense as far as your railroad fare was concerned?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the \$4 a day you charged to the Government for other expenses?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the full Government allowance?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You did the same at Joplin?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And above that you paid yourself?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. \$4 a day is what the Government allows?

Miss SCOTT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If they had allowed more, you would have gotten more?

Miss SCOTT. I beg your pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. If the Government had allowed \$5 a day, would you have taken that?

Miss SCOTT. Is it fair to ask "if"?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you took the full Government allowance; maybe that will be fairer.

Miss SCOTT. But I consider I did full Government work.

The CHAIRMAN. You do?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have gone there if it had not been your desire to attend the convention?

Miss SCOTT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you have gone to Joplin at Government expense except to attend this convention?

Miss SCOTT. Sooner or later.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a delegate at Joplin?

Miss SCOTT. I thought that was an opportunity to do good work for the H. C. L.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but you didn't even in that county organize, did you? Do you justify in your own conscience using Government

money raised from the taxpayers of this country to pay your expenses to a Democratic convention, or Republican either?

Miss SCOTT. Yes; before God I can justify it, because I did the Government work.

The CHAIRMAN. It is about time to repeal that appropriation, I think.

Miss SCOTT. If I had not been on Government work, then I could not.

The CHAIRMAN. What Government work did you do at either of these two conventions?

Miss SCOTT. Have you ever tried to do anything of this kind? Do you know how much time it takes, how many visits it takes?

The CHAIRMAN. I have never charged expenses to a convention to the Government.

Miss SCOTT. It takes a great many trips to do it. Mrs. Leighty has been to Kansas City on her own expenses four or five times.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all I want to ask the witness.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JOHN R. LEIGHTY.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

Senator SPENCER. Mrs. Leighty, you were a delegate to Joplin?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes—no; I beg your pardon, I wasn't; I tried very hard to be; I couldn't be.

Senator SPENCER. Miss Scott was mistaken when she said you were!

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes. I wanted to be a delegate from the twenty-fifth ward, but was not an accredited delegate.

Senator SPENCER. You went down to Joplin?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I did; yes.

Senator SPENCER. With Miss Scott?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; I went on the day before.

Senator SPENCER. When you got down there did you actually participate as a proxy in the convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I did; yes.

Senator SPENCER. Whose proxy did you have?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, I don't recall just whose proxy I had. I was given one from the twenty-eighth ward.

Senator SPENCER. Did you know you were going to get a proxy before you went down there?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; I did not.

Senator SPENCER. Had you arranged to try for a proxy?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No.

Senator SPENCER. It was a surprise to you when you went down there and got it?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. It was. I was very much surprised when they gave me a proxy. I hoped I would have one, but I didn't know I would get it.

Senator SPENCER. You appointed Miss Scott as head of the publicity department of the H. C. L.?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Did you fix her salary or was it fixed at Washington?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Fixed at Washington.

Senator SPENCER. By the Department of Justice?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Is your appointee confirmed by the Department of Justice?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. My appointment is confirmed by Attorney General Palmer.

Senator SPENCER. It really amounts in the first place to a recommendation by you and then to a confirmation by the Attorney General?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes. May I just explain, Senator Spencer?

Senator SPENCER. Do.

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I was elected to the position by the heads of the women's organizations of Missouri after Mr. Figg and Miss Straus were here and they thought that something might be done. They called Miss Straus and Mr. Figg from Washington to tell them what to do. They came on. And after that there was an election held by a representative from all the large women's organizations in the city, and I was elected to that position. It was then confirmed by Mr. Figg and by Attorney General Palmer. So in reality it was inaugurated by the board of patriotic societies, you may say, of the city of St. Louis.

Senator SPENCER. Now, you have, Mrs. Leighty, transportation on the railroads because of your husband; do you not?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. And when you went to Joplin you used the transportation that you have on account of your husband one way?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I used it both ways.

Senator SPENCER. You didn't use the high-cost-of-living travel order?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I used the travel order on the Pullman back, \$1.60.

Senator SPENCER. In going down?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I paid my own way.

Senator SPENCER. Why didn't you use it both ways?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, I didn't think of it, and I got on the train and the conductor came along and my reservation had been made, and I was accustomed to paying for it, and I just paid for it.

Senator SPENCER. Did you go to the Republican convention at Kansas City?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I attended one session.

Senator SPENCER. Did you use a travel order there?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Pullman only.

Senator SPENCER. You used your husband's transportation?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. At Joplin?

The CHAIRMAN. Your husband is a railroad man?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he occupy?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. He is with the Missouri Pacific Railroad as an engineer.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have passes on the railroad?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Missouri Pacific Railroad.

The CHAIRMAN. You do yourself?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Were those trip or annual?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I have an annual on the Missouri Pacific and trip passes on other lines.

Senator SPENCER. You attended the convention at Joplin?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Were you there during most of the convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes; the most of it.

Senator SPENCER. It met at noon on the 22d?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. It convened about noon.

Senator SPENCER. And they adjourned in the late afternoon?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. About 4 o'clock.

Senator SPENCER. And then it met again in the evening about 8 or a little after?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. And was in session all night?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I think so; I wasn't there.

Senator SPENCER. There was not very much brought up during the convention about anything except the convention matters?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. You recall the convention only lasted one day, and I was there three days. And the day previous to the convention there were a great many folks there, who were there before on account of contesting delegates, and others had come in whose train service was such it made it expedient for them to come in on the previous day.

Senator SPENCER. You mean on the 21st?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. On the 21st. On the afternoon of that day we had quite a conference up there on the mezzanine floor of the Connor Hotel. That is where I expected to see a large number of women, and took that opportunity of going to that convention; because, in the first place, the Government allowance is so very small that we could not possibly afford to travel over the State to organize it, and we took that opportunity of going there and amking one outlay, where we could see a great many women who were interested, rather than go out in the State and take up our time away from home—for you know I am not a salaried person—and we took the opportunity of seeing a great many in that way.

Senator SPENCER. Did you go there the day before the convention met?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I did.

Senator SPENCER. Did Miss Scott go there with you?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No.

Senator SPENCER. She was there on the convention day?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. And the day after.

Senator SPENCER. She left the day after?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. She was there on the day of it and the day after.

Senator SPENCER. You stayed all through?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I was there the day before the convention and the day after.

Senator SPENCER. Mrs. Leighty, was there any solicitation on your part to the boosting articles in connection with Mr. Palmer in your bulletin?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; Senator Spencer.

Senator SPENCER. Did that happen?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Senator Spencer, Mr. Palmer's name was never, never mentioned. We never saw Mr. Palmer's name mentioned

except on our appointment—whatever you may call it—or documents that come from Washington.

Senator SPENCER. Do you remember that Mrs. Wilson was here?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I do.

Senator SPENCER. Did she come to your place?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; I met Mrs. Wilson by accident at the Town Club. She was very much surprised to find I was a Democrat.

Senator SPENCER. Had you been hiding your light under a bushel?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, apparently I had.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you do a great deal of talking about politics at these conventions?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; I can not say we did. We were very much interested in the H. C. L., and I went down there especially to see these groups and talk about it. I didn't know how much I could interest the women, because they were interested in the convention and were from country districts and were there purely for political purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't say anything about Senator Reed at the convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I don't know that Senator Reed's name passed my lips while I was there.

The CHAIRMAN. Was his name either mentioned inside or outside?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, you couldn't hardly be in the convention and not hear it, because there was a perfect turmoil all about it. We were in the tenth district from St. Louis. All that time I was not——

The CHAIRMAN. That is camouflage, to use an old word; but you talked politics at Kansas City and at Joplin—what is the use?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Why, I am sure we said something about politics; but, then, we were not there especially about politics.

The CHAIRMAN. That was your main business there, wasn't it?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To do what you could to beat Senator Reed?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in this position, Mrs. Leighty?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, since some time in February. Let me see, I think in the last of December that this appointment came to me.

The CHAIRMAN. So you had January, February, March, and April before the convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I beg your pardon; it was, I think, the last of January.

The CHAIRMAN. There was three or four months before the political conventions, anyway?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They were in May, were they?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. The conventions, yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Missouri has a good many meetings or women, has it not?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Not a great many.

The CHAIRMAN. Women's clubs?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Not a great many.

The CHAIRMAN. Things of that character?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Many of them are held here, and haven't been very many, Senator Kenyon.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any at all during that time around the State?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. The conventions came off a little later than that.

The CHAIRMAN. Hasn't there been many women's meetings you could have gone to or sent representatives to talk about the high cost of living?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. We have, because we have a representative upon our board from nearly all the organizations, and we have sent representatives, and those people represented us, and they were going anyhow, so it was not necessary for us to go and pay this money.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were some of these conventions?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, the P. O. convention was held just recently; I don't remember just where that was, but our representative came back a few days ago and reported a resolution we had given her had passed this convention.

The CHAIRMAN. How many women were there in the Democratic convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you know before you went up there?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you know, then, you were going to meet a large body of women?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Because we had been watching the papers and knew a great many women had been elected delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many delegates, do you think?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, I couldn't say. I should think there were probably 50; maybe more.

The CHAIRMAN. Fifty?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Maybe more; I don't know exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you call that a large meeting of women?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I think that is a good many of delegates to a Democratic convention.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that would be worth a trip to Joplin to see 50 women?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I do, when you have to make a trip to see one, frequently.

The CHAIRMAN. You could see that many at these women's meetings?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I know; but they didn't represent as many different districts.

The CHAIRMAN. How many do you think you talked with about the high cost of living?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I talked to a good many, but not as many as I wanted to.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't organize that county?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. We didn't, because they were so interested in the convention they wouldn't take the time to talk to you.

Senator SPENCER. Didn't you think that would happen before you went up there?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. That wasn't a very good place to talk about a thing of that kind?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I think it was.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be like having a prayer meeting at a dog fight, wouldn't it?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. It isn't my experience that the high cost of living is anything like a prayer meeting, Senator Kenyon.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you succeeded in reducing it in Missouri?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. We have created a good deal of interest. This is how we have done it: We run things on the same principle that was involved in the war savings campaign, and I was very actively engaged in that, which was conservation, and that was the one reason we were interested in politics, because we have presented the question of conservation to the women who sit back, or might be sitting back, and ask them to refuse to buy and bring the prices down.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think a Democratic convention is a good place to preach conservation?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I thought at the Democratic convention in Missouri that some of the finest women in the State would be there.

The CHAIRMAN. Fifty of them?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. And more.

The CHAIRMAN. You thought the finest women in the State would be at the Democratic convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; I said some of the finest.

The CHAIRMAN. I was wondering why you wanted to go to the other convention.

Mrs. LEIGHTY. You must realize this is a Democratic State outside of the city.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will see about that, Judge, next November. Did you anticipate there would be a large number of women at the Republican State convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, I didn't know how many there would be, but thought perhaps somebody there we might interest. We were anxious to organize Kansas City if possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you noticed the papers to see how many women were elected to the Republican convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes; but there didn't seem to be as many.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there less than 50 in the Republican convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I can not give you the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You could go to Kansas City most any time and meet more than 50?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I think so; I have done so.

The CHAIRMAN. That was not any particular reason for going to the Republican convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. We didn't go to the Republican convention especially. We went to see the women that came in out of the State and organize Kansas City if we could.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the women over the State have anything to do with organizing Kansas City?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No. I have explained to you that the Government allowance for expenses is pitifully small, and we never stepped out without paying twice as much as allowed on the expense money. As I have no income from this work I felt if we could kill two birds with one stone that we were really saving money for the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You were saving expenses you thought?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. We were.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know about these other ladies traveling to these conventions at Government expense?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Which ladies?

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Scott and the other lady?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that was saving money, too?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Why did they need so many of you to organize?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Because there were a number of women there, and we thought we could separate our force and see more of them.

The CHAIRMAN. About 50 women at the Republican and about 50 at the Democratic conventions and 3 of you women to see those 50 women; didn't you think that was a pretty big ratio?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I didn't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think you would have gone if it was not for the convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Certainly; we had the trip in prospect.

The CHAIRMAN. How long had you had it in prospect?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. All this spring.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't you go?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. For the one reason I had the flu during the winter and my health was very poor.

The CHAIRMAN. Couldn't they have gone?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. They might, of course. They didn't wish to go without me, because I lived in Kansas City 11 years, and they wished me to go because I knew more people there.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you get over the flu before the Democratic convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Oh, I was over it some little time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you feel like going to the Democratic convention with the flu?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. That was some time later. Did you ever have it?

The CHAIRMAN. It didn't help it any.

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I presume it didn't. I didn't have it there, but I am explaining why I didn't go to Kansas City before.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't draw a salary?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I haven't ever had my car fare and lunches paid for, and I have given my time since February.

The CHAIRMAN. That is very creditable to you.

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I have tried to do something, and I think we have.

The CHAIRMAN. I am wondering what you have done, though, to reduce the high cost of living. I haven't been here long, but I haven't seen any reduction yet in St. Louis.

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, St. Louis is no exception to any other city in that way. And I think we have helped. For one concrete evidence of what I think was done after we became interested and went to the fair-price commission and tried to find out what they were doing, it was said by one of the members of the fair-price commission that he believed it would be interesting to have a meeting of all retail dealers in St. Louis to get together with the fair-price commission and the H. C. L. committee, and at that meeting three managers of the large department stores in St. Louis told us that they were scrutinizing and sitting back on the retail advances that were being made to them for

fall deliveries, and thought that the other largest retailers were sitting back on that kind of a deal, and with the general public going to sit back on the prices of the retailers—and if you will observe the papers to-day, last night's issue of the Post Dispatch, you would see the effect of that very thing, and the public is not buying, and a large part of that has been propaganda.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it has done some good?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I certainly do. We have sent out about 8,000 cards asking them to pledge themselves not to buy anything but actual necessities, and a good many have been returned, I will say perhaps 3,000 have come back to us. If it has done nothing else it has put the idea in their minds that they ought not to buy when there is a scarcity of commodities.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your work extend to the farmers' wives?

Mr. LEIGHTY. Yes; it extends to the very small towns.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you go out and teach the farmers' wives how to economize?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Well, I don't think that is necessary. I don't know very many farmers' wives who have ever had to do anything but economize.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't know whether you did that.

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I will explain to you that the Government pay for expenses is so limited that we don't leave town any more than we have to.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't really afford to go unless there is a convention going on?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Not unless we do see more than one person in one town.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't there a woman's suffrage convention up at Joplin a few days after the Democratic convention?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Oh, not until the next month.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to that?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many women were at that?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Two or three hundred, wasn't there?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I don't know; I wasn't there.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can't you tell if you weren't there?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you read about it in the newspapers?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. Perhaps, but I didn't keep tab.

The CHAIRMAN. You were keeping tab of the Republican and Democratic conventions, how many women there; don't you keep tab about the woman's suffrage meeting?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. I was asked to come down and present the cause of the high cost of living before the League of Women Voters, but I was sick in bed and could not go.

The CHAIRMAN. It would have been a better place for meeting more women than before the conventions?

Mrs. LEIGHTY. No; because those women were perfectly familiar; they had a committee in their own division, and it was not necessary. They knew what work we were doing anyhow.

STATEMENT OF O. G. BOISSEAU.

O. G. Boisseau, of Holden, Mo., presented the following statement:

STATE OF MISSOURI,
County of Johnson.

O. G. Boisseau, of lawful age, being duly sworn, on his oath states in relation to the expenditure of funds to promote the candidacy of Frank O. Lowden for President, that he can not make an itemized statement of the expenditures of same, for the reason that he did not keep account of such expenditures, and such statements herein contained are based on estimates.

I did not give the money I received to anyone else, but it was intended—or I suppose it was intended—to pay my personal expenses in making trips to various points in the interest of Frank O. Lowden.

The different trips that I made, as well as I can now recall them, are as follows:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Trip to St. Louis, Mo., in December, 1919 (may have been early in January, 1920), estimated expense..... | \$30 |
| Trip to Kansas City, 2 days, about Jan. 7 and 8, 1920, estimated expense.. | 20 |
| Trip to Clinton, Mo., 2 days, in January, 1920 (don't recollect the date), estimated expense | 10 |
| Trip to St. Louis, Mo., Jan. —, 1920, estimated..... | 30 |
| Trip to Clinton, Mo., in January or February, 1920, estimated expense..... | 10 |
| Trip to Eldorado Springs, Mo., Feb. 10 and 11, 1920, estimated expense.... | 15 |
| Trip to St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 11, 12, and 13, 1920, estimated expense..... | 40 |
| Trip to Kansas City, Mo., Apr. —, 1920, estimated expense..... | 10 |
| Trip to St. Louis and Chicago, June 5 to June 13, 1920, estimated expense.. | 125 |
| 3 or 4 short trips in Johnson County, my home county; don't recall the dates; perhaps during January and February, 1920, estimated expense... | 1 |
| Telephone messages, estimated | 10 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 310 |

The above is intended to include railroad and Pullman fare, hotel bills, auto hire, and all legitimate traveling expenses.

My receipts are \$300 from J. L. Babler during the latter part of January, 1920. It was intended to cover expenses already incurred, the expense to be incurred personally by me to promote the interests of Gov. Lowden. Mr Babler made no representations to me that it was his own funds and I did not understand it.

He did not ask me to do anything improper for Gov. Lowden and I feel that I did nothing to promote his candidacy but what will bear the closest scrutiny, and am willing to appear at any time before the lawfully constituted body and offer any further explanation desired.

O. G. BOISSEAU.

Subscribed and sworn to before me at my office in Holden, Mo., this 5th day of July, 1920.

[SEAL.]

S. R. SANKEY, *Notary Public*.

My commission expires January 11, 1923.

Senator SPENCER. In case I am not able to be here to-morrow morning, I give authority to the two members that are present to consider me as present for the purpose of making a quorum.

(Thereupon, at 3.40 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, July 10, 1920, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
St. Louis, Mo.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., Saturday, July 10, 1920, in the United States court of appeals court room, Senator William S. Kenyon, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Streutker, will you take the stand?

TESTIMONY OF HENRY STREUTKER—Recalled.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been sworn, Mr. Streutker?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A question I forgot to ask you is all. I am much obliged to you for being here. At the time of getting these proxies which you spoke of yesterday, was there any money given the men who gave the proxies?

Mr. STREUTKER. No. I will explain how that is, gentlemen. You see after delegates are elected you get everyone of them to sign a proxy, in case something turns up that they wouldn't be there or couldn't go. You do that meeting night, because it saves running around. You have them all right there, and you have a notary public.

The CHAIRMAN. Take him right along?

Mr. STREUTKER. To take every man's proxy that is on the delegation.

The CHAIRMAN. You select them and then you take their proxies?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you keep their proxies?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If they can go all right, and if they don't go you have got them anyway?

Mr. STREUTKER. If they don't go, you have their proxy, and it saves running around.

The CHAIRMAN. Saves unnecessary running around?

Mr. STREUTKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do they get any money?

Mr. STREUTKER. Those that didn't go?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STREUTKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't give them any for their proxies?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; don't give them any for their proxies.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that ever been that they were paid for their proxies?

Mr. STREUTKER. I have never known them to get any money for any proxies.

The CHAIRMAN. None of these did anyway in this particular case?

Mr. STREUTKER. No; not in my ward; I never done it. Those that go you pay their railroad fare; and like at Joplin, we had no hotel bill; we stayed in the Pullmans. We paid their eating and all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is all. Much obliged to you.

Mr. STREUTKER. All right.

TESTIMONY OF MISS OLIVIA BRUEGGEMAN—Recalled.

The CHAIRMAN. There was one thing I neglected to ask you yesterday, and I want to ask you now. do you remember the time of the caucus or mass meeting, or whatever you call it, in the twenty-eighth ward?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the war that was hostile to Senator Reed?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you tell us about the use of the telephone and the activities in your office by the other members of the High Cost of Living Commission previous to that, just previous to that?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, for two or three days previous to that meeting at the Rose Hill Hall Mrs. Leighty was not in the office. But whenever Miss Scott was in the office she used the telephone frequently to call up various people to be sure and attend that meeting. And she arranged with Mrs. Oscar Johnson so she would have her machine and be able to get a number of people and bring them to the meeting, and had frequent talks with Mr. Frank Curlee and other people whose names I didn't catch; but it was with relation to be sure to be present at that meeting in the Rose Hill Hall, because they had a piece of work to put over.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the piece of work?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, I understood it was to get Senator Reed. The main idea was to be there.

The CHAIRMAN. To roll him?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. To start that ball rolling on Senator Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any talk about it would help to reduce the high cost of living if they could defeat Senator Reed in Missouri?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; they didn't discuss that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it fair to say, then, that the activities of the office for two or three days previous to that meeting in the twenty-eighth ward where delegates were to be selected were devoted to anti-Reed campaign?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. It surely was.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anything done in the regular duties of the office?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Well, I was in charge of my end of the work, but I don't know that anything else was being done. It was practically suspended for the time being. They didn't put in a great deal of time in the office.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there a great many telephone calls?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Different politicians?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. It was worked through the women more than anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the telephone operated; do you pay for each call?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; we had an unlimited telephone. It didn't belong to us. We were at that time using the office of the League of Women Voters.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not be an expense.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. No; it wasn't any expense.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else you think of?

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. On that subject?

The CHAIRMAN. Or any other subject connected with it.

Miss BRUEGGEMAN. I think of nothing more as far as I am concerned.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JAMES A. MOWREY.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the reporter your name?

Mrs. MOWREY. Mrs. James A. Mowrey.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your home?

Mrs. MOWREY. 2818 University Street.

The CHAIRMAN. What ward is that?

Mrs. MOWREY. That is the twenty-first ward.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a delegate to the Joplin convention?

Mrs. MOWREY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You hold no Government position, do you?

Mrs. MOWREY. No, sir; I am a home maker.

The CHAIRMAN. Were your expenses paid to the convention?

Mrs. MOWREY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid them yourself?

Mrs. MOWREY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't get in on this payment of expenses?

Mrs. MOWREY. No, sir; I didn't want to get in on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any offer made to you to pay your expenses?

Mrs. MOWREY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How were the other delegates from the ward?

Mrs. MOWREY. I couldn't speak for them. As far as I know, I was the only delegate that went outside of the committeeman.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the committeeman?

Mrs. MOWREY. Mr. Doerning. There were several people from the twenty-first ward; I don't think they were delegates; not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he talk at the time about the manner of going?

Mrs. MOWREY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. No one talked to you about it?

Mrs. MOWREY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Any talk with Miss Scott about it?

Mrs. MOWREY. No. I am simply a good Democrat, and I was interested in getting intelligent women to go down to Joplin for delegates from my particular ward.

The CHAIRMAN. You were interested enough in it to pay your own expenses?

Mrs. MOWREY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is very commendable. That is all, Mrs. Mowrey, and I am sorry to have disturbed you. We had other information.

TESTIMONY OF ANNIE LAURIE MEEHAN.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Please give the reporter your name.

Miss MEEHAN. Annie Laurie Meehan.

The CHAIRMAN. You had some position in this high-cost-of-living affair here?

Miss MEEHAN. As a stenographer.

The CHAIRMAN. As telephone operator?

Miss MEEHAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the telephone?

Miss MEEHAN. Why, we had offices with the League of Women Voters; at times I answered the phone.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember the time of this convention or caucus in the twenty-eighth ward concerning which there was a good deal of interest?

Miss MEEHAN. I remember the time that Mrs. Leighty and Miss Scott went to Joplin.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the office closed when they went to Joplin?

Miss MEEHAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were they at Joplin?

Miss MEEHAN. They were there two days, to the best of my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the office been closed for three or four days recently?

Miss MEEHAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Open all the time?

Miss MEEHAN. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Leighty go to Washington?

Miss MEEHAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When did Miss Scott go to Washington; did she go at all?

Miss MEHAN. She never went, as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. The office has been open all the time?

Miss MEEHAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How large a force have you at that office?

Miss MEEHAN. We have a State chairman, Mrs. John R. Leighty, and publicity director, Miss Scott, and Miss Brueggeman as executive secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, who took her place?

Miss MEEHAN. No one.

The CHAIRMAN. So that is one office that has not been filled?

Miss MEEHAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. One less Federal employee?

Miss MEEHAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You attend to the correspondence out through the State?

Miss MEEHAN. I wrote all correspondence that they dictated.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write a good many political letters?

Miss MEEHAN. No, sir; I wrote only stencil.

The CHAIRMAN. What is only stencil?

Miss MEEHAN. It was just a stencil of the program.

The CHAIRMAN. Program where?

Miss MEEHAN. Something concerning the Democrats.

The CHAIRMAN. Something about the Democrats?

Miss MEEHAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell what it was?

Miss MEEHAN. Well, it seems like it was a program.

The CHAIRMAN. A program for the Democrats?

Miss MEEHAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that connected with the high cost of living?

Miss MEEHAN. Well, it was not connected at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those sent around the State?

Miss MEEHAN. I think the majority of them are still over in the desk.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you furnish us a copy of it?

Miss MEEHAN. I think I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any you could exhibit?

Miss MEEHAN. If they are still over there I can get them, get one.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote this, can't you tell what it was?

Miss MEEHAN. Well, it was just a—it was on educational lines.

The CHAIRMAN. Educational lines?

Miss MEEHAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What educational lines?

Miss MEEHAN. About what the Democratic Party was and all that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it tell all it was or just part?

Miss MEEHAN. Well, I don't know—I don't remember very much about it, but about, I suppose their side of the story compared with the Republicans.

The CHAIRMAN. It held up the Democratic side of affairs pretty strongly and rather denounced the Republicans?

Miss MEEHAN. No, no, it didn't; it didn't have anything to do with the Republican Party at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you said it talked about the Republican Party?

Miss MEEHAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what did you say about Republicans?

Miss MEEHAN. I mean compared the Republican policy with the Democratic policy.

The CHAIRMAN. Showed the Democratic policy and the Republican policy?

Miss MEEHAN. No; just the Democratic policies.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there was not anything about Republican?

Miss MEEHAN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did it show that the Democratic policies reduced the high cost of living?

Miss MEEHAN. It didn't mention that.

The CHAIRMAN. How did it connect up with the high cost of living?

Miss MEEHAN. Miss Scott just asked me to do it for her.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you paid for that—extra?

Miss MEEHAN. I did it during other times in the office.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you do a good deal of that kind of work?

Miss MEEHAN. That is the only one.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you do a good deal of letter writing around the State to Democratic women?

Miss MEEHAN. Absolutely no.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you do any telephoning around?

Miss MEEHAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time did you spend there?

Miss MEEHAN. That is the only instance.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean how much time did you spend in the office?

Miss MEEHAN. From 9 until 5.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time did Mrs. Leighty spend?

Miss MEEHAN. She got down at about 11 o'clock; it varied.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did she stay?

Miss MEEHAN. Well, she stayed in many instances until 5, and sometimes she went home earlier.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did Miss Scott stay in the office?

Miss MEEHAN. Well, Miss Scott got in at about 11 o'clock, and she was in and out.

The CHAIRMAN. And numerous consultations with various women politicians at the office around the State; was Mrs. Martin, from Cape Girardeau, there a number of times?

Miss MEEHAN. Well, there may have been women there, but I didn't know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, women would drop in there, wouldn't they, talking things over—oh, I don't suppose you remember about what they said; anything about that?

Miss MEEHAN. No; you see I had my duties to attend to, and I didn't pay any attention to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay any attention to the use of the telephone a few days before the twenty-eighth ward meeting?

Miss MEEHAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know anything about that?

Miss MEEHAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all. Very much obliged to you.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee had hoped that Mr. Goltra and Mr. Joseph T. Davis, who were at San Francisco, would be back to-day, but our information is that they will not be here for several days. We will endeavor to make arrangements to have Senator Pomerene, who is a member of this committee, stop here on his way from San Francisco, and with Senator Spencer and Senator Reed take the testimony of Mr. Goltra and the other gentleman, and any other testimony that the committee may at that time desire to take.

TESTIMONY OF E. B. ALEXANDER.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporter, please.

Mr. ALEXANDER. E. B. Alexander.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. Alexander?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I am a contractor.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you one of the city committeemen?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been city committeeman?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Six years.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at this meeting that we have heard about here where checks were given out by Mr. Goltra?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a check given you at that time?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. How much was it?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I think it was \$100; I am not sure.

The CHAIRMAN. \$100?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that for?

Mr. ALEXANDER. To defray the expenses to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Of delegates?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many delegates did you have in your ward?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Myself and 4 more went up there; had 12 delegates to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that didn't pay their expenses, did it?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How were the rest of the expenses paid?

Mr. ALEXANDER. By myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You paid it yourself?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did it amount to?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I don't know; I think the railroad fare was \$24 a round trip, I think, I am not positive, and then the hotel bills.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have proxies from all these delegates?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Not all of them, no.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the customary way of doing, is it, when a delegate is selected, then the committeeman gets their proxy?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes; if they don't go.

The CHAIRMAN. We have just heard here from a committeeman that he gets them and whether they go or not they get to vote.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, I didn't do that.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't do that?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the general way of doing it?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I suppose that is the way they do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you taken a great deal of interest in the selection of the delegates?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any particular fight?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No fight.

The CHAIRMAN. No fight at all?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Only at the mass meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Just wanted to control the delegates?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they for for President?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they for for President?

Mr. ALEXANDER. For President of the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Nobody in particular.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Nobody.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your choice?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Nobody.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Nobody. I have got a very peculiar ward; that ward of mine people do as they please, not as you would like for them to do.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not control them?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No, sir; absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Even if you pay their expenses to the convention?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sometimes when they pay their expenses to the convention they go up and fight your wishes, do they?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. They do?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you pay more than their expenses?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I paid their expenses up there and paid their hotel bills; they wouldn't ask any more.

The CHAIRMAN. You think they would feel under no obligations for that?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, some of them do and some of them don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of them fight harder if their expenses are paid than if they were not?

Mr. ALEXANDER. I presume they do. It gives them more courage.

The CHAIRMAN. More courage?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you turn over any money to anybody to be used for payment of delegates' expenses?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Not a cent.

The CHAIRMAN. Or for any other purpose?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Absolutely nothing?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were at the convention yourself?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did these delegates vote on any contested question?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the question?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, one question was the seating of Senator Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they vote on that?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Half and half.

The CHAIRMAN. Half and half?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir; half for and half against.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any women on your delegation?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Not a one. They were on, but they didn't go to the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have their proxies?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How were the proxies voted on that?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, I voted their proxies for Reed.

The CHAIRMAN. For Reed?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And those that were present——

Mr. ALEXANDER. Voted against him.

The CHAIRMAN. Voted against him?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were not opposed to Reed?

Mr. ALEXANDER. No, sir; never have opposed him.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the delegation, if you know, to San Francisco vote on the presidential question?

Mr. ALEXANDER. That I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you know as a matter of general information? I don't know, but I would think you would know.

Mr. ALEXANDER. No; I don't know, Senator Kenyon. I am very busy, I haven't seen a paper for three days. I just got in from the country.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the general sentiment of the convention at Joplin for President?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well that I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. I guess that is all.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will adjourn at the call of the chairman.

(Accordingly, at 10.33 o'clock a. m., Saturday, July 10, 1920, the subcommittee adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 8

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



**WASHINGTON
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1920

COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

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| ALBERT B. FALL, New Mexico. | THOMAS J. WALSH, Montana. |
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CHARLES A. WEBB, *Clerk*.

— —

SUBCOMMITTEE ON S. RES. 357.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, *Chairman*.

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| SELDEN P. SPENCER. | JAMES A. REED. |
| WALTER E. EDGE. | ATLEE POMERENE. |

CHARLES A. WEBB, *Clerk*.

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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Chicago, Ill.

The subcommittee met at 10 o'clock a. m. in room 603, Federal Building, Chicago, Ill., Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Reed, Pomerene, Spencer, and Edge.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. We will proceed. There is perhaps a divergence of opinion in the minds of the different members of the committee concerning the introduction of certain statements—parts of statements,—at least—of Gov. Cox. I had gathered some of these, believing that in view of the situation they should be introduced; and also the telegram sent to Gov. Cox by the chairman of this committee, the reply of Gov. Cox, following in logical order the speech made by Gov. Cox at Pittsburgh. Of course, under the strict rules of evidence these statements would perhaps not be admissible, but in this inquiry we can not be limited by the strict rules of evidence, though we are desirous of coming as near to it as we can.

I shall, therefore, as chairman of the committee, ask to insert in the record certain extracts from speeches made in the last 10 days or two weeks by Gov. Cox. I understand there is some objection to that on the part of the committee, so if the committee is against that idea, of course it can not be done.

Senator REED. Mr. Chairman, I want to put in the record my views of the course this investigation ought to take. The committee was appointed under the authority of a Senate resolution and directed to investigate campaign expenditures of both of the national committees and, where it deems necessary, to investigate campaign expenditures of candidates for the Senate. That, of course, imposed those duties upon us before either Mr. Cox or Mr. Harding was nominated, and if neither of them had made any charge of any kind, and if neither of the chairmen of the committees had ever made a charge or a countercharge, it nevertheless would have been our duty, and is our duty, to find every dollar they have collected, if we can, the source from which it came, and the purposes to which they expect to put it. If that method is pursued it will result in a complete disclosure of the situation, provided the committee is able to get the witnesses. I think that course ought to be pursued just as we would try a case in court, and under the strict rules of evidence, with this

any of the charges made by Mr. Cox or I may be necessary to have the names of the witnesses who have been selected for the purpose of any inquiry being suggested and require that as a result of any inquiry made for the purpose of ultimately getting the names and the facts concerning.

I think if we get any other names we will find this record filled with contrary evidence, with names and some charges which may be subject to some of the parties mentioned and to the political organizations mentioned. And I think the witnesses should be brought here and all sworn and their direct testimony taken concerning the matters about which they know.

It has been suggested that the chairman and members of some of the committees have written statements which they desire to read. I have seen that method pursued and never with any satisfaction. I think the witnesses ought to be put on the stand and examined. If the committee is of a different view, I, of course, will fall in line with it. I wanted to say that much for the record. I don't care, as far as I am concerned, what Mr. Cox has charged or what Mr. Hays has charged. I want men that know the facts put here on the witness stand, and I want them to tell the facts under oath.

I will add this: I don't think the political candidates or managers are running this investigation or have any right to give it any direction or exercise the slightest control over it. It is the business of the committee to control its own business and call the witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think that there is any suggestion that the committee is not controlling its own business, is there?

Senator REED. I don't mean to suggest that, except that it was suggested that a man had to write out and then read a written statement, and that candidates' speeches should go into the record, and that they should make, in that way, the issues. I don't think they make the issues; we make the issues.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that question will have to be left to the committee. I feel the charges made by Gov. Cox in his Pittsburgh speech, which he refers to in his telegram to me, should go in the record. How does the committee feel about it? Shall we vote on the question?

Senator REED. It is not necessary to vote, as far as I am concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator REED. The committee has made up its mind.

Senator POMERENE. Will the chairman allow me to suggest the record thus far shows the original resolution under which we were directed to proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. But as I recall the record, the supplemental resolution that was passed on the last day of the session of the Senate is not as yet incorporated in the record, and if you please you should state that.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. The supplemental resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the powers conferred upon the Committee on Privileges and Elections and the subcommittee heretofore appointed by it under Senate resolution 357 be, and they are hereby, extended so as to authorize and require the Committee on Privileges and Elections, or the subcommittee thereof now acting under Senate resolution 357, to investigate, after the adjournment of the Democratic national convention, and before the November elections, 1920, the receipts

and expenditures of the several political committees, and the receipts and expenditures of the campaigns conducted by, and on behalf of, or against, the election of the several candidates for President and Vice President, and the United States Senate, and for said purposes the said Committee on Privileges and Elections, or the said subcommittee, and the members thereof, are hereby clothed with the same powers conferred on said committee and said subcommittee, and the members thereof, by said resolution No. 357; and they are further directed to make report of their proceedings to the Senate not later than the first Monday in December, 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. I place in the record, from the New York World of August 15, 1920, the statement alleged to be made by Gov. Cox in a speech at Wheeling, W. Va.

[From the New York World, Aug. 15, 1920.]

HARDING IS PUPPET OF SENATE CABAL DECLARES GOV. COX.

WHEELING, W. VA., *August 14.*

He made the flat charge that a group of interests had banded themselves together for the purpose of buying the Presidency in the hope that they would thus be able to become "sponsors of Government policy."

He went on to say that "millions of dollars" had gone into the Republican campaign fund, and that the givers were attempting to "buy an underhold on government." He explained the significance of the wrestling term as meaning that "profiteering can be continued."

Another reason for these huge gifts, he declared, lay in the desire of the big industrial firms that were represented to have "the force of the bayonet wielded by their puppets in office" in industrial disputes.

The CHAIRMAN. From the Washington Post of August 15, 1920, a similar statement:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 15, 1920.]

ATTACKS G. O. P. "BING."

WHEELING, W. VA., *August 14.*

"Tell it to 'em, Jimmie," called the crowds to-day all along the line from the Ohio State capital at Columbus, and, inspired by the instruction, the governor, down to fighting trim, ripped into the "senatorial oligarchy" and the "capitalistic ring," which he said had captured the Republican Party and was now "trying to buy and control the Presidency."

The CHAIRMAN. From the New York Times of August 15, 1920, statement alleged to be the statement made by Gov. Cox in West Virginia on or about that time in one of his speeches:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 15, 1920.]

COX OPENS FIRE ON SENATE GROUP IN FIVE SPEECHES—CHARGES USE OF GREAT FUND TO BEFOG THE PUBLIC.

WHEELING, W. VA., *August 14.*

He pronounced the League of Nations and progressivism the leading issues of the campaign, ridiculed Senator Harding for conducting a "front-porch campaign," and charged that the members of a Senate group, headed by Senator Lodge, were actuated by hatred of the Wilson administration, and if they brought about the election of Harding would be only the puppets of sinister financial and industrial influences which were trying to make a continuation of profiteering possible.

CHARGES EFFORT TO BUY PRESIDENCY.

In his address before the State convention the governor caused a sensation and brought enthusiastic response when, discussing progress and reaction, he charged that certain interests were banded together to buy the Presidency and

that millions had been contributed to the campaign fund of the Republican Party with sinister intent.

"They want to be the sponsors of American Government," said Gov. Cox. "I assure you that they will not and that the Government will be sponsor of their activities. Their check books are ready and open, and hundreds of thousands—yes, millions—have gone into the Republican treasury to buy an underhold on the Government. And why? In order that profiteering may go on.

"And they give their checks for another purpose—in order that their will and desire shall have behind them in industrial controversy the bayonets of their puppets in government."

A powerful combination of interests is not (evidently typographical error for "now") attempting to buy Government control. They are raising millions and millions of dollars in a campaign fund. Just how it will be used the future alone can tell. We do know that it is being employed now to arouse racial discontent, to breed unrest, and to befog the public mind. The movement is based upon greed and selfishness, and if successful will result in an extreme reaction and a disordered society.

Rather than make these groups of men the sponsors of government they must be made to demean themselves under the vigilant, restraining eye of a governmental policy based upon the golden rule. They have their own notions about the settlement of industrial disputes. They would enforce them with their puppets in office. They would continue profiteering and reestablish the rule of government by the few. They would establish a class feeling and make fair and honest readjustment impossible.

The CHAIRMAN. I present also for the record a portion of the speech made by Gov. Cox on August 21.

Senator POMERENE. Where?

The CHAIRMAN. At Orrville, Ohio. Only this much of it:

Continuing his attack upon Republican campaign contributions, Gov. Cox also charged that "The greedy interests which are making the contributions have been in notorious consort with the senatorial oligarchy."

Again, from the same paper:

He made a brief address at Mount Vernon, Ohio, renewing his charge that Republicans had raised \$15,000,000 campaign fund, and also discussed the League of Nations.

He further said:

I challenge them to make denial. If their plea is not guilty I will furnish the evidence and you can render the verdict.

Again, as reported by the New York Herald and Sun in its issue of August 28, on a matter in a speech at Evansville, Ind., Gov. Cox said:

I will produce evidence that will convict every mother's son of them, the evidence of a deliberate plot and conspiracy to buy the Presidency of the United States.

Taken from the New York Times of Saturday, August 28, purporting to be from Gov. Cox speech at New Haven:

Asked if he intended to press his charges further, he retorted:

"Yes, you will have new leads within a week, I think."

I place in the record a telegram sent by the chairman of this committee, on August 23, to Gov. Cox.

[Western Union telegram.]

CHICAGO, ILL., August 23, 1920.

Hon. JAMES M. COX,
Dayton, Ohio:

As you know the Senate appointed a committee to investigate campaign expenditures. We had a number of meetings before the presidential conventions and the committee at its meeting here to-day to determine what shall be done under the Senate resolution instructed me to wire you.

I think no one who has followed the work of this subcommittee could claim it was actuated by any partisan motives. We are anxious to do the full work placed upon us by the Senate resolution.

I note from the newspapers that at Wheeling, W. Va., in a speech a few days ago you stated, according to report of the New York Times, that "he charged that certain interests were banded together to buy the Presidency and that millions had been contributed to the campaign fund of the Republican Party with sinister intent." And, again, "their check books are ready and open, and hundreds of thousands—yes, millions—have gone into the Republican treasury to buy an underhold on the Government." And also that "a powerful combination of interests is now attempting to buy Government control. They are raising millions and millions of dollars in a campaign fund."

The Washington Post of August 15, in reference to the same, said that you stated a "capitalistic ring" had captured the Republican Party and was now "trying to buy and control the Presidency." Again the newspapers report you as stating in Ohio speeches that the Republicans had raised a fifteen million fund and that you had this evidence. I do not know that you were correctly quoted, but if you were, we want this information. I assure you that the members of this subcommittee will go to the bottom of any charges of this kind and if this is the situation we want to thoroughly investigate it.

I am sure that as a good American and as a candidate for the Presidency you will be willing to assist us and would not make these statements without evidence to support them. We would be glad to have you furnish the committee with such sources of information as will help them in getting at these facts, and we would be pleased to have you appear before us personally at any time you might desire or send us a communication if you prefer, or send some one who can give this information. The committee has adjourned to meet again on Monday, August 30, at the Federal Building at Chicago at 10 a. m., at which time we will be glad to have you furnish us this information.

WM. S. KENYON,
Chairman subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN. His reply thereto of August 24, as follows:

In addition to my statement in Pittsburgh, I will send to your committee such leads for information as I possess. It will be my purpose to assist you in every possible way.

JAMES M. COX.

Also, a telegram to Senator Reed, a member of this committee, from Gov. Cox:

Many thanks for your message. I will get some matters into your hands soon.

That is dated August 23.

Also, from the New York Times, the same article referred to before, where it is alleged the statement was made by the governor:

These men are attempting to buy an administration that will be favorable to their policies. One of their policies is the use of the bayonet in the settlement of these industrial disputes.

Now, I think the next in order would be placing in the record the speech, as reported by a shorthand reporter, made by the governor at Pittsburgh, the speech referred to in his telegram to the chairman of this committee:

Chairman GUFFEY. In our candidate the Democracy have a leader who for six years as governor of our great neighboring State of Ohio has had the ability to initiate many reforms and the courage to carry them through to completion. [Applause.] In him we seen the honesty of Cleveland, the vigor of Roosevelt, and the wisdom of Wilson.

I am profoundly honored, ladies and gentlemen, in presenting to you to-night the next President of the United States, James M. Cox. [Prolonged applause.]

Gov. Cox. Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I am profoundly touched by this evidence of your very warm and cordial greeting. No matter where you go this year, even though it is still midsummer, you find great crowds of people,

and you find that the same emotions seem to be touching the heartstrings of citizenship everywhere.

Our people believe in peace, national and international; our people believe in progressive measures, national and international.

I must make an apology to you at the outset when I say for a few minutes at least it will be necessary for me to follow manuscript, and I want you to understand that I will be just as unhappy as I am reading as you will be while I am perusing it; but I am here to make a grave charge against the men who have taken charge of a great political party—against a group of interests who now control the Senate of the United States and are attempting to annex the Presidency of the United States. This charge is to be made in words the meaning of which has been well measured. I think when you reflect upon the importance of this occasion you will agree with me as to the propriety of my dealing with manuscript for just a few moments, and after that I will endeavor to give you a good old-fashioned progressive speech.

I have charged the leaders who have taken over the official affairs of the Republican Party organization with raising a stupendous campaign fund—so stupendous as to exceed the realm of legitimate expense—which means but one thing—imminent danger of an odious and a corrupt campaign. In order that the present situation might be properly placed in the public understanding, we should be reminded that the contributions of large sums of money by business interests began in the Newberry Senatorial contest in the State of Michigan. When accusations were made general denial was forthcoming, and yet in a Republican State, in a Republican community, by a Republican grand jury, by a Republican petit jury, and before a Republican United States judge, the accused, now a member of the Senatorial oligarchy, was convicted of fraudulent and corrupting practices. One would have thought this experience would have had its restraining influence on subsequent events, but the resolve of certain interests to take over the affairs of our Government amounts apparently to a perfect mania.

Unaffected by the Newberry episode, money was spent after it had been collected from business interests in the preconvention campaign in such sums that the whole country was shocked by the scandal. Millions of dollars admittedly were expended in behalf of these candidates. The Newberry affair and the preliminaries to the Republican national convention are now admitted public facts. They are recounted here as first symptoms of an iniquitous contagion that continues. Judging the future by the past, the people themselves must bring it to an end. Nothing apparently except the stiff shock of expressed public condemnation at the polls will be effective. The Newberry lesson went unheeded by the interests behind presidential candidates in the spring and early summer of 1920, and the admonition which the multiplied circumstances of the very recent past would ordinarily carry to the normal mind is insufficient to stay the hand of greed, of conspiracy and corruption, which it is now my duty to expose. [Applause.] To be specific, I charge that a campaign fund of not less than \$15,000,000 would be used by the Republican leaders in furtherance of the campaign in behalf of the Senatorial oligarchy. Mr. Hays denies that. I don't blame him. In proof I shall submit nothing whatsoever except Republican evidence. I shall depend wholly for the purpose of making proof conclusive upon official documents which have come from Republican headquarters.

At the outset, however, let me call your attention to the fact that when Mr. Hays denied my charge he said that the fund would be \$3,000,000. That was less than a week ago. The morning papers to-day carry a statement from Fred W. Upham, national treasurer of the Republican committee, in which he admits that the total will be approximately \$7,500,000. In short, Mr. Upham has multiplied Mr. Hays's figures by two. From the evidence which we shall submit to-night I think you will agree that we are justified in multiplying Mr. Upham's figures by two. [Applause.] In December of last year the Republican national committee organized, during its session in Washington, D. C., what was known as the ways and means committee. As the term implies, it was to lay out the course of the campaign and supply the means to support it. The work was vigorously pushed from the very first. Business men, in most instances very wealthy men, were selected as local chairmen. That it was intended as the affair of a class is shown by a letter written by Mr. John Kirby, jr., chairman of the Dayton, Ohio, committee, under date of February 7, 1920, which says: "This is purely a business man's movement." That is the end of his statement. The movement took on a commercial enthusiasm.

The philosophy running through all the literature is emphasized by the recurrent terms of salesmanship. The plan was not only to organize every State but every county in the United States as well. Definite quotas were established in precisely the same manner as the Liberty loan campaigns were conducted, population and bank deposits apparently being the base of calculations. In addition to the local chairmen, State managers were engaged, traveling representatives operating between them and the community organizations, and receiving salaries running as high as \$500 a week and expenses. This was all done in order to create and maintain enthusiasm and morale. An official document was published, intended, as it will later be shown, for the eyes exclusively of the men and corporations who are a part of this enterprise. I present first a copy of the first edition of the paper. It is entitled, as you will see, "Official Bulletin, treasurer's office, Republican national committee, Fred W. Upham, treasurer, 355 Conway Building, Chicago, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City." Perchance the circumstance of having two offices gives us an explanation of that mere difference of \$5,000,000 between Mr. Hays and Mr. Upham. [Applause.] But the first bulletin was dated July 17, 1920. The first line in this first issue says—now remember this, "This bulletin is official." Then this was followed by another striking phrase, which ran as follows: "Nobody is going to have anything to do with this bulletin who has not had actual experience in digging up money in the field."

And then going from general to concrete terms, we find this language in the statement from the treasurer, Mr. Upham: "If you don't read the bulletin, you will not miss any delectable diction, but you may miss something that those in charge think is a part of your job to help elect Harding President of the United States." There appeared a personal letter from Mr. Upham himself in which he said—I quote his words—"Our job from now until Senator Harding's election involves just a few of the simplest principles of salesmanship. Knowledge in goods, first; faith of our goods, second; energy and tact in presenting our goods, pride in the dignity of constructive work." These fixed terms of the creed related to the exchange of plausible representation for money. Money was the objective. The bulletin itself shows that the sole purpose of this specific movement was the gathering together of money, and as Mr. Upham himself announced, no one but "money diggers" were to be a part of it. [Applause.]

Mr. Upham, in the first issue of the bulletin, announces Harry M. Blair, assistant to the treasurer; Edwin L. Charles, assistant to Mr. Blair; C. E. Lee, director eastern division; Henry E. Owens, director central division; Charles A. McKeand, director western division; M. C. Fitzgerald, office manager. Mr. Blair also inserted a letter in the publication in which he made this statement. I ask you to carry it in your mind because it bears relation to the whole question later. These are his words: "Efforts for 41 States will be directed from headquarters at 355 Conway Building, Chicago. For the present our efforts will be directed primarily toward producing the quotas of the larger cities. This does not mean that present State and county organizations will be disturbed or retarded in their activity. It is simply an effort to concentrate upon the source which would naturally be expected to produce money most quickly and in comparatively large amounts. We need the money now." [Applause.] That is the statement which Mr. Blair himself made. The quota which Mr. Blair had in mind was very soon thereafter announced. The meeting was held in Chicago; Mr. Hays addressed it and spoke his blessings. Type-written sheets were distributed to those assembled. I produce herewith one of those sheets, which carries the quota. [Applause.] It starts in modest terms; this was the easy picking. As some one said, these quotas represent the quick assets that are convertible without much delay. The first quota is New York City, \$2,000,000. The second quota is Chicago, \$750,000; Philadelphia, \$500,000; Detroit, \$450,000; Pittsburgh, \$400,000. [Applause.]

A VOICE. Babcock will pay that himself.

Gov. Cox. My friends, the box office is not closed. Not only were many not included in this quota, but they in all probability have sent in their checks by this time. Cleveland, \$400,000; Boston, \$300,000; Cincinnati, \$260,000; St. Louis, \$250,000; Buffalo, \$250,000; San Francisco, \$150,000; Los Angeles, \$150,000; Indianapolis, \$125,000; Toledo, \$100,000; Columbus, \$100,000; Seattle, \$100,000; Minneapolis, \$100,000; St. Paul, \$100,000; Providence, \$100,000; Newark, \$100,000; Youngstown, \$80,000; Akron, \$80,000; Oakland, \$75,000; Dayton, Ohio, \$60,000. My friends, it will take more than sixty times \$60,000

in order to enable them to carry Dayton, Ohio. Baltimore, \$40,000; New Orleans, \$50,000; Rochester, \$50,000; Kansas City, \$50,000; Denver, \$50,000; New Haven, \$50,000; Omaha, \$50,000; Scranton, \$50,000; Spokane, \$50,000; Syracuse, \$50,000; Bridgeport, Conn., \$50,000; Washington, D. C., \$50,000; Louisville, \$50,000; Des Moines, \$50,000; Schenectady, \$50,000; Portland, \$50,000; Birmingham, \$50,000; Canton, Ohio, \$40,000; Worcester, Mass., \$25,000; Lynn, Mass., \$25,000; Albany, N. Y., \$25,000; Atlanta, \$25,000; Memphis, \$25,000; Duluth, \$25,000; Jersey City, \$25,000; Lowell, Mass., \$25,000. Mr. Hays has said that the Republican fund would be \$3,000,000. The quota which Mr. Blair said was to be the quick money, or easy money, which was to be gathered in at once, to be followed by the gathering-in process by the money diggers later, this quota amounts to \$8,145,000. I challenge Mr. Hays; I challenge Mr. Upham; I challenge Mr. Blair; I challenge any one of the gentlemen who were present at this meeting in Chicago to deny that that is the official quota. [Great applause.] This total, which Mr. Blair announced could be gathered in quickly, is, as I repeat—because I want the figures to burn themselves into your impression—\$8,145,000. The population of these cities, in round numbers, is 25,000,000.

Apportioning this on a per capita basis, it would amount to 31 cents on every man, woman, and child in 51 cities. We now have the base of the plan approved by Chairman Hays and Treasurer Upham; but it received indorsement from a higher source. I hold in my hand another copy of the bulletin, and I find that on the first page the gentleman in Marion who a few days ago professed profound ignorance of what was going on—and I reminded him in all probability there were many things going on now and would continue to go on around him that he would not know. [Applause.] But I find that the gentleman in question sent his message of indorsement. You will find it in the first column. It is headed, "Senator Harding's message." The message is addressed from Marion, under date of July 29, to "My dear Mr. Upham," and it says, "Allow me to express through the official of the treasurer's office my gratitude for the enthusiasm shown by all associated with your office in raising our national campaign fund for 1920." That Senator Harding is acquainted even with the details of the enterprise is evidenced by a subsequent passage from his message, which is as follows: "Through the fine work of your organization, we are nearing that form of national patriotism which expresses itself in support from every county and every State." That takes in every part of the Nation that was not covered by the quick, easy money. "Therefore I want all members of your organization to feel that their efforts are essential to our success in planning for national enlightenment and are all deeply appreciated by me."

The sum of \$8,145,000 is to come not from 27 States, but from the largest cities in 27 States. New York State is represented in the list by only four places, New York City, Buffalo, Rochester, and Albany, and yet the Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt announces that the county of Dutchess, a suburban and rural community in which he lives, was assessed for \$32,000. But let us see whether the quotas placed upon the larger cities were exceeded. Again we come for proof to the official bulletin, which under date of August 10, says—I am going to see whether this patriotic organ which Senator Harding talks about, expresses itself in dollars and cents. Listen to this—I quote literally—"Boston, Mass., had a 99 per cent attendance at an organization meeting on August 4. This is all excellent for a hot day. Real interest was aroused. Senator Weeks inspired those present with an understanding of the situation, and they all agreed to produce." [Applause.] Now, let us see whether they did produce. Again I call my Republican witness, the Official Bulletin, to take the stand and recite his testimony, and here it is. Telegrams came in that day, among others came the following message: "Metropolitan Boston will contribute more than 250 per cent of its original quota," which would turn the Boston fund from \$300,000 to \$750,000, and if a town like Boston can raise \$750,000, how much will Pittsburgh produce? You have great patriots in Pittsburgh, well meaning, conscious, sincere; they have used their check books for years. They are possessed of a very false and a very dangerous philosophy. I make the prediction in this presence, men and women, that those men who believe in the very essence of reaction, one of these days will thank their Almighty God, on their bended knees that there is a Democratic Party in America.

Now, we come back home to Ohio. The Columbus quota is \$100,000, and yet in the bulletin of August 10, a telegram from Columbus is inserted carrying

these reassuring words—I quote them literally—I want you to understand that I quote every word literally. I can not improve upon a single phrase. This is the message: “The end is not yet for it is probable the sum of \$150,000 for the State and National Treasury will stand to the credit of Columbus before the 1st day of September.” I am going to take you into my confidence. They need it bad in Ohio. [Applause.] I am going to take you further into my confidence. The electoral vote of Ohio will be cast for the present governor of Ohio. [Applause.] Then a little color is given to the story. Now listen. Proud of its achievements, Henry E. Owens, who sent the telegram, evidenced his pride in how things were going by submitting details as to just how it was accomplished. Mr. Owens says, “This is how it was done. Two busy men gave two hours a day for 10 consecutive days in interviewing and soliciting, and they turned the trick.” That this was intended as a hint to the money diggers elsewhere—and I didn’t coin that phrase—Mr. Upham, no doubt, is proud of the authorship. I concede the happiness of expression is his, not mine; but that this was intended as a hint to the “money doggers” is shown by the concluding paragraph in Mr. Owens’s telegram, which says: “Every State director, every city director, can do like Mr. Kelly did” (Kelly was the man who ran the job). “Get the right men to see the right people. Do it quickly and do it systematically.”

That the \$8,000,000 is not to be the final total in the country at large has already been clearly proven by the statement of Mr. Blair himself. Further information is supplied by official Republican documents. For instance, the bulletin under date of August 5 announces—and I ask the bulletin again to take the witness stand. Here is what it says: “The following cities in Tennessee are all organized for the production of their quota: Chattanooga, Nashville, Memphis, and Knoxville.” Only one of these cities is in the \$8,000,000 list—the city of Memphis—to which is assigned the quota of \$25,000. Now, the bulletin of August 16 announces this: “Chattanooga oversubscribed its quota this week (it was not in the \$8,000,000 list); the balance of the Tennessee cities (I quote again) are being carefully canvassed.” Not a city in Arkansas is listed in the \$8,000,000 class. Only one city in Louisiana—New Orleans; only one city in Georgia—Atlanta; not a single city in North Carolina; and yet David H. Blair wired the bulletin as follows: “Why not urge the rest of the United States to emulate the example of Arkansas, Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina, which are all over the top? North Carolina went over on the 27th of July, and the end is not yet.”

In the State of Michigan only one city—Detroit—is in the \$8,000,000 class; and yet the bulletin, under date of August 10 (I quote again), says: “Flint (Mich.) business men decided to make their campaign short and snappy and to finish by August 15. Grand Rapids (Mich.) committee of large business men working enthusiastically to bring the campaign to a speedy conclusion.” The Bulletin of August 16 says: “Campaign in Pontiac, Saginaw, Alma, Bay City, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, Grand Rapids, and Grand Haven started during past week. Forty counties in Michigan now campaigning.” I wonder what they intend to do with all the money they are getting, anyhow. In Wisconsin only Milwaukee is named, and yet the bulletin of August 10 says: “Kenosha, Wis., has raised its full quota; other Wisconsin counties organizing now.” Then the bulletin of August 16 says: “Wisconsin has every day since the adjournment of the convention reported itself on the cash register at headquarters with substantial sums. Milwaukee organization moving forward with big men behind it.” Not 6-foot men, but men who have large pocket-books, men who have great interests to conserve, men who seek to buy benefits from the administration which they seek to enthrone. Now let us go to the State of Arizona. It is not mentioned at all in the bulletin, yet under date of August 10 we see what is going on by this dispatch. I quote it: “Arizona, when the thermometer registered 110 in the shade, every day usually responds to campaign work, but the soliciting committee is working dally. In Phoenix, Tucson, Douglas, and Yuma, considering conditions, they are showing remarkable results in securing subscriptions.” Not a one of these towns or localities are in the \$8,000,000 fund.

Now, the message continues: “Many large contributors absent on large vacations.” [Applause.] The message runs on in words of joy: “Phoenix raised one-third of its quota in a week. Tucson expects oversubscription; the Nogales committee states that the campaign starts Monday night.” This dispatch is signed by Albert Weigel, of Yuma, Arizona, and dated August 7. Then the

money diggers actually struck pay dirt in the sands of Florida. C. C. Blum, of Eau Gallie, under date of August 7, wired the bulletin as follows: "Many counties in Florida organized. Dade and Palm Beach County very thoroughly lined up. Key West shows much interest, also Fort Pierce and Jacksonville. Eastern coast strong. Intensive organization of whole State planned." Then in speaking of Florida, under date of August 10, the bulletin says (we quote again): "Florida Republicans say they wish to help pay the freight for a return of good Republican days." [Applause.] That is the full-dinner-pail days when you were promised the full dinner pail; if you got it, you got it, and that is all you did get. I saw a banner in a parade the other day, and it ran like this: "Do you want 'a' change or do you want 'the' change?"

Next comes Maine, and with what enthusiasm they describe the first returns from Maine. Maine is not found in the King row at all; it is not mentioned; yet under date of August 16 the bulletin places it in the list in these words: "With this contribution, Maine, the 'Pine Tree State,' makes a record of which she can be truly proud. In the past practically no subscription to the national committee fund was ever received from that State. Starting July 18, the first organization of the State ways and means committee was perfected, and on August 15 the quota had been oversubscribed \$5,000." [Applause.] Democratic prosperity has even reached the pine forests of Maine.

Now we come back to Ohio again. We find, according to the bulletin of August 16 (I quote again): "Cincinnati business men have underwritten the quota to be delivered by September 1." What does underwriting a quota mean? Except that four or five fellows sitting down to a table sign a note, it is passed into the bank, and the money is produced, and if the four or five fellows can not raise the money, then they foot the bill; but the point is that the Cincinnati quota was underwritten, and the point, furthermore, is that the cash has gone to the treasurer. Middletown, Ohio, is not mentioned, and yet I find that Mr. George M. Verity, a very amiable, charming, and nice gentleman, said that he believes Butler County ought to meet the quota, and that the quota is \$15,000, and he does it in these words. He says: "It would be worth while for the Republicans of Butler County to be the first to provide their quota of the sinews of war." Portsmouth is not in the Ohio list, yet under date of August 10 the bulletin says that Portsmouth raised its quota at one meeting.

New Hampshire is not named, and yet the bulletin of August 16 says: "New Hampshire money is being sent every day to the eastern treasurer. Chairman hopes to complete entire State quota by this week." Only one city in Colorado, Denver, is named, yet the bulletin says: "Northern counties in Colorado have practically raised their quota. He guarantees State's quota by September 1." Even South Dakota reports to the bulletin under date of August 10: "Sioux Falls had an enthusiastic meeting August 4, and promises its quota by August 15." It is not in the \$8,000,000 list. The bulletin of August 16 says: "Mitchell, S. Dak., has completed its quota." That remote places in Illinois are in the pay territory is evidenced by a line in the bulletin of August 16, which runs in these words: "Illinois—Will and Boone Counties have practically completed quota." I am sure the country will be interested in some of the methods that were adopted to keep things going. The bulletin of August 16 carries a statement from Mr. Blair, Mr. Upham's first assistant, under his own signature, and he entitled it "Step on."

Now, follow me, these are his slogans: "Harding and Coolidge have the confidence of the people, buy boys, get the money." [Applause.] They will need it. "The platform is sound enough to hold the weight of the Nation, but, boys, get the money. It takes time to organize, but we have no time left. Boys, get the money. The weather is hot, the men are on vacation, meetings are hard to get, but boys, get the money. There are hills to climb, but if you want to make a hill at the same speed you have been running where the road is level you have got to give it more power. Give her the gas; step on it." [Applause] The plan was a deliberate one, and it was to keep the spirit moving from one end of the line to the other. This is revealed in a paragraph which deals with the Chicago campaign, and it says: "Chicago's campaigns are to be conducted with four full-time divisions, and five reserve divisions, which will swing into action the last three days on the public movement, functioning as a 'mop-up' battalion." Evidently the "mop-up" battalion saved the day, because Mr. Upham himself admits that \$700,000 has already been received in Chicago. Evidently the money diggers were molded into some sort of a secret society, because what was going on was not to be revealed to the public.

The bulletin of August 5 says—now, I want you to understand that I intend to pass this evidence to the senatorial investigation committee. [Great applause.] I make that statement in order that there can be no skeptic in this presence, who might deny that the words I quote are not in this document. I say that because of the astounding and unthinkable words which I shall now read. The bulletin of August 5 says: "Our readers are requested not to make this publication public. It is confidential. It is exclusive." I think you will agree with me that in view of the things I have read out of the bulletin tonight I don't blame them for being heartily ashamed of it. [Applause.] Listen to me again. The bulletin of August 16 says: "The names and the amounts subscribed by donors should not be made public locally." Just let that soak into your impression, in order that you catch its meaning. I now take a good deal of pleasure by giving it wide and nonexclusive publication.

But why was the publication to be only the organ of the secret society? Why were the names of the local contributors not to be made known? Was it because each contribution would carry its own meaning to the voters in the local communities? Was that the reason? Or if secrecy were guaranteed in the communities, were Mr. Hays and Mr. Upham to do the same thing in submitting their returns on box office receipts?

In other words, if they were careful so that the names were not caught locally, manifestly the purpose of Mr. Hays and Mr. Upham was that they would not be caught at headquarters either. [Applause.] But the direct result of that whole transaction is this: That the public is being deceived, or has been. It has been until this evening. Now, the public is entitled to know all about these things. If Mr. Hays and Mr. Upham do not come forward with the information the Republican national committee ought to remove them both and insist upon a clean bill of health. Furthermore, there should be some explanation of this being made purely a business affair, participated in by business men and business men only. Unexplained it carries its own condemnation and exposes the purpose of the whole shameful business. It means that the quota is to be assessed against those who are to benefit, and that the captains of industry, who have answered Mr. Hays's roll call, are submitting to taxation with the understanding that they will have representation. [Applause.]

I charge therefore, again, a planned assault on the American electorate. It can't be hidden. The hosts are marshaled; the money ammunition is prepared, but it will not succeed. The net is spread in sight of the quarry. What is the game except to becloud the public mind on the subject of the League of Nations issue and world's peace? The "normal," so I think it is pronounced, voiced by the opposition candidate, as visioned by his master, is bayonets at the factory floor. Unrestrained profiteering at the gates of the farm. The burden of government on shoulders other than their own, and the Federal Reserve System an annex to great business.

When the American people fully grasp the sinister menace hanging over them they will shun it as a plague. Truly the senatorial oligarchy and their candidate are harking back to the days of Mark Hanna. The Wall Street Journal, in giving a list of expenditures in campaigns since 1860, shows that in 1896 Mark Hanna spent \$16,500,000. Nothing approaching it has been attempted until now. It was this foul thing which Theodore Roosevelt fought to an end when he reformed the Republican Party. When he was doing it Warren G. Harding branded him as a Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr. [Applause.]

When my charge of a corruption fund was first made Mr. Hays, chairman of the Republican national committee, made a distinct threat. Here is what he said: "If at the instance of our adversaries this campaign is finally resolved into a question of personal character, we know of no reason aside from natural distastes why we should not meet that issue as readily as any other." I renew the charge, I prove the charge, and I accept Mr. Hays's challenge. [Great applause.]

Is there anyone in this hall not convinced?

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE. Yes.

Gov. Cox. All right; stand up, stand up. Now, wait a moment, just one moment. That man is entitled to his own judgment. I want him treated respectfully. [Great applause.] You think Mr. Hays is not raising a great fund.

A VOICE FROM THE AUDIENCE. No; I think you have not named an individual nor a corporation who has given a penny.

Gov. Cox. Just a minute. just a minute. Now, that fellow is our friend. I will convince you in a moment. The chairman of the senatorial campaign committee is a Republican. I have given him the leave. He can call in the persons now who can produce the names of the contributors. [Great applause.] And if they don't do it, I will continue to ask questions until the 2d day of November, 1920. But, my dear fellow, the facts will come out, and even you will be convinced.

Now, why are they contributing this money? Let me talk to you very plainly in Pittsburgh. I have served as six years governor of a State of large and varied interests. I know of some men who have contributed in Ohio, and the report is they have contributed more than a thousand dollars. I know them well. They visited my office often. They asked me for soldiers to settle controversies between labor and capital. [Great applause.]

They are making their contributions in order to procure the use of the bayonet if industrial controversies arise. That is a grave charge. I know whereof I speak. I declined to give them soldiers. [Great applause.] I am going to tell you all about it. When they came to me first, they said: "Well, there is no trouble up there, just a lot of foreigners making all the trouble." I said: "Well, where did these foreigners come from?" "They came from overseas, of course." "Well, who brought them here?" [Applause.] "Oh, we did." "And have you made any attempt to Americanize those foreigners?" I pause long enough to remind you that I say not one word against the genius of this Republic. This is a composite country. Because we chance to be born here, or our fathers or grandfathers chanced to be born here, that does not mean we are the originals of the American people. The first American was the moundbuilder—not one of his descendants is here. He was succeeded by the Indian, and I doubt very much whether there is any Indian blood coursing in the veins of any of those present. All our forebears came from overseas. Race is not the test of Americanism, not the blood that courses through our veins; it is the service given and the loyalty rendered unto the flag. That is the test.

Well, I asked them whether they helped to teach them to read and write English, and they said no. I asked them whether I had not endeavored in 1913 to interest them in the work of Americanizing them; they said they had some recollection of it. I said: "Why didn't you teach them English?" Well, they had no reason for it, if they did they did not articulate it. They didn't teach them the language of the country, because if they had, they would have simulated the standards of American life. [Applause.] When they simulate the standard of American life they would no longer live as they lived in Europe: they would have demanded better labor and wage conditions, and that would have adversely affected the ledgers of some men who are now sending their contributions to the campaign fund. [Applause.] As I told you, I have served there over six years. I never cast a soldier into an industrial conflict, and I never fired a shot in settling a strike in Ohio. Now, I am going to give you a concrete illustration. Don't consider me ungracious. Some time during one industrial controversy a crowd of men, women, and children were assembled north of Pittsburgh, close to the Ohio line, and they were talking. Some of the leaders wanted to get something out of their systems, which ought to be expelled. They were angry, and some force pounced down upon them, and, in the confusion, they stepped across the Ohio line.

The Pittsburgh papers and the Cleveland papers called up the governor's office in Columbus and said, "What are you going to do about?" I said, "I am not going to do anything about it; the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence give the people the right to assemble, and as long as they remain on Ohio soil and don't violate any law, I am not going to pay any attention to them"; the shades of evening fell and the men and women went back to their homes. One of the great publications of the East, in commenting on it, said, "When the shades of evening came, they left America and went back to Siberia."

Now, one thing more, you ask any captain of industry in Ohio whether his property has not been protected; you ask any laboring man whether the Government has not been fair; you ask any member of the Supreme Court of Ohio whether the dignity and the majesty of the law have not been maintained in Ohio. [Applause.] Therefore, labor and capital, if both are dealt with fairly, without preference, will respect Government, because, as I said to those men during the days of unrest, nothing could be more harmful to the interests

of this State than to have the great mass of our people regard our Government as the agent of one of the parties to the controversy.

Now, then, there are a great many people in our State who have been assessed. A great many bankers in Ohio who did not in the first instance support the Federal reserve banking act; they said it led to inflation; they said it led to unsecured conditions; just what else they predicted I do not know, but they endeavored to prevent the passage of the law and they are contributing their funds now. Many bankers in Ohio have been assessed \$1,000, so common report is every where. Why? Because they hope to change the terms of the Federal reserve banking system. And how do they intend to change it? They intend to provide that no one except a banker shall be qualified to sit upon the Federal Reserve Board or upon any of the regional reserve boards. The genius and virtue or outstanding feature of that beneficent legislation is that the financial power of America is now with the people themselves and no longer in Wall Street. [Applause.] That is why they are interested in the success of the administration.

Now, I do not want to close this meeting without asking how many service men there are here, •Will the boys in this presence who served their country just stand up? [Applause.] May I ask one more question? How many of you kept watch on the Rhine? Stand up. Thank you very much.

Now, I am delighted with your enthusiasm. I share the pride you feel in the great service this community rendered. And I think we all can agree that the boys did the job and did it very well. Didn't they? Well, now, their end of the job is done, but yours is not. Their task was military and their share; yours, and they share with you in that responsibility, is purely civil. While those boys stood watch on the Rhine, Germany signed the peace treaty, didn't she?—because there were 2,000,000 magnificent boys, or sentinels, on the Rhine. Now, they propose to take that treaty which these boys procured and throw it into the wastebasket. The Republican candidate for the Presidency says two things in discussing the League of Nations: First, he says he intends to make a separate peace with Germany. Is there anything more unthinkable than that? Would it be fair to the Allies? Would it be fair to the 10,000,000 men who died? Would it be fair to the service men of America that fought side by side with our allied troops? If the Canadians had not died to the number of hundreds of thousands on the Somme, we might have fought that war on our own soil. If the French had not died 600,000 strong at Verdun, we might have fought the powers of Germany on our own soil, and it is no time to act in bad faith with our Allies. It is time to see this thing out to its completion just as we began it, side by side, with the Allies, without any sort of an under-the-table arrangement with Germany. [Applause.] Yet Senator Harding makes that proposal, and it has shocked the sensibilities of the Nation. Then he makes the second proposal, that after having made peace with Germany—but suppose Germany would say, "Well, I can not make peace on the same terms I did before. I have a sort of an understanding with Russia."

Now, then, what is Senator Harding going to do? Is he going to send an American Army to enforce the terms of peace on Germany? We only have 12,000 soldiers there now. Can he expect, in conscience, the allied army to help him in enforcing the terms of a new peace on Germany? But after he makes it—of course, he never will [applause]—there are two reasons why he won't: First, he will not get the chance. [Applause.] And the second reason why there will be no separate peace with Germany is I will not insult 4,000,000 American boys by doing it. Well, then, the second proposition is this: After having made peace with Germany, he is going to turn around and say to the nations of the world, "You play in our yard; we are going to create an entirely new relationship." What nation would have anything to do with America under those circumstances? Russia, Germany, Turkey, and Mexico. Henry Cabot Lodge can keep that company if he wants to; America will not. Now, I think you have been told in this city, like they have in other places, that the League of Nations means war. Can anything be more ridiculous? What does the League of Nations provide? First, the members agree not to go to war. They agree that if there is any controversy between member nations of the league they will sit down for nine months and talk it over.

There is not a person in this presence who knows that if nine days had elapsed when they were thinking of war in Europe in 1914 there would not have been a war, because the masses of England, the masses of Germany, and the masses of Russia and the masses of Austria would have said, "We decline to make up

your armies to fight a war that is not justified in fact, that is not justified in principle." Now, then, nine months elapse, and you know as well as I do that under those circumstances it will be quite impossible for us to have any war; but if any of the powers should violate the conditions and go to war, then what happens? The other nations of the earth will have nothing to do with her. Her ports are sealed up, nobody will buy anything from her, nobody exchange any commodities or sell anything to her. I think any nation would have a rich and rare time in maintaining war under those circumstances. But how can any of the nations go to war when we lay our concealed weapons on the table and agree to disarm everywhere on God's footstool? Now, it is our proposal to stop building and buying battleships, to stop continuing this endless and needless competition in the building of armaments with the nations of the world. And then, as soon as possible after the 4th of March, 1921, we intend to enter in the name of America the League of Nations. The San Francisco platform says we shall not be unbending. It says any reservation that clarifies and helps shall be accepted, but none that emasculate and harm and injure shall be accepted. So with this facility marked in words that anyone might understand, we have absolutely no fear as to what the result will be.

But the people of America must see to it that the number of Senators who are now on the senatorial roll must remain at home after the 4th of November. Now, they tell you if we enter the league our boys will be sent across the water into the war. Let me remind you that no soldier will leave the shores of America and go to war anywhere without the consent of Congress. The President makes the treaty; the Senate has the right to reject or ratify it. The President is the commander of the Army and Navy, but he can not declare war; Congress alone can declare war. I give to you my assurance that no American boy will leave this shore without your consent. [Applause.] And you have the opportunity to express your consent through your representatives in Congress.

I close by assuring you that it shall be our aim to promote peace all over the world, with square dealing in America. We will catch our inspiration from the sunrise of to-morrow and not the sunset of yesterday. Thank you, and good night. [Continued applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Have the other members of the committee any matters along this line that they want to present? Senator Edge, have you any?

Senator EDGE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hays.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILL H. HAYS.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporter, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Will H. Hays.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is your business?

Mr. HAYS. I am an attorney at law at Sullivan, Ind. I am the chairman also of the Republican national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been chairman?

Mr. HAYS. Since February, 1918.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time have you had general charge of the management of the Republican campaigns in the United States?

Mr. HAYS. A general charge; yes, sir; in so far as they relate to the activities of the Republican national committee, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Since February, 1918?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I assume, Mr. Hays, you are familiar with the resolution under which this committee is acting?

Mr. HAYS. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. And with the work the committee has been trying to do?

Mr. HAYS. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that you have some kind of a prepared statement to make to the committee. Some of the committee would prefer not to use that statement, and ask you questions. Others of the committee feel that if you desire to make a written statement, or read your statement, that they will hear it first, and then examine you, but the statement must be confined to the question at issue, and not be a stump speech. Which do you prefer to do?

Mr. HAYS. I first appreciate the opportunity to appear before the committee and reply to these charges which you have put in the record, alleged to have been made by Mr. Cox.

I went over this matter last night, and there are a great many figures necessarily involved in a reply to those charges, and some suggestions, or possibly countercharges. Because it is a very earnest desire of ours to be exact, I did dictate the result of my inquiry into the situation. And that memorandum I have, and because of the desire, frankly, to be exact, and because there are many figures involved, I had intended to read that statement and, of course, then welcome as full an examination as the committee may desire to make, or any member of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, go ahead with the statement.

Mr. HAYS. We, of course, welcome the opportunity further fully to set forth the effort of the Republican national committee to popularize the giving of money for campaign purposes by getting small contributions from a great many men and women rather than large contributions from a small number, thus forever eliminating any possible opportunity for sinister influences in connection with money in politics.

This plan for the raising of money through small contributions grew out of two primary causes.

First. The real desire to work a real reform, in the elimination of any possible improper obligation. This purpose we believed would be advanced by getting the money for the necessary expenses from thousands of men and women, in small amounts, rather than from a few very large gifts. And,

Second. Out of the experience in connection with raising funds for war purposes these popular drives had become familiar activity, and it seemed possible at this time to undertake that kind of action by a political organization. We particularly hoped that this activity would increase the political interest.

The plan was proposed early in 1919. I think the first publication of the idea was on May 21, 1919, and I call your attention to the article outlining the plan as published in the New York Tribune of that date.

It was then the purpose, and it has since been the purpose, to endeavor to limit the contributions to a maximum of \$1,000 for any one year from any individual, or \$1,000 before the nominating convention and \$1,000 after. We have all tried to adhere to that plan. It has been an innovation of recognized merit, but, being an innovation, it has been necessary to acquaint the public with the plan and instill the political interest. Recognizing the necessity of meeting legitimate campaign expenditures, it was our opinion that the one best way for the money to be provided was by the means of

small contributions from the great membership of the party. As announced in the first instance, there was a general committee of ways and means, acting under the treasurer, to carry the work into each State to ultimately get small contributions from the smallest units of territory.

With the formation of the national ways and means committee came the effort to get a State ways and means committee in every State, with a man as State chairman and a woman as vice chairman, then to endeavor to get a county chairman of the ways and means and a woman vice chairman, and then, by such processes of organization as the localities might adopt, organize just as in a Red Cross or Liberty loan campaign.

During the greater part of 1919, and continuously in 1920 until this time, the greatest publicity had been given to the movement. Public meetings have been held by the State ways and means workers and many meetings of groups of States, gatherings of all kinds, lunches, dinners, mass meetings, etc. The entire plan has been given all the publicity possible. Upon the acquainting of the party public of the purpose depended the success of the undertaking, and upon the publicity depended the political interest, which was just as much our objective as the contributions. Some plans for very small contributions have been in contemplation, such as the elephant—into which are to be inserted quarters and dimes.

I want the committee to see that elephant which will be used, and which provides for \$2.50 in quarters and dimes. It is an elephant of pasteboard, with a sticker on the back with a slogan.

(Mr. Hays handed to the members of the committee the pasteboard elephant referred to.)

Mr. HAYS. During the first months of the movement there was no endeavor to estimate just the total amount that should be raised or that would be necessary to meet the campaign expenses. The work of organization, publicity, speaking, etc., continued, together with State campaigns in several States, and money was raised to meet the most of the expenses incident to this. As the effort progressed and more States were brought into it, tentative quotas were fixed by the treasurer's office, all tentative and rather as a goal—always high, of course, for the particular State to drive for, and changing constantly.

Different arrangements were made in different States as to the division of the funds between State and national committees.

There was much complaint of the past custom of multiplicity of solicitations, and this was sought to be eliminated by the development of a plan, where the State committee cared to do it, to have one collecting organization, which would receive the money and then refund to the State immediately that part of the collections which was to be the State's share.

It was believed desirable by everybody to in like manner concentrate the collections of the senatorial and congressional campaign committees. Some months ago an arrangement was made with both the senatorial campaign committee interested in the election of Senators, and congressional campaign committee interested in electing Congressmen, that there would be but one money-raising organization, or at least there would be such a coordination of the money

raising as that it would not be necessary to have so many collectors for different purposes.

In that connection it was understood between the national committee and these two committees that the collecting organization of the national committee would help raise the money for them, guaranteeing to them amounts which they thought would be necessary for the congressional and senatorial campaigns.

As soon as possible after the convention definite plans were made for the campaign proper, and a budget or estimate was worked out as carefully as possible, beginning as of July 1, of a total amount which would be needed for the actual campaign, and this was \$3,079,037.20, divided as follows, for the following purposes:

The CHAIRMAN. Give that again.

Mr. HAYS. \$3,079,037.20.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the 20 cents for?

Mr. HAYS. Well, it is all figured out here. I will read it. That is the budget as well as we could estimate it, that would be necessary for the campaign proper, the actual campaign, as follows:

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Speakers' bureau, including salaries and expenses incident to publicity connection, particular meetings, traveling, and other expenses of speakers----- | \$255, 100. 00 |
| Headquarters expense, Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco, including administration, typists, mailing department, telephone, telegraph, furniture and fixtures, supplies, postage, envelopes, traveling expenses----- | 750, 874. 20 |
| Rents, all headquarters----- | 45, 643. 00 |

The CHAIRMAN. Give me that again.

Mr. HAYS. The rents?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. \$45,643. [Reading:]

| | |
|---|---------------|
| General publicity, including news service to Republican papers, pamphlets, booklets, textbooks, shipping expense, lithographs, campaign buttons, bill boards, advertisements in magazines, etc.-- | \$1, 346, 500 |
| General expenses, including all bureaus, such as bureaus of clubs, shipping departments and distribution, freight, express, etc., including treasurer's office in Chicago and salaries, all traveling and other expenses incident to raising of money; also including same expense eastern treasurer's office, New York, and other general expense----- | 680, 920 |

This made a total of the \$3,079,037.20.

It is my opinion that about this amount will be necessary for the national committee to spend. There may be expenses arising, of course, that we can not now anticipate, but this is approximately the amount that we believe necessary.

This does not, of course, include collections for States where there is a mutual agreement that such collecting for State and national committees shall be done jointly. While it makes the total amount that passes through the national committee treasury greater than is spent by the national committee, it gives a unity of collecting effort that is desirable, both in the saving of time and labor and less bother to the one who is solicited. It is my opinion that the total amount which has been, and will be, finally collected by the joint money raising organizations for the use of all State committees in their State elections will approximate a million dollars. This is no part of the national committee's fund.

At different periods different quotas have been suggested by the treasurer's office as tentative goals in different States, and the State committees themselves have fixed different quotas. These, as above suggested, are changing constantly, and always, of course, were made very much higher than the amount either necessary or anticipated.

The fact is, the quotas meant little. Furthermore, whatever may have been suggested as quotas by overzealous solicitors in their enthusiasm in different localities, the fact remains that a certain amount was believed necessary, and the budget above referred to was indicated therefor, which is \$3,079,037.20, for the use of the national committee. When this amount was fixed as the budget that became the sum fixed for the treasurer to reach, and the purpose became definite, the fact at all times remains that the treasurer is driving to collect enough, and no more than enough, to meet the necessary expenses estimated to be something in excess of \$3,000,000.

During this time, too, and as early as August, 1919, the opposition was engaged in similar activity, though aiming for larger amounts, all of which influenced our activities. I call attention, in that connection, to the issue of the New York World of Sunday, August 24, 1919, reporting a meeting of the Democratic national executive committee at Atlantic City, which account said, among other things—

The CHAIRMAN. 1918, was that?

Mr. HAYS. 1919.

Senator REED. What is the date?

Mr. HAYS. August 24, 1919.

Need \$10,000,000 to elect President.—W. D. Jamieson of Democratic national committee tells of plans to finance the 1920 campaign. Says expenses will be far greater than in 1916.

Senator REED. Now just a moment. Now I call the attention of the committee to the fact that having started to put in newspaper articles, newspaper reports of Gov. Cox's speeches, we are now confronted with the proposition of putting in other newspaper statements on the other side, so that we are rapidly getting away from the trial of fact to an examination of fancies. If the case is to be tried upon newspaper statements we had better get the files of the newspapers and discharge the stenographer and put in the evidence in that way. We have had some experience, as I called the committee's attention to newspaper reports on the former hearings of this committee, without in any way reflecting upon the press, which I admire greatly. We found that those reports could not be substantiated in a great many instances. I just want to call attention to the direction in which we are traveling.

Senator EDGE. Senator, can not this observation be made, that while all you say is true, that various newspaper reports during previous hearings did not lead to the actual estimate of fact, yet on the other hand various newspaper reports did give us leads through which we were able to pursue our investigations along lines which brought results.

Senator REED. To some extent it brought results, but the results ought to have been obtained without putting the article in. The article should have been used for our own information, and we then sent to get the witnesses.

Senator EDGE. I might further observe that the witness is now proceeding and testifying under oath, referring, it is true, to articles

in newspapers, and we are considering, I think it is true, charges that have been made. I do not question your former statement that it would have been our duty to proceed with an inquiry, without such charges. But the fact nevertheless remains that we are proceeding on an investigation of charges that have been made, not under oath, but these particular references that the witness is giving us under oath, it seems to me, might give us leads, might give us evidence that might be of further value to the committee as to the examination.

Senator REED. Your idea is that if a man gives a statement which is not made under oath and then swears that that statement is made by a man, not under oath, that then becomes evidence?

Senator EDGE. Not at all. I admit the rules of evidence would prohibit it. But it gives us the information that we are seeking, and I think we are here to get all the facts.

Senator REED. I say this to the committee, that if we are going to permit newspaper statements on one side we must permit them on the other.

Mr. HAYS. They are in.

Senator EDGE. We have started to.

Senator REED. Of course, if what the papers have charged as coming from Gov. Cox, of what Gov. Cox has said, is evidence, then the New York World is equally evidence. But I call your attention to the fact that you are not conducting a judicial investigation, but an investigation of what the newspapers have said or somebody else has said who is not here under oath.

Senator EDGE. Well, Senator, do I infer from your remarks, then, that you feel that it is the duty of this committee to summon Gov. Cox here and under oath make the statements that he had made in the newspapers?

Senator REED. I would give any man that makes a charge the privilege of coming here, or if he does not know the facts himself, if he has spoken from hearsay, to send us the names of the witnesses who will testify to the facts.

I do not think it would be quite in keeping with the situation as it stands now at this moment to call Mr. Harding and Mr. Cox here; but if Mr. Cox has these facts he ought to be able to tell us the names of the witnesses—that is, I wanted to make this statement, that if Mr. Cox has this information he ought to be able to give us the names of the witnesses who gave him the information, and those witnesses ought to be able to speak of their own knowledge. Otherwise you are simply in the illimitable realm of hearsay. Now, here is this article from the New York World. I have not seen it. It is put in by Mr. Hays, of course, as a counter to what he probably regards as rumors and wild statements upon the other side. Here is a statement from this paper. I would like to have the witnesses here who heard Mr. Jamieson make this statement. That is no reflection on the paper, either. The paper had the right to print its article, of course. But if you are going into this through the newspapers, gentlemen, then let us try it on the newspapers. If we are going to try it on sworn testimony, on the other hand, let us have the men here who know the facts, and let us have nothing but the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. There is not any question but what we must draw the line on these newspaper statements. We can not try this case—or I mean to say, we can not carry on this investigation on newspaper statements. I think the statements of a candidate for the presidency, however, are quite different. We are here now really to investigate that as a part of our general investigation, but we can not go into this general line of newspaper statements.

Now, Mr. Hays, you are referring to this as I understand it, this article in the New York World, to explain somewhat what you have done.

Mr. HAYS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Or were you making it as a counter charge?

Mr. HAYS. A counter charge.

The CHAIRMAN. A counter charge?

Mr. HAYS (continuing). Of their activities, and their estimates, and their purposes as to the amounts they set about to raise, and of which they raised a very good deal.

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, what you know of your own knowledge as to that matter we will be glad to have. Or if you have followed up this statement of the New York World, so that you can give us some information, all right. But you are a lawyer and you realize the difficulties we are going to get into, simply using newspaper statements.

Mr. HAYS. I have here, Senator, just three newspaper articles; one from the World of Sunday, August 24, 1919—

Senator POMERENE. Before we get away from the statement just made by our distinguished chairman, I just wanted to observe that this charge, the specific charge contained in the New York World, was gone into by this committee in its sittings at Washington. Mr. Marsh and several others were inquired of about it. I am not quite clear in my mind whether Mr. Jamieson was called or not. At any rate, I do not associate his name with the charge; I want that distinctly understood. But I do make the statement that the specific charge was made before our committee, and it was investigated at that time, so it is nothing new either one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. You may have some information outside of just newspaper articles.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that, of course, we want.

Mr. HAYS. And I want to base some—

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting). I want to say further that there is not a unanimity of opinion among the committee. That is, I dissent from Senator Reed's statement. I do not know why Gov. Cox, if he has evidence, should not present it to this committee, as well as anybody else. I do not know why he should not come here and present it.

Senator REED. I did not object to that, and I am not objecting. Somebody asked me if I objected to it. I did say, however, that it seemed to me that to call either one of those candidates, as the situation is at this moment, would seem like something that we would not find necessary. But if any member of this committee wants to examine Gov. Cox, do not let it be understood that I am objecting, because I am not.

Senator SPENCER. It strikes me, gentlemen, that what we are getting from this statement from the New York World is valuable, not as evidence—no man will claim that a newspaper report is evidence, and the testimony of a sworn witness does not make it evidence, for it is nothing more than a witness under oath stating that he has information about which he knows nothing himself; but to the effect that Mr. Jamieson, a member of the Democratic national committee, testified that their purpose and plan was to raise \$10,000,000. Now, there is nothing more than that—a lead which this committee ought to welcome. Of course, it is not evidence. Mr. Jamieson must be brought here, or somebody else who can give evidence of the fact. But certainly any witness who can give us a definite lead as to the name or the circumstance or the statement that he understands was made at a given time, that is right in the line of our inquiry, is doing us a most valuable service.

Senator REED. Let us see where that leads you. Then any witness can take any newspaper article printed in any newspaper on earth and hand it to us as a lead, and read it into the record, and it goes in, to all intents and purposes, as evidence. That is where you come out now. You lay down a rule that will admit every newspaper article that makes any charge of any kind, that can have the slightest bearing upon this investigation, and you propose to introduce it into the record here, because a man will swear that a certain thing was published, but of course he does not swear that it is true, and has no personal knowledge of it.

Now, there is a good illustration in this particular article. It is dated August 24, 1919—a year ago. This particular article was before us, as Senator Pomerene said, when we had our former investigation. We tried to get some witnesses who would testify to its truth. We found nobody who would vouch for it. We have had this lead, and it is in our files and solemnly recorded. Similar leads could be gotten; the New York World is a great newspaper, but from our standpoint we can not regard it as any greater than any country paper printed anywhere in the United States. It is just a matter of newspaper statement, that is all.

Mr. HAYS. Now, I——

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Hays does not charge this as true.

Mr. HAYS. I will tell you what I charge, Senator——

Senator REED. Will you state, Mr. Hays, under oath, that you believe the statements in this article are true?

Mr. HAYS. I will tell you what I will charge.

Senator REED. Well, will you state under oath, Mr. Hays, that you believe the statements contained in that article are true?

Mr. HAYS. I will state under oath that I believe it was their purpose, and that they, acting under that purpose, set about building up, and built up, a machinery to do the very thing which Mr. Jamieson is quoted in this New York World article as proposing to do, and also in the New York Times of the same date, exactly the same purpose is quoted; the first, under date of August 24, 1919, and in the New York Times September 29, 1919.

Senator REED. Wait a moment; wait a moment.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). And also, that he is quoted exactly the same way, to do the same thing, in the New York Tribune of October 26, 1919.

Senator REED. Now, wait a moment. You say you will state you believe it was their purpose?

Mr. HAY. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, will you give us the facts upon which you base that belief?

Mr. HAYS. I am making the charge that in 1919——

The CHAIRMAN. I suggest that you allow the witness to finish his statement.

Senator REED. But he wants to read this as a part of his statement.

Mr. HAYS. I want to make a charge, and I want to base it upon three articles in three newspapers.

Senator REED. But you are basing your charge upon three articles in three newspapers, which are rank hearsay, and probably written by the same individual.

Mr. HAYS. Well, but the New York——

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting). Have you followed up that with any independent investigation of your own as to those articles?

Mr. HAYS. We have had it followed up, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had it followed up?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Have you witnesses, then? Pardon me, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. HAYS. We have. Is Mr. Miller here?

Senator REED. Have you witnesses who will come here and sustain the truthfulness of those articles?

Mr. HAYS. We have witnesses who investigated this alleged purpose of the Democratic committee, and who investigated the organization which Mr. Jamieson proposed to build, to collect funds, as set out in his statement—or as set out in the statements alleged to have been made by him—as quoted in the World, Times, and Tribune.

Senator REED. Yes; but have you the witnesses? You have had witnesses who investigated, you say. Have you witnesses who will testify that they did investigate and did ascertain that these newspaper articles state the facts?

Mr. HAYS. Well, they are here, and what they found they will have to testify to.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. Now, then——

Senator REED (interrupting). Just a moment. They are here, and what they found they will have to testify to.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You can not even testify to what they found, can you?

Mr. HAYS. I do not propose to do that.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. That is their testimony.

Senator REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. But I offer to you a lead, if you are investigating the money-collecting machinery and effort of the Democratic committee; I offer you leads based upon alleged statements, statements alleged to

have been made by Mr. Jamieson, the financial director of the Democratic committee, a year ago. And I propose to lay before you the articles from the New York Times, the New York World, and the New York Tribune, giving the same substances of Mr. Jamieson's statements of the purposes, to raise from five to ten million to elect a Democratic President in 1920. And I say that they set about that, and were then engaged in that effort.

Senator REED. Do you propose to prove that?

Mr. HAYS. I charge that.

Senator REED. Of your own knowledge?

Mr. HAYS. From investigations made and letters which we have——

Senator REED (interrupting). Have you the investigators here who made those investigations?

Mr. HAYS. I think so.

Senator REED. Very well.

Mr. HAYS. And I offer to you these leads, and you can investigate these charges which I now make.

Senator REED. Well, the proper thing, of course, then, to do is to put those witnesses upon the stand and prove these charges, and then we will have the evidence.

Mr. HAYS. I respectfully submit that the proper thing to do would be to subpoena Mr. Jamieson, Mr. Marsh, and Mr. Cummings.

Senator REED. They are subpoenaed.

Mr. HAYS. And they are not here.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Cummings is right behind you.

Mr. HAYS. Very good. Then he can describe these matters.

Senator REED. Do not let us get into any personal argument about this. I do not want that. You understand the distinction I am trying to make. If this article comes in, then any other article can come in. If you have got the witnesses who investigated the fact, or the alleged fact, set forth in this article, we will welcome those witnesses. If Mr. Jamieson has been trying to raise \$10,000,000, we want to know it. If there was an article sought to be read here from a newspaper of a similar character, charging that you wanted to raise \$15,000,000, I would object. You will bear me witness that I objected to putting Gov. Cox's speeches in upon that ground, and I am calling attention now to where we are going.

Mr. HAYS. I can clarify this in just a moment, Senator.

Senator REED. I will leave it to the committee as to whether they want to put the article in or whether they first want to have the facts proven.

Mr. HAYS. I can clarify it very quickly.

Senator EDGE. I see no reason why we should not have it in. Let us be entirely frank. While Mr. Hays in the ordinary way, of course, might have appeared before this committee, in the position he occupies as chairman of the Republican national committee, with reference to matters happening in connection with the campaign, by reason of the fact that he was at the head of that committee, and we having before us the matter of investigating the sources of funds, etc., at the same time we know perfectly well, and the country knows perfectly well, that Mr. Hays is here at this specific time because Gov. Cox, not under oath, made certain charges, and that

we were practically called together to a great extent, perhaps, sooner than ordinarily we would be, with that thought in our minds, and that thought in the minds of the country, in connection with those charges, that were not made under oath.

Now, Mr. Hays comes here naturally to answer them, and to answer anything else that we have to ask him in the natural course of our investigation. At this time he, under oath—although not of his own knowledge; that is quite clear, and that does not permit of argument—produces certain statements from newspapers referring to campaign collections, whether true or otherwise I do not know.

We have not had Mr. Jamieson before us in our previous investigation. Apparently his name, as far as I recall, did not occur to anyone. At any rate, he did not appear before us. He apparently, from those statements, might know something, and it would be our duty to have him here at the proper time. But why we should refuse to have brought officially to the attention of the committee these articles, in view of the well-known reason why Mr. Hays is here, and the particular thing he is asked and expected to answer at this time, is a little bit inconsistent, it seems to me.

Senator REED. Let us first get our facts right. In the first place, this committee was not called at this time on account of anything that Gov. Cox had said, because it was called before Gov. Cox made a single speech; and, in fact, before Gov. Cox was nominated, so that you are wrong on that, although I do not think you are intentionally so.

Senator EDGE. Now, just a moment. Do not misquote me. I said that in the ordinary way we would have Mr. Hays here, anyhow.

Senator REED. I thought you said we would not.

Senator EDGE. But the thing he is expected to answer is undoubtedly what happened in the last 10 days.

Senator REED. In the last 10 days Gov. Cox has been making some speeches, after this committee was called. Mr. Hays has been making some speeches also. These gentlemen have been having a good time all to themselves. Because of that, you want to introduce an article a year old, a year and six days old, as a matter of fact, that was printed in the New York World and some other papers, which we once investigated. I want this thing to be conducted on one line or the other, Senator. If we are going to adhere to the rules of evidence, let us do it on both sides.

Senator EDGE. We already decided not to, Senator.

Senator REED. And if we are going to take newspaper reports, then let them all come in on both sides, because clearly one man has a right to produce them if the other has.

Senator EDGE. I have no objection in the slightest to that.

Senator REED. Now, there is just the distinction between what has been introduced and this. I protested, as you will bear witness, and I was the only member of the committee who did protest against receiving the newspaper accounts of Gov. Cox's statement. I saw this thing coming, and it did not require any great amount of foresight to see it. There is just this distinction, however, that Gov. Cox makes a statement, and he is in a way a party to the controversy. The newspaper account of it is put in as an account of what he actually said, and has gone undisputed thus far. It comes a little

nearer approximating a thing that might be heard in court than the present article.

Now, I am not going to sit here and try to keep things out—to try to keep evidence out. I want to get a rule of evidence established and adhered to, that is all.

Mr. HAYS. May I make a suggestion, Senator?

Senator KENYON. I think, as a matter of fact, that most of this article is in the record already, Senator Reed.

Mr. HAYS. I would like to clarify the situation in just a moment, Senator Kenyon, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. You have no objection, Senator Reed, if I indicate a lead for your investigation here?

Senator REED. No.

Mr. HAYS. You propose to cover in your investigation the collection of money by both committees, as I understand, incident, directly or indirectly, to this presidential campaign.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. Is that correct?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. I have a suggestion of a lead to make concerning the proposed collection of money by the Democratic committee during 1919. I presume to make that suggestion because of the articles in these three great papers which I offer to you. You can state them. The articles named the men—particularly the man who in each article is quoted as saying that he would need and proposed to raise from \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000 for the 1920 campaign.

Now, I respectfully offer as a lead for you these three clippings.

The CHAIRMAN. Without putting them in the record?

Mr. HAYS. And I have no desire to put them in the record. But I do say that they indicate that, and I charge that under that, as outlined there by Mr. Jamieson or reported to be outlined by Mr. Jamieson, an organization was made and is now inaugurated to do the very thing which he says there.

Senator REED. And you propose, Mr. Hays——

Mr. HAYS (interrupting). I make the charge.

Senator REED (continuing). You propose, Mr. Hays, to follow that up by giving the names of some witnesses who have made investigations and who are here to testify?

Mr. HAYS. I propose to call your attention to those gentlemen, and suggest that they be subpoenaed, and we will have, if you desire, a witness to further give you information, having investigated that very subject matter; yes, sir.

Senator REED. Will you give us his name?

Mr. HAYS. Clarence B. Miller.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hays, let me make this suggestion, too, for the benefit of the committee——

Senator REED (interrupting). I think that is entirely proper.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. When this subject was before the committee before—I have not refreshed my memory by looking at the record, but I think the chairman will bear me out in the statement that we had certain newspaper men before us, and they were interrogated as to the source of their information upon which some of

these articles were based. I do not say this particular article, but some article growing out of the same incident. And they declined to give us that information because it was a matter which they had received in professional confidence.

Now, if you have anyone who can give us that information, of course we will be glad to have it.

Mr. HAYS. I do not claim they set out to raise \$10,000,000. I claim that under the plan there suggested they organized the money-raising machinery——

Senator POMERENE. I understand.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). And went to work, or were at work then. Also we were advised at that time of the continuing activities of the Democratic committee in their 1918 soliciting machinery, with very large offices in the Bond Building, at Washington, with a great number of electrical typewriters operating night and day, and several hundred employees, which money-raising machinery was said in itself to cost several hundred thousand dollars. We were advised of the alleged misuse of governmental instruments and functions by the Democratic organization for political purposes, in sending out thousands of tons of propaganda by the Democratic administration during the paper shortage while limiting the use of paper by the press, and that a large part of it was Democratic political propaganda, all paid for by taxpayers' money. And we were informed, too, that the Democratic committee even resorted to drawing drafts on bankers in whose banks Government funds were deposited, wiring such bankers that they had already drawn such drafts.

Senator REED. Now, wait just a moment. Just a moment, please. You have made the statement that you were advised of certain things. Do you propose to furnish this committee with the names of the witnesses who know the facts?

Mr. HAYS. That information—not the names of witnesses, but that information was given to Secretary Glass in a telegram from me to him from Salt Lake City on January 10, 1920.

Senator REED. Do you propose to withhold from us the names of the witnesses?

Mr. HAYS. I will give you the name of any witness I have. I say that at that time——

Senator REED. Did you get this information from people whose names you do not even know?

Mr. HAYS. No; I say that at that time we were informed of this thing going on, and I will give you the leads——

Senator REED. Whom did you get your information from?

Mr. HAYS. Individuals, you mean?

Senator REED. Yes; what individuals?

Mr. HAYS. The names of the individuals?

Senator REED. What individuals?

Mr. HAYS. As to the misuse of Government functions and the department sending out great quantities of propaganda under the guise of reports, etc., I refer you to the speeches and report of Senator Smoot in the Senate of the United States. Is that sufficient? We were advised also——

Senator EDGE. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman. Do you care to put that document into the record, what you referred to there, back in connection with that other matter?

Senator REED. Mr. Hays, let me have the memorandum you just read from, will you, please? I do not have a copy.

Mr. HAYS. Certainly.

Senator REED. The other sheet, too.

Mr. HAYS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Your telegram, Mr. Hays—

Senator REED (interrupting.) I want to get this as we go along, unless you want it read over again. I think we are getting into hearsay evidence of the rankest kind again.

The CHAIRMAN. Your telegram to Secretary Glass, Mr. Hays, have you that with you or have you a copy of that?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you put that into the record?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you get a reply?

Mr. HAYS. I do not remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you look that up, also?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And if you have a reply, will you put that in with your telegram?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Continue, then.

Mr. HAYS. That referred to the report that we had heard, that they were drawing drafts on national banks. I had heard that—I do not remember where—and I wired to Secretary Glass about it.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you have any reply, or do you remember?

Mr. HAYS. I think I did, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you find that reply, also, if you can?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, will you permit a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You are offering this hearsay evidence as leads and not as your own statement of fact?

Mr. HAYS. No; not at all. These are the things we heard.

Senator REED. Then, in order that the committee may be able to follow up the leads, I want to get some facts. You say, "We were advised of the continuing activities of the opposition in their 1918 soliciting machinery, with very large offices in the Bond Building in Washington, and a great number of electrical typewriters operating night and day, with several hundred employees."

Who advised you of that?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Clarence B. Miller.

Senator SPENCER. Is he here?

Mr. HAYS. He is.

Senator SPENCER. All right.

Senator REED. Now, I continue reading from the same sentence: "Which money-raising machinery was said to cost in itself several hundred thousand dollars." Did you get that from Mr. Miller, too?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Let me ask you a question or two about Mr. Miller. Who is he?

Mr. HAYS. He is secretary of the Republican national committee. He has been a Member of Congress for 10 years in Washington.

Senator EDGE. And he is here to-day?

Mr. HAYS. He is here to-day; yes.

Senator REED. Very well. Was Mr. Miller employed or directed by you or by the Republican national committee to investigate these questions?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; he was told to go into all of the activities—to find out what he could about the activities of the Democratic committee and their money-raising program then going on, which was known to everybody. I would give you also, Senator—

Senator REED. Just a moment. I am not quite through with this other matter. This job of Mr. Miller's was a sort of detective line of business, was it?

Mr. HAYS. Not at all. The activities of the Democratic committee in the 1919 money-raising campaign were conducted largely in the Bond Building at Washington and were open for anybody to see.

Senator REED. Very well. We get back to Mr. Miller on that. You say, "We were advised of the alleged misuse of Government instruments and functions by the Democratic organization for political purposes in sending out thousands of tons of propaganda by the Democratic administration during the paper shortage, while limiting the use of paper by the press, and that a large part of it was Democratic political propaganda, and all paid for by the taxpayers' money."

Now, who told you that?

Mr. HAYS. Speeches of Senator Reed Smoot, from investigations made by him, in the Senate of the United States.

Senator REED. Can you give us the dates of those speeches?

Mr. HAYS. No; I can not.

Senator REED. Well, do you know whether Mr. Smoot had made any investigation himself?

Mr. HAYS. He said he had. It is all a matter of congressional record, all of that.

Senator REED. Well, I know; but there have been many things put in the congressional records that were not true.

Mr. HAYS. Do you speak as "one having authority, and not as the Scribes"?

Senator REED. I speak as a very careful observer of the utterances of other men. The fact that somebody says something on the floor of the Senate does not change its character, if it is hearsay.

Now, do you know any other source of information except the one you have just named—Senator Smoot's speeches?

Mr. HAYS. No. I am quoting—I am suggesting the information which we had about a year ago, and I do not remember.

Senator REED. Do you know—or have you any samples of this literature which you say was sent out at governmental expense?

Mr. HAYS. I have not.

Senator REED. Do you know where we can get any of those samples?

Mr. HAYS. I have an interesting letter in that connection, sent out by one of the departments in Washington a few days ago, which is so pertinent to your inquiry that I will hand it to you. It is dated July 31, 1920, and is from the Treasury Department, on their stationery. In describing the —

Senator REED (interrupting). To whom was it sent?

Mr. HAYS. It is a circular letter, which I will give you.

Senator POMERENE. Signed by whom?

Mr. HAYS. I presume the Treasury Department. You can look it over. It is on their letterhead.

Senator POMERENE. But how is it signed?

Mr. HAYS. Comptroller of the Currency; well, apparently it is not signed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it with reference to the League of Nations?

Mr. HAYS. Exactly.

Senator EDGE. I suggest it be read.

Mr. HAYS. It is dated July 31, 1920, on the letterhead of the Comptroller of Currency. After describing the reports or bulletins received by his department, he says:

Aside from the disturbed and alarming state of affairs in parts of the Old World, for which I am convinced this country's refusal to ratify the peace treaty is largely responsible, there is absolutely no justification for the spirit of pessimism and uneasiness prevalent in business and financial circles in many sections of the United States to-day.

He made a Democratic campaign argument at the taxpayers' expense by injecting that into his letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that sent to the banks of the country?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir; so I am advised. That was handed to be by Senator McCormick, who received it.

Senator REED. Mr. Chairman, I want this statement put into the record—that part of it.

Mr. HAYS. I do not just see exactly the justification for the Comptroller of the Currency injecting that into what is an official letter.

Senator REED. Do you want the whole thing in, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. If there is any argument there for the League of Nations, I think we had better put the whole thing in. Put the letter in.

Senator REED. Well, it might encumber the record. The letter deals with the national bank situation, and says:

National banks strong and well fortified: abundantly able to meet all demands for crop-moving or other legitimate business purposes.—Liquidation of unessential loans progressing.—Federal reserve banks' unused lending power, \$750,000,000; and by reducing reserve requirements on notes and deposits 10 per cent the unused lending power could be increased if needed to \$2,500,000,000.

Those are the headlines, and I think they fairly set out the letter. But the letter does contain the clause that was read by Mr. Hays, which I think is the part that might be characterized as political propaganda by some people. By others it would be characterized as a great effort to save the world for mankind.

Mr. HAYS. We are also advised, gentlemen——

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting). Just a moment. Let us clear this up. Is there any objection to putting in part of the letter instead of the whole letter—just that part?

Mr. POMERENE. I have not read it yet. I do not know.

Senator SPENCER. It is a general letter to the bankers, dealing with the financial situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, Mr. Reporter, put in the letter only that part which is inclosed in pencil marks.

(The portion of letter referred to is as follows:)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,
Washington, July 31, 1920.

NATIONAL BANKS STRONG AND WELL FORTIFIED; ABUNDANTLY ABLE TO MEET ALL DEMANDS FOR CROP MOVING OR OTHER LEGITIMATE BUSINESS PURPOSES—LIQUIDATION OF UNESSENTIAL LOANS PROGRESSING—FEDERAL RESERVE BANKS' UNUSED LENDING POWER, \$750,000,000; AND BY REDUCING RESERVE REQUIREMENTS ON NOTES AND DEPOSITS 10 PER CENT THE UNUSED LENDING POWER COULD BE INCREASED, IF NEEDED, TO TWO AND ONE-HALF BILLION DOLLARS.

Official reports to this office from all national banks under the call of June 30 show that in 42 of the 66 reserve and central reserve cities of the country there has been a general tendency toward liquidation and reduction in bank loans since May 4; New York City national banks, however, increased their loans \$114,010,000; Boston, \$16,284,000; Philadelphia, \$15,175,000; Pittsburgh, \$6,235,000; Cincinnati, \$5,647,000; Cleveland, \$4,263,000; San Francisco, \$14,259,000. The aggregate of increases in the other 17 reserve and central reserve cities which reported increases was \$14,847,000.

The reserve and central reserve cities reporting a reduction in loans included Chicago, \$14,528,000; St. Louis, \$913,000; Albany, \$10,574,000; Washington, \$3,027,000; Richmond, \$4,033,000; Atlanta, \$1,815,000; New Orleans, \$1,698,000; Dallas, \$2,943,000; Milwaukee, \$5,554,000; Minneapolis, \$6,035,000; Los Angeles, \$7,614,000. Thirty-one other reserve cities reported an aggregate reduction of \$27,920,000.

The reduction in loans in about two-thirds of the reserve cities has naturally been accompanied by a decline in deposits in those cities, but a large increase of \$340,810,000 of deposits in the New York City banks has more than offset the deposit reduction of \$125,175,000 shown in all other reserve and central reserve cities, so that the net increase in deposits in all reserve and central reserve cities, including New York, since May 4 amounts to \$312,647,000. Nearly every reserve city in the South (except Louisville), in the Central West (except in the Cleveland district), and in the West and Southwest show reductions in deposits.

Aside from the disturbed and alarming state of affairs in parts of the Old World, for which, I am convinced, this country's refusal to ratify the peace treaty is largely responsible, there is absolutely no justification for the spirit of pessimism and uneasiness prevalent in business and financial circles in many sections of the United States to-day.

Senator REED. Have you any other specimen of what you term political propaganda being carried on by the Government?

Mr. HAYS. No. I referred to information gained a year ago and over. This, however, was just this July, which recently came to me.

Senator REED. Who did you get the information from a year ago?

Mr. HAYS. Senator Smoot's speeches, and his report as chairman of a committee.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. HAYS. I have also what purports to be a copy of a letter dated September 16, 1919, from Mr. Cummings.

Senator REED. Just a moment before getting into that. I want to finish up with this statement of yours. You further stated:

We were advised of the alleged misuse of governmental instruments and functions by the Democratic organization for political purposes, in sending out thousands of tons of propaganda by the Democratic administration during the paper shortage, while limiting the use of the paper by the press; and that a large part of it was Democratic political propaganda, all paid for by the taxpayers' money.

Now, of the thousands of tons, the only specimen that you are able to produce at the present is this one letter?

Mr. HAYS. I did not differentiate, Senator. I will say again that I am just stating what we were advised of a year ago. This which you call a sample, I expect is not a bad sample, but that is just last month. It is not what I am referring to there. I am saying there what we were advised of a year ago.

Senator REED. You have no part of those thousands of tons of literature?

Mr. HAYS. No; no part of that at all.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. HAYS. I refer you to Senator Smoot's speeches and investigations.

Senator REED. Very well. I come to your next statement. First, however, Mr. Chairman, I move that Senator Smoot be subpoenaed to come before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us take that matter under consideration. He is in the same situation as some of the others.

Senator REED. All right. Now, the next statement is this:

And we were informed, too, that the Democratic committee even resorted to drawing drafts on bankers in whose banks Government funds were deposited, wiring such bankers they already had drawn such drafts.

Now, do you know any of the banks on whom those drafts were drawn?

Mr. HAYS. I do not of my own personal knowledge.

Senator REED. Do you know of your own knowledge that there was ever a single draft drawn?

Mr. HAYS. I know of my—no, I do not; of my own personal knowledge I do not.

Senator REED. Who drew the drafts, if you know?

Mr. HAYS. I say that we heard they were drawn by the Democratic national committee, or some officer.

Senator REED. Do you know what officer it was who drew them?

Mr. HAYS. No, I do not, and I do not say there that—

Senator REED. Who gave you this information that drafts had been drawn by the Democratic national committee?

Mr. HAYS. That we had heard from George W. Beane.

Senator REED. George W. Beane told you?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Who is George W. Beane?

Mr. HAYS. Member of the Republican national committee from Florida.

Senator REED. Where is he?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Did he pretend to speak of his own knowledge or did he pretend only to quote a rumor?

Mr. HAYS. He said Democrats had told him that; they were afraid, he said, to not honor them—the man who told him, the banker—for fear, because he had Government funds, the Government funds would be withdrawn.

Senator REED. What is the banker's name?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Where does he live?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know. I say, Beane gave us that information, and that was a year ago, and that was wired to Secretary Glass on June 10, 1920.

Senator REED. But that does not change the character of the evidence. What I want to get at is whether you know in what State this banker lives.

Mr. HAYS. I say that Mr. Beane gave us that information then.

Senator REED. Where is Mr. Beane now? Where can he be reached?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know where he is now. He is a member of the Republican national committee from Florida.

Senator REED. Can you not find his address?

Mr. HAYS. We will be able to locate him for you; yes.

Senator REED. What is his address when he is at home? If he is a member of the Republican national committee, you know, do you not?

Mr. HAYS. He is in Florida—George W. Beane; that was his statement of the things talked about a year ago. He is at Tampa.

Senator REED. Do you know whether that particular bank was the one he referred to?

Mr. HAYS. No. What I know I say there. I am sure that information or suggestion as to what he heard was from George Beane, of Florida.

Senator REED. Well, thank you for your paper.

Mr. HAYS. Now, I have here what purports to be a letter, or copy of a letter, from Mr. Homer S. Cummings, dated September 16, 1919, addressed to Mr. Jamieson, to which is attached what purports to be a facsimile of this check for \$1,000, referring to the necessity of immediate work seeming necessary from his recent trip throughout the country. He says:

The work we are now doing is of the highest consequence to our party and may well have a decisive effect upon the campaign in 1920. Our plans are being hampered by lack of proper financial assistance. If our work is to be effective, a substantial fund must be made available without delay—

And so forth.

I refer that to the committee as an indication or lead, rather, substantiating the suggestion that the Democratic committee had an organization in 1919 to raise money. We were advised also, and lately—Senator, I call your attention to this particularly—of the effort of certain interests to collect money outside the Democratic national committee to try to aid in the election of Gov. Cox. Evidence of this I am prepared to submit, if desired. Shall I submit it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. I have in my hand the original letter from George T.——

The CHAIRMAN. How is that, again, please?

Mr. HAYS. I say I have here the original letter, what purports to be—and I submit it for your inspection and further investigation—an original letter signed by George T. Carroll.

Senator REED. George D. Carroll?

Mr. HAYS. George T. Carroll, president of the New Jersey Federation of Liquor Interests, which letter is as follows:

[Help elect men who will kill prohibition.]

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
849 Broad Street, Newark, N. J., July 22, 1920.

CABAIN BROS.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: The organized liquor trade of New Jersey has set out to do its part toward the election of James M. Cox as the next President of the United States, and it becomes my duty to call upon you to help. More than that, we are going to fight as we never fought before to keep the hirelings of the Anti-Saloon League out of office; to elect Congressmen in the 12 congressional districts of the State who will vote to amend the Volstead Act so as to permit the sale of light wine and beer; to elect assemblymen and State senators who will keep New Jersey from ratifying the eighteenth amendment and prevent the passage of any law concurring in the Volstead Act in its present form.

The nomination of Gov. Cox, of Ohio, for the Presidency by the Democrats is a big victory for our interests and it can be attributed to a great degree to the activity of our trade organizations here in New Jersey and throughout the Nation. Gov. Cox is a pronounced "wet" and he can be relied upon to approve an amendment to the Volstead Act as suggested above. It is now up to our trade organizations to stand unitedly behind the ticket of Cox and Roosevelt and roll up such a majority as will show convincingly that the public will is in our favor. Are you going to help? Of course you are.

This is going to be the greatest political fight in the history of the United States. Your liberty and mine has been taken from us. Our business has been unjustly confiscated. The rights of the people have been seized and they are lined up with us in the mighty struggle that is soon to be decided by the battle of the ballot.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court has thrown the question of prohibition squarely into politics. It is the vital issue in the campaign that is now under way. The prohibitionists tried to keep the question out of the campaign. They feared the vote of an outraged and indignant public. It is up to us—members of the organized liquor trade—to force the fight. That is just what we are doing.

We have issued the challenge. The Anti-Saloon League is forced to fight. It has made an appeal for a \$30,000 fund to elect dry Congressmen who will uphold the Volstead Act and dry candidates to the State senate and assembly to force ratification of the eighteenth amendment on New Jersey. There is no question about the Anti-Saloon League's ability to raise the amount asked. How much can we raise?

We must have money at once to carry on the work that we have planned. Do not think for a moment that there is plenty of time to give between now and election. The fall will be too late. Money must be had immediately if we are to maintain our headquarters and continue the propaganda that is necessary in the drive to win public opinion. This is the second appeal that I have sent you. The first you evidently overlooked. I would not bother you now if it were not for the fact that your own interests hang in the balance just as much as mine. Let me beg of you to remain loyal to the cause to the finish. Make this your last contribution if you will, but give—give something.

Your record on the roster of your local associations and also on that of the State league shows that you have been loyal and regular in the past. Do keep that record unsullied to the very end. I have always had your cooperation in the past; please let me have it now for the federation is to put up a bigger fight than it ever made before.

So that we may know at once just what our resources are, may we not ask you to promptly return the inclosed card filled out with your remittance?

Jump in and help us fight. Give as much as you can afford. This is not merely a battle to save your business, but one to preserve something more sacred, namely, your personal liberty.

Yours, fraternally,

GEO. T. CARROLL, *President.*

[Second letter—just as a reminder.]

The CHAIRMAN. What is that association?

Mr. HAYS. He is president of the liquor association of New Jersey, and evidently it is called the New Jersey Federation of Liquor Inter-

ests, for I have here what purports to be an original receipt for money sent him.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the slip you have in your hand?

Mr. HAYS. This is what purports to be an original receipt for money sent to this man. It is as follows:

RESPONSE TO THE SECOND LETTER.

DEAR SIR: This will acknowledge the receipt of your donation of \$25, and thank you very much for same.

I. N. HELLER,

Treasurer New Jersey Federation of Liquor Interests.

849 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.

Mr. HAYS. This address is 849 Broad Street, Newark, N. J. Is that the same address? Yes; the other was 849 Broad Street, and this is 849 Broad Street. I submit both as leads, the original letter from the president of the association, and what purports to be a receipt for money.

Senator REED. Do you know whether that was sent outside of the State of New Jersey?

Mr. HAYS. I do not. I leave it for your consideration, for what it is worth.

Senator REED. Do you understand that this organization is limited in its activities to New Jersey?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Or whether it is a national organization?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know. I know what it says, that "the nomination of Gov. Cox for President is a big victory for our interests, and can be attributed to a large degree to the activity of our trade organization here in New Jersey and throughout the Nation." Evidently they are interested in the situation throughout the United States.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know to whom this receipt was given?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator REED. It does not show on its face?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. It is simply an acknowledgment of a receipt of a donation of \$25?

Mr. HAYS. But Mr. Heller, I suppose, can tell you, and it may be possible for us—

Senator REED. It is a printed receipt?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir. Mr. Heller can tell; and I think I can find who sent that \$25.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is Mr. Heller located? His office is in Newark, N. J., is it?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, we subpoena both gentlemen—Mr. Carroll and Mr. Heller.

Senator REED. How did you get this latter?

Mr. HAYS. I got the letter from Senator Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. HAYS. At the time of the 1920 convention, when the books were closed on Saturday, June 12, and a new set opened on Monday.

June 14, by the new national committee and the reelected officers, the national committee had on hand \$296,621.27—

Senator REED. That is, the Republican committee?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). Which was turned over by the old committee, and we owed \$100,000.

Senator REED. What was that amount again?

Mr. HAYS. These are all of the figures; the whole thing is shown in connection with the money matters.

Senator POMERENE. What were those dates again, please?

Mr. HAYS. At the time of the 1920 convention, when the books were closed on Saturday, June 12, and a new set opened on Monday, June 14, the second day following, when the books were balanced—

Senator POMERENE. June 12, did you say?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; and Monday, June 14.

Senator POMERENE. All right.

Mr. HAYS. The books were balanced and a new set opened.

Senator POMERENE. All right. Go ahead.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). The national committee had on hand \$296,621.27, which was turned over by the old committee, and we owed \$100,000. Since the 1920 convention, with the organization for money raising which was developed during 1919 and the first six months of 1920, there has been raised by the national committee for its own use \$618,013.54 up to August 26, 1920, when Mr. Upham made the balance sheet for that purpose. During this period there has been raised by the States where we have a joint working arrangement, for their own use, the sum of \$399,241.78.

Senator POMERENE. How is that again, please—those last two figures?

Mr. HAYS. The national committee for its own use, \$618,013.54, and by the States under the joint working arrangement for their own use, \$399,241.78.

There was on hand on August 26, 1920, in the national committee treasury \$155,125.31, and we owe \$460,000. This amount has been borrowed in order to anticipate expenditures. Of this we have loaned to the congressional campaign committee \$188,500, and we have loaned to the senatorial campaign committee \$50,000, and we have loaned to State campaign committees \$38,000.

From June 14 to August 26, 1920, the national committee has expended \$843,009.50, which has been spent for headquarters' expenses, including Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco; administration, mailing department, telephones, telegraphs, furniture, additional fixtures, supplies, postage, envelopes, traveling expenses; also, speakers' bureau, including salaries and expenses of publicity incident to particular meetings, speakers' traveling and other expenses; rent of all headquarters, general publicity, including news and cartoon service to Republican papers, pamphlets, booklets, textbooks, shipping expense, lithographs, campaign buttons, advertisements in magazines; general expense of all bureaus, such as bureau of clubs; shipping department, distribution, freight, express; also, including expense of the treasurer's office and salaries and traveling expenses incident to raising of money in treasurers' office in Chicago and New York.

This leaves a deficit of \$28,374.69 on August 26, 1920. However, we have on hand uncollected pledge cards amounting to \$291,565.33, all due between now and October 1. The treasurer has these pledge cards. These pledges come from every State and are from 2,304 persons, with an average contribution of \$126.55 per person. Of these 2,304 pledges none are over \$1,000 except 2, which are for \$5,000 each.

The names of all contributors, together with the amounts they have given from June 14 to August 26, 1920, are here for the inspection of the committee.

During this period from June 14, 1920, to August 26, 1920, there were 12,389 men and women contributors to both the national committee and to State committees through the joint collecting organization, an average of \$82.11. Of these none have been——

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me. How many people was that?

Mr. HAYS. This is from June 14, 1920, to August 26, 1920, 12,389 men and women, or an average of \$82.11. Of these none have been over the \$1,000 rule, except eight, which eight have given a total of \$13,500, or an average of \$1,687.50. The highest of these was \$2,500. The period from December 1, 1918, to June 12, 1920, or the conclusion of the 1920 nominating convention, is not properly considered a part of this presidential campaign. However, I desire to cover that period and the committee's activities therein. During that time there were several State elections, notably in Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, and New Jersey, and some special congressional elections and preparation for the 1920 campaign was made in educational, publicity, organization, financial, and other departments in order that all might function immediately after the nominating convention.

After the 1918 election the committee, as shown by the reports on file with the clerk of the House of Representatives, had a deficit of \$6,951.83.

Senator POMERENE. What committee is that?

Mr. HAYS. The Republican national committee. Now, this is going to take and cover from December, 1918, up until the conventions, for the reasons which I want to include here. During the approximately 19 months, between December 1, 1918, and June 12, 1920, the national committee raised \$1,365,897.49. Of this amount the sum of \$1,162,324.39 was spent, including publicity, educational, speaking, and other activities; including as above suggested, that work done in connection with the several State elections held in 1919, including salaries and expenses of speakers, publicity, traveling, and other expenses in connection with meetings, expense of headquarters in Washington, New York, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco; administration, typists, mailing, telephone, telegraph, supplies, paper, postage, envelopes, rent, etc.; general publicity, including news and cartoon service to Republican papers, pamphlets, booklets, shipping expense; also general expense of all bureaus; the committee's part of the expense of the 1920 national convention; and the expenses of the treasurer's offices in New York and Chicago; salaries and traveling expenses in connection with the raising of money.

There were raised by the States——

Senator REED. Wait just a moment. Give us the names of the contributors to that fund.

Mr. HAYS. That will follow—18,000. That will come presently. They are all here.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. HAYS. There were raised by the States by the joint collecting organization during these 19 months a total of \$469,456.21, which was for their own use in their State elections and for their own organization, publicity, and other work.

The names of all contributors, together with the amounts they have given from December 1, 1918, to June 12, 1920, are here also for the inspection of the committee. During this period of approximately 19 months, there were 18,515 contributors to the National and State committees through the joint working arrangement, with an average contribution of \$99.13. Of these 18,515 contributors there were 39 who gave more than a thousand dollars after the thousand-dollar rule was suggested. These 39 men gave a total of \$108,000; one—

Senator POMERENE. You say after the thousand-dollar rule was suggested?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. When was that suggested?

Mr. HAYS. Early in 1919, and there were two men before that. It was very early in 1919. Two men before that had given more than a thousand dollars, who are in this list; and after we had put the thousand-dollar rule in, there were 39 out of the 18,000.

Senator REED. Are the names of those men and an account of their subscriptions given in that list?

Mr. HAYS. They are all here.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. HAYS. Now, note. The 18,000 includes the two before the rule, early in 1919, say in January; and the 39 gave a total of \$108,000; 1 \$9,000; and of the balance none over \$5,000. The average of the 39 was \$2,769.23.

This makes a total of contributions from December 1, 1918, to August 26, 1920, of 30,904, with an average contribution of \$92.30, coming from all the States of the Union.

It should be remembered that practically all of the contributions have been obtained under an arrangement that provides that a certain part is for State use, so that as a matter of fact, only a part of each contribution is a contribution to the national committee for its use. The per cent to the State committee and the national committee varies in different States, but averages on the basis of about one-third going back to the State. This makes each individual contribution to the national committee about one-third less.

There has been a real effort to adhere strictly to the thousand-dollar rule, with a view of making a real effort to raise the money by small gifts, always with the purpose, if we failed to do this, that we would announce to the public that larger gifts would be accepted. It is difficult in a popular plan of this kind, entirely unprecedented as a matter of fact, and not at once understood, to keep all the collectors and all the givers within the rules. A great many have been in the habit of giving more, and some few have been inclined to send their usual contributions; and, on the other hand, ambitious solicitors, endeavoring to outstrip other groups or other neighborhoods, are

sometimes inclined to resort to methods measured by their enthusiasm.

In all preparations for the campaign, of course, we have in mind the very greatly increased electorate by reason of suffrage and the publicity matter and other things made necessary by that condition.

In conclusion, Gov. Cox has publicly charged:

First, that certain interests were "banded together to buy the Presidency, and that millions had been contributed to the Republican Party with sinister intent." That statement is false.

Second, that there is a "deliberate plot that has been carried into every county in America in a conspiracy to buy the Presidency of the United States." That statement is also false.

Third, that "others are writing large checks so that if their puppets or tools get into office and there are industrial controversies they can have the bayonet to enforce their will." That statement is also false.

Fourth, that "millions have been contributed through a corrupt source in furtherance of the Republican conspiracy to buy an underhold on the Presidency; that the Republican fund, not a campaign fund, but a corruption fund, will not be less than \$15,000,000." That statement is also false.

Fifth, that a quota fixing assessments to be raised by certain cities, amounting to over \$8,000,000, was adopted at a meeting at which Mr. Upham and I were present. That charge is also false. . No such quotas were ever adopted at any such meeting or at any other time or place, and no operation had under such quota.

He has made other statements charging a slush fund for corrupt purposes, subscribed in the names of dummy contributors, to be used to corrupt the electorate. These statements are also false.

I now say that each and all of these several charges are absolutely false in what they say and libelous in their purposes.

Senator POMERENE. Your statement is that it was not adopted. Was it presented or suggested?

Mr. HAYS. I have no knowledge of it—no—at any place where I was present, and they all tell me it never was considered—the quota which Gov. Cox speaks of. It never had—I was never at any meeting when it was considered at all. I know it was never adopted. There were quotas—early in 1919, when we started this, there were tentative quotas suggested by those men as bases to drive for by States, as I understand it, and those quotas changed daily. Word would be sent out to a State, "Your quota is so much," and before they got out to get it they would double it and say they had got to get so much; and then divide into counties, and the counties two or three times it, in order to get what they ultimately ought to get.

Senator POMERENE. Who did that?

Mr. HAYS. All of this machinery, the personnel of which, Senator, raising this money all over this country is largely the personnel of the men and women who raised the Liberty loan and Red Cross subscriptions—the very best character and substance in this country—the thousands that are in this soliciting organization all over the country, as many women as men, and quite as much as the men, for there are women's committees to raise small amounts. That

little elephant with a \$2.50 maximum, that sinister thing which has come out, is a woman's proposition. The women are very active. So the men, largely, who are handling this are the Liberty loan and Red Cross men who did that work during the war. The actual thing really is a natural by-product and process of these war activities. The purpose is to decentralize and popularize giving to campaign committee, as they did to Government service, and getting Republican men and women by so acting to become interested in politics.

There was, frankly, a great movement over the country, or an apparent desire, to follow through on the war work. Men and women wanted to get into things, and that feeling was utilized both to get this money in this, I think, very proper method, rather than having an obligation which, frankly, I have never known to be discharged by either party—but a possible obligation for very large contributions. The whole thing was predicated upon that. All the publicity that was possible to give was had.

I understand bulletins were issued by the treasurer's office, and sent out by thousands to the newspapers, and all of the workers in this drive gotten up by those men who were managing this decentralized giving plan.

Senator REED. Is it your idea that there were circulars sent to all of the people who were engaged in the Liberty loan drive?

Mr. HAYS. No; not that drive; this drive. So much publicity was endeavored to be had in this thing, because upon advertising depended the success of the small gifts; and public meetings were held, and lunches, and dinners, and mass meetings, all to organize this personnel to get these small contributions. It was not an easy thing.

Senator REED. But you said something about bulletins being sent out.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir. Pamphlets issued by the ways and means organization were sent to the workers.

Senator REED. In the Liberty loan drive?

Mr. HAYS. No, no; in this drive—in our drive.

Senator REED. I thought you just said the Liberty loan drive.

Mr. HAYS. I did not mean to say the Liberty loan drive. I say, the personnel was largely of those of our party who were in similar things for different purposes before—the war camp community work, Red Cross, etc.; and the thing is built upon that plan exactly.

Senator REED. You ascertained who were representative in those movements and you sent your literature to those Republicans, did you?

Mr. HAYS. No; we sent this literature to those who were enlisted as solicitors in that organization, and to newspapers, scattering them broadcast. These bulletins, so-called, that Gov. Cox referred to—

Senator REED (interrupting). What I am trying to get at is this: Did you undertake to send your literature to lists of people who had been concerned in the Liberty loan or Red Cross drives?

Mr. HAYS. No; not as such. It was sent to the workers who were collecting money for the Republican national committee.

Senator REED. Exactly. Then it had nothing to do with the Red Cross or the Liberty loan?

Mr. HAYS. No. I mentioned those two things, and the war camp community service, because we got in the personnel of this drive, in

every community, a great many folks who had been doing the same kind of work for those objects before; that is all.

Senator REED. I think if you will refer to the record you will find you mentioned the Liberty loan drive workers.

Mr. HAYS. I did not mean to say sent to the Liberty loan workers. It was sent to the workers in this organization and to the newspapers. The bulletins were circularized as largely as we could do it. You asked if we sent to Republicans. We made a list. The folks in New York who have this matter in hand, in New York State, made a list of those who should give in the State and city of New York the maximum, \$1,000, for campaign purposes, who, they were advised, should. There were some 8,000 of those people. I said, "Go poll them and see how many Republicans there are."

They polled by the registry books those 8,000 people, and more than 5,000 of the 8,000 had never registered a vote for any party. Now, I am going to get that crowd. They can not expect governmental things to be right in this country—and there is no exclusion in that, either—and take no part in making them so. That is a good deal of an indictment, I think, and really the point of this is to get more people in politics for what they can do, and not what they can get. Upon that I stand. Gov. Cox has entirely wrong information as to the purpose of the thing, and as to its operation, and the mode of action, and everything else. That is all. He is just simply mistaken. His charges are false.

Now, I will be glad to answer any other questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hays, how many different committees are there connected with the campaign? You have the national committee; you have the congressional committee; you have the senatorial committee.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other committees?

Mr. HAYS. No. There is the congressional, the senatorial, and the national, and then there are State committees and county committees. We have nothing to do with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Now, when you speak of the ways and means committee, you refer——

Mr. HAYS. The ways and means committee of the Republican national committee, acting under the treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Acting under the treasurer?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the members of the ways and means committee?

Mr. HAYS. Now, when we started this, early in 1919, we named a committee to consider the method of financing the party in and out of season, with Mr. Upham, the treasurer, in which it all headed, consisting of Col. William Boyce Thompson, Senator John Weeks——

Senator REED. Just a minute. Mr. Upham is the treasurer?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham is the treasurer of the committee; Fred W. Upham is the treasurer of the committee.

Senator REED. And chairman of the ways and means committee?

Mr. HAYS. Well, it all heads in him. There is another designated committee of the groups we undertook to develop, which is——

Senator REED. Who is the chairman of the ways and means committee?

Mr. HAYS. William Boyce Thompson.

Senator REED. William Boyce Thompson?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; he lives in New York.

Senator REED. William Boyce Thompson; and who is the treasurer?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham is the treasurer of the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the other members? You mentioned Senator Weeks.

Mr. HAYS. Senator Weeks and—well, the general officers have not been functioning. Of the women, there are Mrs. John T. Pratt and Mrs. Cortlandt Barnes, and they had charge of the Liberty loan, I know, in the New York district during the war, those women.

Senator REED. Who are they?

Mr. HAYS. Mrs. John T. Pratt and Mrs. Cortlandt Barnes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Pratt and Mrs. Barnes?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. These were named early in 1919. Congressman Sloop, James W. McGraw, William H. Crocker, of California. There were several. And merely to start it; and the committee, as stated, did not function, but that was only to start it.

The CHAIRMAN. The business of that committee related entirely to finance, getting money?

Mr. HAYS. Exactly. They went out and got State chairmen of ways and means. Mr. Upham and Col. Thompson really were the only ones that functioned in that, except the women.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have an organization in each State?

Mr. HAYS. Well, they went out to undertake to have. Mr. Upham will have to tell you about that, though. They went out to undertake to have a State chairman and vice chairman in every State.

The CHAIRMAN. In every State?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did the congressional committee have such an organization?

Mr. HAYS. No; just the last month or two months. Congressman Fess is here, and can tell about that, about the dates; about dates I don't just remember; but we wanted to avoid a multiplicity of collections.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to find out. That is what I wanted to ask you about.

Mr. HAYS. So several weeks ago it was agreed, as I said, that we would aid in the collection of their money, because we had this organization.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that date?

Mr. HAYS. When was that, Mr. Upham or Dr. Fess [addressing Mr. Upham and Congressman Fess]? When did we make that arrangement with the congressional committee? Two or three months ago or three or four months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, before that time was the congressional committee collecting money?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know. Dr. Fess will say.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time have they had a separate organization?

Mr. HAYS. They have had their treasury, and money has been coming into their treasury, but through the soliciting of these same people.

The CHAIRMAN. Has everything that has gone to the treasury of the congressional committee come through this ways and means committee of the national committee?

Mr. HAYS. We have loaned them the amounts because we asked them to stop collecting when we made that arrangement, and money would be solicited by the ways and means folks. There has been very little of it yet. We have loaned them money, and then it would be sent direct to the congressional treasurer. And if it all went in then we would not have to loan or send any.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you made this arrangement—let us get this clearly—the congressional committee have not been soliciting funds!

Mr. HAYS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you made this arrangement that Mr. Upham speaks of, they had always solicited?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know whether they had started or not, Senator, to tell you frankly.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. But no solicitation had been begun generally by them, so Dr. Fess said.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there is the senatorial committee?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Had they solicited funds?

Mr. HAYS. No; they have agreed not to.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, had they been soliciting funds up to the time of this agreement?

Mr. HAYS. No; that is all rather uncertain yet as to how they are going to operate, but this machinery that we have built up, we hoped to have that make money enough so we would not have to go out and make a multiplicity of solicitations, that is all. You know it is a unity that is desirable.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the State chairman solicit funds or does the State organization in the respective States collect funds in addition to this?

Mr. HAYS. In addition to this approximately \$1,000,000 that will have been, or will be, collected through this joint machinery?

The CHAIRMAN. Where they have their own—

Mr. HAYS. They have their own machinery.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you made your arrangement a couple of months ago, does the State committee go on getting funds to use in the State?

Mr. HAYS. They don't do that in the States where we have got the joint arrangement [addressing Mr. Upham]?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham says no.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is in how many States?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Where the entire raising of money is to be done by this committee, and it is apportioned among the States?

Mr. HAYS. That is the plan, where the States have gone into this arrangement.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the plan where the States have gone into this arrangement?

Mr. HAYS. Where this is gone into; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many States are in it?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know how many. Mr. Upham will tell you about that. But I don't mean to say that there will not be local efforts made in counties, and so on, you see, where they will raise money on Saturdays for the band for local rallies, etc. But a great many States—I think most of the States have gone into this in order to raise their quota, they are helping, doing something for the national committee, and they built up one organization to raise money, that is what I described, and we think through that \$1,000,000 will come in.

The CHAIRMAN. And that money goes to the national committee and a portion of the money then turned over to the State at the same time?

Mr. HAYS. A portion of the money turned over to the State at the same time; it goes through our hands, and as a matter of fact is not a part of our fund. It makes our total for 20 months \$1,100,000, and from now on, or a period of a year from now, it will make a million dollars that comes to us.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your way of raising money?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is the largest contribution you have had?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know, Senator, except as I have given it in here.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no contribution from corporations?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't take any?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose you have some from officers of corporations?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know. The names are here. Oh, I suppose, of course, yes. We have made a real effort to keep it down to a thousand dollars, and pretty well succeeded. You get an ambitious crowd of collectors—and we have got most of the collectors from these drives, organizing this, and they whip it up.

The CHAIRMAN. It is hard to hold them down.

Mr. HAYS. And a great many of them have been in the habit of giving more, and we believe would be perfectly willing to give more, but we have been trying out that thing; and if that can be accomplished, it is a good thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You expect, from your figures given here, to carry the campaign through on about \$5,000,000?

Mr. HAYS. Well, if you count the States; that would include the States. There is \$1,000,000 of that that is raised by States for their own use. That is in there, when I say about five million. Yes; there is about \$5,000,000 with that million dollars. Then there is about \$1,100,000 spent in about the 20 months, which includes up to June, 1920; that includes several State elections, etc.

Senator REED. Well, that money is already spent.

The CHAIRMAN. About a million dollars has been spent?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; before the convention, during the 18 months.

Senator REED. Do you want to go back to the time before the appointment of our committee [addressing the members of the committee]?

Mr. HAYS. I wanted to bring that all in; that is included in that. The CHAIRMAN. I am not sure.

Mr. HAYS. I think the 1919 activities ought to all be reviewed. The State campaign has been going on, and the organizing and publicity incident to the convention, etc., and during that 20 months we spent \$1,100,000. And then that was cleared up, and then we opened new books and the campaign proper began, and that campaign will cost about \$3,000,000; that is, all that is pertinent to the presidential campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been suggested that you recapitulate just how you make up that \$5,000,000.

Mr. HAYS. I don't make up \$5,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you had your budget of \$3,000,000, or something like that.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you had the million dollars expended in the States.

Mr. HAYS. Yes. And then there is \$1,100,000; well, that is really all there is. About \$4,000,000 is all for this campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it would be over \$4,000,000—between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000.

Senator REED. Well, let us be a little more accurate about it. How much would it be?

Mr. HAYS. Well, it has all been covered. We have got a budget figured out of \$3,076,000, that we figured would be the expense of the campaign proper, from the nominating convention, and it is impossible to actually tell that; but we fixed the budget, and give the different departments their share, and they can not go over it, and that holds it all in a business way.

Senator REED. Now, that is that much of it. Now, where is the rest of it?

Mr. HAYS. I have said, Senator Reed—

The CHAIRMAN. That does not include a million dollars expenses for the States?

Mr. HAYS. No; that is not ours. We don't have anything to do with that, except that money goes through this organization.

Senator REED. And the States expect to raise another million of their own account?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know. I haven't any idea about that. I don't think so. What they do in the States, where they have their rallies and their bands and their local demonstrations, we have no contact with that.

Senator REED. But if you start in—let us take one of the States now where you have got the arrangement of moneys that are to be collected through one source; tell us one of those States.

Mr. HAYS. Well, say Indiana.

Senator REED. Indiana. Now, in that case one committee will go out and collect all the money that is to be expended in Indiana, and all of the money so contributed is sent to the national committee?

Mr. HAYS. Quite right; quite right.

Senator REED. And the money would all be sent to the national committee?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. And the national committee would allocate back to Indiana that proportion of the funds collected in Indiana which had been arranged for?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. And that is all included in this \$1,000,000 which you say goes to the State?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham told me this morning, or last night, that it was his estimate that approximately \$1,000,000 would come into his hands that was not any part of the national committee funds, that was collected by the States for the States. You will have to ask him about it.

Senator REED. Now, in Indiana the understanding would be that there would be no other funds used in Indiana for political purposes except this particular fund that I have been discussing.

Mr. HAYS. No; I repeat, they have county committees and they have bands, etc.

Senator REED. Well, then, the State committee with this million dollars, the State committee of Indiana, with its proportion of this million dollars, does not undertake to take care of all the campaign expenses of Indiana, but it has that much which it receives back from the national committee, and then it goes ahead through its own machinery, through the machinery of the county committee, to collect whatever other moneys it sees fit?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I don't know what arrangements they would make about that. Of course, you can not get into this kind of an organization really the money raised on any given Saturday by any given township for the band for that day, and so on. A lot of the State money, frankly, a great deal of it—Mr. Upham thinks a million dollars—a great part of it would go through his hands by this joint money-raising arrangement.

Senator REED. There would be nothing to hinder the State committee of Indiana, after going through this joint arrangement with you and having raised its quota, to then go on and raise a fund of any size whatsoever that it saw fit to expend in the State of Indiana?

Mr. HAYS. We have no control over it.

Senator REED. You have no control over it. Have you got any arrangement looking to a control over it?

Mr. HAYS. Well, this all points in that direction; if we go out, Senator, with this joint money-raising organization, they are supposed to clean it all up then.

Senator REED. Yes; exactly; but I want to get at it just as it is, Mr. Hays. Suppose that Mr. Upham was to say to the State of Indiana: "You want to raise \$100,000 to conduct the campaign in Indiana, and you will raise that and send it in to me. The national committee will take out of it \$25,000 for its uses and return you \$75,000." Of course, this is a hypothetical case.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, they have raised that \$100,000 in Indiana and sent it in; they have discharged their obligation to the national committee?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, after they have discharged their obligation to the national committee under this arrangement, are they at liberty

This leaves a deficit of \$28,374.69 on August 26, 1920. However, we have on hand uncollected pledge cards amounting to \$291,565.33, all due between now and October 1. The treasurer has these pledge cards. These pledges come from every State and are from 2,304 persons, with an average contribution of \$126.55 per person. Of these 2,304 pledges none are over \$1,000 except 2, which are for \$5,000 each.

The names of all contributors, together with the amounts they have given from June 14 to August 26, 1920, are here for the inspection of the committee.

During this period from June 14, 1920, to August 26, 1920, there were 12,389 men and women contributors to both the national committee and to State committees through the joint collecting organization, an average of \$82.11. Of these none have been——

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me. How many people was that?

Mr. HAYS. This is from June 14, 1920, to August 26, 1920, 12,389 men and women, or an average of \$82.11. Of these none have been over the \$1,000 rule, except eight, which eight have given a total of \$13,500, or an average of \$1,687.50. The highest of these was \$2,500. The period from December 1, 1918, to June 12, 1920, or the conclusion of the 1920 nominating convention, is not properly considered a part of this presidential campaign. However, I desire to cover that period and the committee's activities therein. During that time there were several State elections, notably in Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, and New Jersey, and some special congressional elections and preparation for the 1920 campaign was made in educational, publicity, organization, financial, and other departments in order that all might function immediately after the nominating convention.

After the 1918 election the committee, as shown by the reports on file with the clerk of the House of Representatives, had a deficit of \$6,951.83.

Senator POMERENE. What committee is that?

Mr. HAYS. The Republican national committee. Now, this is going to take and cover from December, 1918, up until the conventions, for the reasons which I want to include here. During the approximately 19 months, between December 1, 1918, and June 12, 1920, the national committee raised \$1,365,897.49. Of this amount the sum of \$1,162,324.39 was spent, including publicity, educational, speaking, and other activities; including as above suggested, that work done in connection with the several State elections held in 1919, including salaries and expenses of speakers, publicity, traveling, and other expenses in connection with meetings, expense of headquarters in Washington, New York, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco; administration, typists, mailing, telephone, telegraph, supplies, paper, postage, envelopes, rent, etc.; general publicity, including news and cartoon service to Republican papers, pamphlets, booklets, shipping expense; also general expense of all bureaus; the committee's part of the expense of the 1920 national convention; and the expenses of the treasurer's offices in New York and Chicago; salaries and traveling expenses in connection with the raising of money.

There were raised by the States——

Senator REED. Wait just a moment. Give us the names of the contributors to that fund.

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. So there is no way, Mr. Hays, to do—now let me have this witness please [addressing Mr. Miller].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Miller says—

Mr. MILLER. Pardon me, I did not mean to interrupt, Senator.

Mr. HAYS. I am very glad to advise that these agreements with the States are binding, and go up to election day, and they shall not raise any money.

Senator REED. That is what Mr. Miller just told you?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. I don't know those details. My object is to raise the money by the small amounts, and that I am insisting upon.

Senator REED. Then you understand that you were mistaken when you said that the county committee—

Mr. HAYS (interrupting). No; not the county committee.

Senator REED (continuing). Would be allowed to raise money for the bands?

Mr. HAYS. No; not the county committee; we do not touch the county committees.

Mr. UPHAM. The State does provide for the county committees in almost all the States.

Mr. HAYS. The State does provide for the county committees in almost all the States, Mr. Upham said.

Senator REED. What I wanted to get at, Mr. Hays, just as clearly as we can, is this, Whether it is true that if we get the total of the fund which you say you are going to raise for the national committee, and add to that the estimated \$1,000,000 that you are going to turn back to the States, that that will constitute approximately the total fund to be used by the Republican Party in the national and in the State elections?

Mr. HAYS. Approximately, yes.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. That seems to be so.

Senator REED. That is just as near as you can get at it at this time?

Mr. HAYS. For obvious reasons, of course.

Senator REED. Now, let me ask you another question. Have you got any arrangement, or have you had any talks, or has any member of your committee, or any of your agents or agencies, had any talk of conferences with men of large means looking toward the underwriting or guaranteeing of sums of money?

Mr. HAYS. No; they were loans; there have been loans which Mr. Upham will tell you about; we have borrowed money, and there will be money advanced by loans.

Senator REED. That is, a straight loan?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. And there is nothing outside of that?

Mr. HAYS. No; and there will not be.

Senator REED. There is no such arrangement? Now, I am not trying to state an exact arrangement; but there is no arrangement, as I understand you, of this general nature, that certain men of substantial means have said orally, in writing, or otherwise, "Go ahead and use moneys," and that if there is a deficit they can be called upon up to certain amounts?

Mr. HAYS. No. Senator Reed, there has been——

Senator REED. No arrangement of that kind?

Mr. HAYS. Absolutely not, by any possible asseveration or inference, directly or indirectly; and I will say to you that there will not be by the Republican Party.

Senator REED. You mean by that answer, Mr. Hays, to exclude all similar devices and schemes?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; I do. This thing either is or it is not.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. We have a thing which we think is a reform, and we have these things that I suppose are possible—I don't know. It defeats the whole purpose if we don't stick to it.

Senator REED. Do you know or have you heard and learned, directly or indirectly, of any scheme or device or plan such as I have just been discussing being put in operation with reference to funds that are to be furnished to State organizations?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Or to individuals in States or to candidates in States, by which they are to finance their campaigns?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Nothing of that kind has ever come to your knowledge?

Mr. HAYS. Absolutely not, Senator. Of course, if it did, I would sit down on it. Those things can not be; that is all.

Senator REED. Do you know of any arrangement or agreement by which contributors to the Republican campaign fund are given to understand that in consideration of their subscription and their aid and help they are to receive any kind of favors after the election, in the event the Republican Party succeeds?

Mr. HAYS. I do not.

Senator REED. Haven't you heard of any such thing as that?

Mr. HAYS. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have been asked what you have heard, so we seem to come into the hearsay proposition.

Mr. HAYS. Well, that is perfectly satisfactory.

Senator REED. I do not mean to; I am asking a negative. If he had said he had ever heard, I would then have asked him who from, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you heard, on the other hand—you have been asked as to the Republican organization—have you heard of any such plan on the part of the Democratic organization? Have you heard of any contributions from international bankers to the Democratic campaign or any agreement on the part of international bankers to underwrite the campaign?

Mr. HAYS. I have heard this talk about the British embassy, that I have read about in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we have the papers here on that.

Mr. HAYS. I have heard and not registered, Senator, a lot of irresponsible talk.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am not going to ask you about that.

Mr. HAYS. And I don't believe in that, as I say. But I am concerned in this liquor dealers' matter—that is, where they receive money to elect Gov. Cox. But these statements by irresponsible in-

dividuals, or even by responsible individuals, I take no stock in. I said in a speech in Maine that I did not think that the Democratic Party would use it dishonestly; if they could, they would not. The day is past for that kind of action, and it ought to be passed for that kind of accusation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we would like to hear your Maine speech, but we really haven't time, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Well, that was just a public declaration of how I felt about the whole proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn now until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Thereupon, at 1.15 o'clock p. m., an adjournment was taken until 2 o'clock p. m. of the same day, Monday, August 30, 1920.)

AFTER RECESS.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILL C. HAYS—Resumed.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hays, you gave us before the recess hour the different items going to make up your budget.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, for instance, the speakers' bureau, \$255,100.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is to cover traveling expenses and everything connected with the speakers' bureau, is it?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You budgeted that before the increased cost of railroad transportation?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, we did; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take that into consideration?

Mr. HAYS. No. And before the suffrage ratification, although we had been expecting that.

The CHAIRMAN. That would make some difference?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you pay any speakers' salaries, or just pay their expenses?

Mr. HAYS. I understand that it has been customary—we haven't got to that yet—in the old days of campaigning to pay, in both parties, certain small salaries to certain speakers, very small salaries. I don't know but that is included in the budget, as I gave, any salaries that we would have to pay speakers.

The CHAIRMAN. But in general you would just pay the expenses, would you?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; that is all. I understand there are very few exceptions to that rule.

The CHAIRMAN. Headquarters, \$750,874.20. How many different headquarters have you?

Mr. HAYS. We have Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any estimate as to how many people you have on the pay roll?

Mr. HAYS. No; I don't know exactly, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is it a large number?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; I suppose in all headquarters there must be 150.

The CHAIRMAN. One hundred and fifty in all headquarters?

Mr. HAYS. I should think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Your headquarters in New York are where?

Mr. HAYS. Fourth floor, 19 West Forty-fourth.

The CHAIRMAN. Entire floor?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; and the third floor.

The CHAIRMAN. And your headquarters at Chicago are where?

Mr. HAYS. In the Auditorium Hotel.

The CHAIRMAN. How much space have you there?

Mr. HAYS. Second floor, and some rooms on the third floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the rents, \$45,000, does that include rents of headquarters?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; that is what that is.

The CHAIRMAN. So the other item is the expense of conducting the headquarters?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; as itemized.

Senator EDGE. Which item?

The CHAIRMAN. \$750,000 is the expense for conducting the headquarters and the rents.

Mr. HAYS. And supplies, postage, etc., and the mailing at all headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. That covers your Washington rents, does it?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, general publicity, \$1,336,000, in a general way what does that cover?

Mr. HAYS. News and cartoon service, to the Republican papers, some six or seven thousand, and the printing of the pamphlets, which are the speeches, the books, etc.

The CHAIRMAN. Lithographs?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; the booklets, the textbooks that you are familiar with, the textbooks for the speakers, the shipping expenses of all these, the lithographs of candidates, and campaign buttons, and the anticipated billboard advertising, and the advertising in magazines, and all publicity matters.

The CHAIRMAN. You take sending out the lithographs, for instance, of a candidate, could you estimate how many of those would be sent out? Take Senator Harding, for instance, his pictures?

Mr. HAYS. Fifteen million.

The CHAIRMAN. Fifteen million?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know how many. The first order was 5,000,000, I know.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the expense of that, do you know?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know. Lithographs necessary in a national campaign, I think, would be \$150,000 or \$200,000. It is very expensive and an item you can not avoid.

The CHAIRMAN. Poster expense?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And newspaper advertisements?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The expense of that is even more now, is it not, than it was at the time of your budget?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the cost of campaigning has gone up with the cost of living?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how much was spent by the Republicans in 1916?

Mr. HAYS. I know what the report shows.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it?

Mr. HAYS. About \$2,500,000; that is, from the convention until the election.

The CHAIRMAN. What did the Democratic report show?

Mr. HAYS. Well, in this alleged statement this morning Mr. Jamieson said \$2,500,000 for Wilson's campaign in 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. How would the expense of carrying on a campaign now compare with carrying it on then—legitimate expense?

Mr. HAYS. Well, very much more. All the labor and all the supplies and the traveling, and all the rents, everything has increased, of course, with that as it has with everything else.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it is a fair statement that the campaign now—the legitimate expenses of the campaign are much heavier than in 1916?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they would be double?

Mr. HAYS. Well, it could very easily be doubled, but by strict economy I don't think they will be doubled. There was a good deal of money spent in other ways by both parties in 1916, such as "Hughes alliance," and things like that, that were reported separately; but one can very well estimate twice as large expense as in 1916, but I don't think it will take twice as much.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of other organizations in the country similar to the Hughes alliance, then?

Mr. HAYS. There are not any similar organizations in the country, to my knowledge, at all.

The CHAIRMAN. There are not any of that kind?

Mr. HAYS. Nothing of that kind in the Republican Party; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, of course, you have been asked about expenses in the party, bands, etc., people getting together and holding a meeting in a township. You have nothing to do with that?

Mr. HAYS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what that expense would be?

Mr. HAYS. No, sir. Of course in previous campaigns nothing of that kind has been reported in the national committee report, of course. When I say \$2,500,000 it would not include that in the joint raising by States, because it was not done that way then.

The CHAIRMAN. That is practically impossible to get at, isn't it?

Mr. HAYS. It is, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this corruption fund that Gov. Cox speaks of, have you an understanding of how the fund was to be used to corrupt the voters?

Mr. HAYS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Were the voters to be bought, or what?

Mr. HAYS. Of course, Senator, that statement is as false in content as it is libelous in purpose. Of course no such thing was contemplated at any time by anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, as a matter of history, the greatest amount of money that has been spent by any political party in any campaign?

Mr. HAYS. No; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. In the old McKinley campaign, do you know how much was spent?

Mr. HAYS. Only what papers have published. The other day I think it was—well, in Gov. Cox's speech I believe he said the McKinley campaign cost \$16,000,000—I believe in the speech at Pittsburgh. I haven't any knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are not accepting everything that he said as true, are you?

Mr. HAYS. No, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You yourself have been rather an advocate of limiting campaign expenses, have you not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you favorable to that?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had the power to limit the amount of money in a presidential campaign, for instance, this year, if you were writing a law, how would you do it?

Mr. HAYS. It is very difficult—with this increased electorate and the uncertainty of the election machinery it is very difficult at this time, but I would limit the campaign expenses, and a plan can be developed, and I hope it is developed with the experience and knowledge that we can all bring to such matters after this campaign, and that maybe, as the result of this committee's activities, you will jointly agree upon some law that will, if possible, prescribe the amount, and certainly prescribe the limitations of activities. It is difficult to——

Senator POMERENE. You are speaking of presidential campaigns?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir; anything that is a matter for Congress to act upon.

Senator POMERENE. Will you pardon me just a minute? I am interested in the proposition you are discussing now very much. You are a lawyer. Will you point out the peg in the Constitution on which a law of that kind can be hung?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I can't, of course, at the moment. I am just hoping that as the result of this activity we may develop some more or better and better regulation of these things.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not ready to concede, are you, that Congress is powerless to do anything?

Mr. HAYS. No; I certainly am not. I would like to see such laws passed as would make all primary elections for all Federal offices to be held on one day in every State in the Union, and I do hope that this committee can recommend the passage of a proper law, if possible, regulating the matter of primary and election expenses in national, congressional, and senatorial elections. That is difficult and will require a lot of consideration.

Senator POMERENE. I do not doubt the power of Congress to do that, so far as it relates to congressional or senatorial elections, but I am very much interested in your views so far as they relate to presidential elections.

Mr. HAYS. Well, Senator Pomerene, I would be very glad when this is over, with the information possibly and the experience gained in this capacity, to go to Washington and as a lawyer help figure out something in that connection.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to ask you about this Official Bulletin that Gov. Cox speaks of in his address at Pittsburgh, which is contained in his speech. The bulletin is marked "Official Bulletin, treasurer's office, Republican national committee. Fred W. Upham, treasurer, 355 Conway Building, Chicago. 19 West Twenty-fourth Street, New York."

Now, as I read the speech the bulletin was directed only to raising of money among business men. As I understand your testimony, you were not present at the time this was discussed?

Mr. HAYS. This alleged quota sheet that he referred to in his speech. No; and I am advised that no such quota sheet was ever adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. Speaking of it, he said: "The quota which Mr. Blair had in mind was very soon thereafter announced. The meeting was held in Chicago; Mr. Hays addressed it and spoke his blessings." Do you remember anything of that kind?

Mr. HAYS. No. I have attended a great many of these meetings, but I have no recollection of one—I know I attended none where that quota was discussed.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you ever know of a bulletin where the quota was placed, as Gov. Cox says in his speech, amounting to some \$8,145,000?

Mr. HAYS. No. No; he doesn't say that is in the bulletin. He says that was in a typewritten sheet, Senator Kenyon, which he held in his hand.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is true. "Typewritten sheets were distributed to those assembled. I produce herewith one of those sheets which carries the quota."

Mr. HAYS. No; if that was done, that was after I was gone, and they all say there was no such thing done.

The CHAIRMAN. The quotas and the different cities as he gives them, do you know whether they are correct?

Mr. HAYS. I do not. My opinion is that it was absolutely incorrect. My opinion is that the quotas were, as I said, all tentative and changing, and were all on States, based as I say, and they themselves worked out the other elements.

The CHAIRMAN. Who got up the quotas and who got up the bulletins?

Mr. HAYS. The quotas, I don't know. There was a general quota, as I understand, and then there were State organizations, altered and changed, etc. And it was all in the treasurer's office, operating—the bulletins were published there and sent out from there. They are a little magazine.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these some of the bulletins you have there?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; a magazine that went to the ways and means workers all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Blair's business?

Mr. HAYS. He was an assistant to Mr. Upham. He had charge of the raising of the money for the War Camp Community Service, and I think one of the Y. M. C. A. drives during the war. This par-

ticular bulletin that I happen to be looking at is dated August 10, 1920, and to which Gov. Cox refers in his speech at Pittsburgh, saying something in connection with the item: "Can do like Kelley did," has this interesting paragraph:

Columbus, Ohio, of course, is the first city to send in its entire quota in actual cash. In fact the amount transmitted by Columbus to the national treasurer would almost double what it has been asked to contribute.

It is interesting at Columbus, Ohio, for obvious reasons.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in this speech at Pittsburgh, referring to this quota, \$8,145,000 from different cities, he says:

I challenge Mr. Hays; I challenge Mr. Upham; I challenge Mr. Blair; I challenge any one of the gentlemen who were present at this meeting in Chicago to deny that that is the official quota.

What do you say about that?

Mr. HAYS. I repeat, Senator, that that quota that he refers to, to my knowledge, was never even considered, and I know was never adopted, nor any activity had thereunder.

The CHAIRMAN. And you deny that it is an official quota?

Mr. HAYS. Absolutely deny that it is an official quota, and Mr. Upham says that he never heard of such quota before. And I don't know, unless somebody gave him a foney sheet. The quota, as I understand it, were by States, and not by cities, and then subdivided. The quota matter I don't know about, except as he refers me to it. That is not true.

The CHAIRMAN. You furnished us some leads this morning of some different things. Have you any more leads you can furnish us?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I do have this much-talked about letter, the original from the secretary of the Iowa Democratic Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the one referred to in the interview of Congressman Good this morning?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. HAYS. This is a letter signed by L. W. Drennen, secretary of the Iowa Democratic Club, addressed to Miss Clara Behle, Norway, Iowa, indicating on the letterhead the names of the officers and directors of the Iowa Democratic Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are they, some of them?

Mr. HAYS. The officers are Emmet Tinley, president; James J. Doty, treasurer; L. W. Drennen, secretary; assistant secretaries, J. A. Golden and S. A. Plum; the board of directors are:

First district, George A. Stivers; second district, James A. White; third district, W. W. Marsh; fourth district, Tim Donovan; fifth district, John M. Redmond; sixth district, John F. Webber; seventh district, E. T. Meredith; eighth district, W. D. Jamieson; ninth district, Sam Brody; tenth district, George H. Steinhilber; eleventh district, William Mulvaney.

The CHAIRMAN. Is this W. W. Marsh the treasurer of the Democratic national committee?

Mr. HAYS. I so understand.

The CHAIRMAN. And E. T. Meredith is the Secretary of Agriculture?

Mr. HAYS. That is my understanding. And W. D. Jamieson, of the eighth district, is the financial treasurer, or otherwise connected with the Democratic national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this letter?

Mr. HAYS. You mean I should read the letter?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. It is addressed to Miss Clara Behle, Norway, Iowa.
(The letter is as follows:)

IOWA DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
Shenandoah, Iowa, August 25, 1917.

MISS CLARA BEHLE,
Norway, Iowa.

DEAR MISS BEHLE: I am writing you this letter for the purpose of raising a little necessary money, and, in order to comply with an old-fashioned law, I am sending it under a special delivery stamp.

These war times are rather hard on us, and we need your absolute cooperation in order to exist. People who owe us excuse the debt by saying that they can't make ends meet on account of the war. They don't get by with this to their grocer, and, inasmuch as the game of politics is one of the largest businesses in the United States, and inasmuch as we are running politics in Iowa on a business basis, they shouldn't try that line of argument on us. But they do, and it keeps us going night and day in order to get the funds to run on.

Besides this, we have a great many other things to look after. We are looking after your interests in Washington. We are gathering information here in our own great State that will be of great value in years to come. Besides this, we are paying the national committee about \$13,000 this year. All of this stuff is making us gray headed.

You owe us \$33 for this year. I am sure you understand this proposition, because our representative, Mr. Plum, explained it to you when he called on you on April 4.

I have not written you sooner in regard to this matter because I wanted to give you all the time possible, and I knew that as soon as we needed the money you would send it in.

I wish you would write to me a little more frequently, so that we can keep a little better acquainted.

With kind regards, and hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,
Sincerely, yours,

L. W. DRENNEN, *Secretary.*

The CHAIRMAN. That is the postmistress?

Mr. HAYS. I am so advised; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not that is the postmistress?

Mr. HAYS. I am so advised by Congressman Good. Attached to this is the letter of September 4, 1917. The other one, which I just read, was August 25, 1917. This second letter, of September 4, 1917, is addressed to the same person, on the same letterhead, signed by the same person, L. W. Drennen, secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Read it.

Mr. HAYS. This is addressed to Miss Clara Behle, Norway, Iowa, also.

IOWA DEMOCRATIC CLUB,
Shenandoah, Iowa, September 4, 1917.

MISS CLARA BEHLE,
Norway, Iowa.

DEAR MISS BEHLE: This is to call your attention again to my letter of August 24, which you have failed to answer in any way.

I wish you would let me hear from you right away, because I make out my yearly report on September 15, and I would like to know your attitude toward this matter before that date. I hope you realize the importance of this. With very kind regards, I remain,

Sincerely, yours,

L. W. DRENNEN, *Secretary.*

Mr. HAYS. To that is attached the certificate of the secretary of state of Iowa, with the seal, etc., and to that is attached the report of the expenses of the campaign of 1918 in Iowa by the Democratic State committee, and the affidavit says that that report does not include the itemized list of the names and the addresses of the Iowa Democratic Club, such list not having been filed and made a matter of record in this office.

The CHAIRMAN. You understand that to be an attempt to secure money from postmasters and postmistresses?

Mr. HAYS. I am so advised; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the same one that Mr. Good refers to in his interview this morning.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose we can get that information from some one else.

Mr. HAYS. Yes; that is what it is, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all I want to ask you, Mr. Hays. Senator Spencer?

Senator SPENCER. I did want to ask him one or two questions. Mr. Hays, your estimate of \$3,079,037.20 for the expenses from June 14 until the end of the campaign, until the election in November, would be, as I gather it, about three-fifths, bearing in mind the different costs of everything, of supplies, and labor, of what the expenses were for the presidential election of 1916? In other words, if the presidential election of 1916 were \$2,500,000, and everything that is needed has practically doubled, as we know it has, it would take \$5,000,000 to-day to buy the same material and get the same service, publicity, advertising, posters, everything, to obtain what was obtained in 1916 for \$2,500,000.

Mr. HAYS. As a matter of general judgment, some such sum as that would be necessary if the same things were done; yes.

Senator SPENCER. Now, when you made your estimate of \$3,000,000 and a little over, did you have in contemplation at all the large number of women voters to whom information must be sent, and among whom publicity must be had, that will vote upon the President, because of the ratification of the nineteenth amendment?

Mr. HAYS. Yes and no; both. We hoped for that increased electorate by reason of the ratification, and rather just estimated as best we could under that probability. But——

Senator SPENCER. So that that was included in this total?

Mr. HAYS. In a general way; yes.

Senator SPENCER. What was the date of that budget?

Mr. HAYS. As soon as possible after the convention. It was as of July 1. And there had been about \$100,000 spent prior to that after the convention, I expect.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hays, you have referred to a bulletin from which you read, at Columbus. What do you call that bulletin?

Mr. HAYS. This is a publication called the Official Bulletin, treasurer's office, national committee.

Senator POMERENE. Under whose auspices is it issued?

Mr. HAYS. Treasurer's office.

Senator POMERENE. How often is it issued?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Don't you know?

Mr. HAYS. You can ask Mr. Upham about that. I really don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Well, later on he may be able to tell.

Mr. HAYS. I don't know, Senator. A great many of them have been issued, and we have sent out a great many; but I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Is it issued every week?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Can you produce a complete file of these official bulletins?

Mr. HAYS. I presume so. There are undoubtedly duplicates of all of them in the treasurer's office.

Senator POMERENE. Will you produce them?

Mr. HAYS. I will. Mr. Upham may have them here.

Senator POMERENE. When did they begin to issue that bulletin?

Mr. HAYS. Well, sir, I don't know, Senator. I am not familiar with the details of that, as relates to the bulletins and those finer activities of the treasurer's office. You will have to ask him.

Senator POMERENE. I take it from the very meager information I have on this subject that it relates to the financial side of the campaign rather than to any other one feature?

Mr. HAYS. Entirely that; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I have before me a copy of the speech that Gov. Cox made at Pittsburgh, as it appears in the Pittsburgh Post, and I want to call your attention to several matters here. This states:

We come for proof to the Official Bulletin which under date of August 10, says: "Boston, Mass., had a 99 per cent attendance at an organization meeting on August 4. This is an excellent record for a hot day. Real interest was aroused. Senator Weeks inspired those present with an understanding of the situation, and they agreed to produce.

That is the end of the quotation. That they did produce is proven by the bulletin of August 10, 1920, when telegrams received that day were published. Among others received was the following:

Metropolitan Boston wills to contribute more than 250 per cent of its original quota.

Have you that bulletin before you?

Mr. HAYS. I have August 10; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Is this correctly quoted?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. There is a telegram there.

Senator POMERENE. Read it as it appears in your bulletin.

Mr. HAYS (reading):

Saturday telegrams. Massachusetts. Metropolitan Boston wills to contribute more than 250 per cent of its original quota. One district in Massachusetts has set its mark at financing the Republican National Committee for one day, which more than doubles its original intention. (Signed) H. C. Whitehill, Boston, August 7.

And then follows Florida, Arizona, etc.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; we will come to that after a little. It speaks there of the quota. To what does that refer?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know. It is probably the quota fixed by the State folks there, or the city folks, etc.

Senator POMERENE. Well, the list which Gov. Cox furnishes, and which purports to be official——

Mr. HAYS (interrupting). And it is not.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). I say, "purports to be."

Mr. HAYS. Yes; and it is not. I can not answer you unless you recognize that it is not.

Senator POMERENE. I understand; that is not in issue here, and I am not quarreling about that.

Mr. HAYS. I can not answer intelligently.

Senator POMERENE. I am not caring to have you commit yourself as to that feature, we all understand that. But that gives the Boston quota as \$300,000. You say there was no such quota as that. Can you explain to what that telegram refers when it speaks of Boston's quota, and it is published in the bulletin, the official bulletin of the treasury department of your national committee?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; it refers to the quota of Boston.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Fixed by somebody.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Some place.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. That they have evidently succeeded in raising. Now, it is not that quota.

Senator POMERENE. Well, what quota is it?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know.

Senator POMERENE. Now, then, you referred to another telegram which is printed there right below the Boston telegram. Will you read that please?

Mr. HAYS (reading):

Florida. Many counties of Florida are organized. Dade and Palm Beach counties very strongly lined up. Key West shows much interest; also Fort Pierce and Jacksonville. Eastern coast strong. Intensive organization of whole State planned. (Signed) C. L. Bluhm, Eau Gallie, August 7.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that indicates that there was a pretty general campaign for funds in Florida?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; just as general as we could interest the folks to make it.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. Now, was there any particular quota provided for Florida?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Again I read from Gov. Cox's speech—

The bulletin of August 16 announces this: "Chattanooga oversubscribed its quota this week."

Have you got that bulletin there?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Let us see whether that quotation is accurate. Will you read it just as it is, or I will read it here and you compare it, and if it is misquoted, why, you can let us know.

Chattanooga oversubscribed its quota this week. The balance of the Tennessee cities are being carefully canvassed.

Now, again it refers to a quota. Do you know to what figure that refers?

Mr. HAYS. No; that refers to whatever quota the State chairman of the ways and means, or some official, fixed as the quota of that city.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who is responsible for the fixing of that quota?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Who would likely be able to tell us about that?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham, Mr. Blair, or the State folks. It is subdivided and resubdivided, etc.

Senator POMERENE. The speaker goes on to say:

Not a city in Arkansas is listed in the eight-million-dollar class. Only one city in Louisiana, New Orleans; only one city in Georgia, Atlanta; not a single city in North Carolina. And yet David H. Blair wired the Bulletin as follows: "Why not urge the rest of the United States to emulate the example of Arkansas, Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina, which are all over the top."

Now, that language would indicate that there was some figure fixed for these respective States here, and he speaks of those as going over the top.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, what was top mark there; do you know?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know. I have repeatedly suggested what the general plan was.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. I understand there were tentative quotas for States.

Senator POMERENE. Yes; I realize.

Mr. HAYS. And then the subdivisions, such as States, counties, etc., worked it all out themselves. But the fact remains that there was so much raised, as the treasurer can indicate.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know——

Mr. HAYS (interrupting). I suggest—pardon me, Senator—that you put these bulletins in the record.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, I expect to do that after I finish my examination. That is why I have asked to have a complete list of these bulletins, so as to have an opportunity to investigate them a little bit.

Mr. HAYS. There are some very interesting things that I would like to read, if you are not going to put them in the record.

Senator POMERENE. Oh, I expect to ask to put them all in the record, but I want to ask for an opportunity to examine them. I have not seen them.

Mr. HAYS. The information in connection with the subject matter covered in the bulletins should be asked of Mr. Upham and the treasurer's office.

Senator POMERENE. Now, we will inquire of him. But I want to find out more specifically what you know about the particular facts. Now, with regard to the city of Detroit, I will read that.

In the State of Michigan only one city, Detroit, is in the eight-million-dollar class, and yet the bulletin, under date of August 10, says: "Flint (Mich.) business men decided to make their campaign short and snappy and to finish by August 15."

To make their campaign short and snappy and to finish by August 15.

Grand Rapids (Mich.) committee of large business men working enthusiastically to bring the campaign to a speedy conclusion.

The bulletin of August 16 says: "Campaign in Pontiac, Saginaw, Alma, Bay City, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, Grand Rapids, and Grand Haven started during past week. Forty counties in Michigan now campaigning."

Now, have you any knowledge as to the amount that they were to raise?

Mr. HAYS. No. And that proves conclusively that it was not done on the basis of the city quotas which he mentioned, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. His explanation is that this was the quota for fifty-odd cities, and his contention apparently is, as I read this, that there was a quota arranged for the rural districts, or the municipalities of lesser population.

Mr. HAYS. It is easy to find out—Senator, pardon me—just what those quotas were in a general way and what the whole plan is, and what has been raised and what is needed, and what will be raised.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. And the statements of the governor in connection with the whole quota matter are false.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I know, but I want to know to what degree they are false.

Mr. HAYS. You can find out, because the facts are all here in the treasurer's office.

Senator POMERENE. We will try to find them out in a proper way and in our own way, if we can. Now, in all of these telegrams—or not all of them, but in some of these telegrams, which are printed in the official bulletin, and which relate to the raising of funds, the sender of the message seems to refer to a quota as if some specific amount was required of his particular community.

So that seems to be an established fact.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. But you are not able to say as a matter of fact whether they kept within that quota or not?

Mr. HAYS. No; or if they followed it at all. You understand, Senator—has it been brought to your attention the purpose of issuing the bulletin and to whom it was sent? That bulletin was issued to stimulate and encourage the collectors, to strive with each other to put this plan in operation.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). And make it a success.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. And they were sent broadcast, not only with no idea of having secrecy, but published and sent broadcast, those bulletins were.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, let us see about that. Again I quote from Gov. Cox's speech:

The bulletin of August 5 says, "Our readers are requested not to make this publication public."

What is the reason for that request?

Mr. HAYS. That is an alleged quotation from the August 6, 1920, bulletin.

Senator POMERENE. August 5; is it not?

Mr. HAYS. Or August 16, 1920, which says,

Now, however—

This is underscored—

the more local publicity that every field man can secure for the campaign, the better, with one exception, that the names and amounts subscribed by donors should not be made public locally.

Senator POMERENE. That part is given here as of the 16th?

Mr. HAYS. He gives that last, with one exception. As the treasurer's office puts it, the idea is that many of the men contributing locally do not want it advertised locally, but they asked that all publicity be given to the matter possible.

Senator POMERENE. The official quota for these different cities reads as follows:

New York, \$2,000,000. Have you any information about the amount of money that was to be raised in New York City?

Mr. HAYS. I know that was never thought of, \$2,000,000 for New York City.

Senator POMERENE. Chicago, \$750,000.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know about Chicago.

Senator POMERENE. Philadelphia, \$500,000.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know a thing about these quotas, neither the actual nor the quotas in that statement of Gov. Cox.

Senator POMERENE. Detroit, \$450,000.

Mr. HAYS. I repeat, I know nothing about it.

Senator POMERENE. Well, let me go to the Ohio cities. In Cincinnati the quota is given as \$260,000. What do you know about that?

Mr. HAYS. Just as I have said some half a dozen times, I do not know. I know that that list, if you are reading Gov. Cox's alleged quota list, is not true.

Senator POMERENE. I am; I am.

Mr. HAYS. I know nothing about it, and that applies to all the cities, if you read them all.

Senator POMERENE. Cleveland is given as \$400,000. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. HAYS. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Who has charge of raising funds in Cleveland?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Would you know his name if you heard it?

Mr. HAYS. I would not, because there has been a very great deal of money, they tell me, raised in Ohio. They have been particularly active in Ohio, the ways and means people have.

Senator POMERENE. Yes?

Mr. HAYS. And they say that Ohio is responding more than any other State, both before—well, more than any other State. That is the general talk.

Senator POMERENE. How much is it reported to have raised?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know, except this talk about the treasurer's office, and Mr. Upham says there has been more activity about these Ohio cities than any place else in the country. We do not understand why that is so.

Senator POMERENE. Is W. S. Blossom, of Cleveland, the agent to raise this money in Cleveland?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Do you know who the representative is in Cincinnati?

Mr. HAYS. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. Well, who would know that?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham, I suppose.

Senator POMERENE. In Toledo the quota is given by Gov. Cox as \$100,000. Do you know who is raising that?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. In Akron, \$80,000. Do you know who is raising that?

Mr. HAYS. There is nobody raising that, because again I say there is no such quota. I do not know who is raising money in Toledo.

Senator POMERENE. Well, assume for the sake of the argument it is less than that. Who is doing it?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know who is raising it.

Senator POMERENE. Who is raising the money in Akron?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. And Columbus?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. And the Columbus quota is given here as \$100,000.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know about that.

Senator POMERENE. You have read the telegram from Columbus in the bulletin?

Mr. HAYS. Not a telegram; an observation.

Senator POMERENE. An observation?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Well, made by somebody who had knowledge of the facts, of course.

Mr. HAYS. Which says that—referring to some quota—not that quota, but some quota in Columbus, and it says:

Columbus is the first city to send its entire quota. In fact, the amount transmitted by Columbus to the national committee is almost double what it was asked to contribute.

Senator POMERENE. And the quota for my home city, Canton, is given as \$40,000. Can you tell me anything about that?

Mr. HAYS. No; except that that is not the quota, and that is not true.

Senator POMERENE. Well, what part of it is true?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Now, when did you begin to visit these different States throughout the United States in the interest of the campaign?

Mr. HAYS. In 1918; early in 1918.

Senator POMERENE. Early in 1918?

Mr. HAYS. 1918; yes, in connection with the 1918 congressional campaign.

Senator POMERENE. And you visited Cincinnati?

Mr. HAYS. I have been, of course, in Cincinnati; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And in the interest of the campaign?

Mr. HAYS. I was in Cincinnati—well, I do not know whether it was before the 1918 election or after. I think it was in 1919, this meeting in Cincinnati, that I attended.

Senator POMERENE. And you met there a number of their financial men?

Mr. HAYS. I did not know them as financial men. I attended a meeting, or I attended a dinner in Cincinnati—well, in Cincinnati in 1918 I attended a lunch of two or three hundred. It was in no sense

financial. It was in connection with the 1918 campaign. I attended a meeting in Cincinnati—a dinner in Cincinnati at the Commercial Club, I think it was, a nonpartisan dinner. I guess that is a nonpartisan organization there, is it not, Senator? Do you know?

Senator POMERENE. The Commercial Club?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. I can not answer. I assume it is, though.

Mr. HAYS. In 1919, when I talked the need of political interest, I always thought that that company was made up of a great many Republicans, but my understanding was that it was a nonpolitical organization and meeting. Now, I do not remember of any other visit to Cincinnati since I have been interested in this matter.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you at Cincinnati lay out any plan for the raising of these funds?

Mr. HAYS. At that dinner at the Commercial Club I may have. That speech was published in full. I may have told that company of our effort to decentralize the giving. If so, it was in the most general way.

Senator POMERENE. What plan did you suggest to them at that time?

Mr. HAYS. This general plan of getting men and women in every part of the country to give small amounts.

Senator POMERENE. Did you place any limit upon the amount?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no; no—you mean the thousand dollars?

Senator POMERENE. In Cincinnati.

Mr. HAYS. Well, if it was after our effort to try to limit it to a thousand dollars, I must have said we were going to try to keep them down to \$1,000 of contribution.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you: Did you not at that meeting, or at some other meeting there, suggest that if any one man wanted to give a larger sum, he should subscribe both in the names of members of his family or other people?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. Nothing of that kind?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no, no. The names of his family?

Senator POMERENE. The members of his family.

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. Or his clerks or employees.

Mr. HAYS. No; absolutely no. Clerks and employees—no. There are contributions from men and their wives; there are, I think, many contributions from Mr. So and So, \$500, and Mrs. So and So, \$500.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hays, that is not an answer to my question.

Mr. HAYS. No; I made no suggestion as you indicate. Of course not.

Senator POMERENE. Very well. Very well. That answers the question.

Mr. HAYS. We were out to detect and avoid that very thing.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever do that in any of these commercial centers?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no.

Senator POMERENE. Or elsewhere?

Mr. HAYS. No, no; absolutely not.

Senator POMERENE. Was that ever discussed?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. In your conferences?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE (continuing). With your party associates?

Mr. HAYS. No; never.

Senator POMERENE. On the committee?

Mr. HAYS. Never. This matter of a man and his wife and family possibly may have, but this matter of clerks and employees—no, no; absolutely not. It has been my idea to watch and try to avoid that very thing, and I think we have. We are on the lookout for that kind of business.

Senator POMERENE. Yes?

Mr. HAYS. That is subterfuge and is to be avoided.

Senator POMERENE. Did you visit Indiana for the purpose of raising funds, and at some meeting there, in substance, say to them that if they would raise a given amount of money the national committee would duplicate it?

Mr. HAYS. No. I have attended no financial meetings in Indiana.

Senator POMERENE. Well, any other kind of meetings.

Mr. HAYS. No, no; I never made any such——

Senator POMERENE. Did you make any such statement of that kind in Ohio?

Mr. HAYS. No; I never made such a statement as that nor had any such idea as that.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever make that statement, in substance?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. Had you not at one time arranged for a given amount to be raised in Ohio, shortly after you had taken charge of the activities of the national campaign?

Mr. HAYS. No; I arranged for no amount for any States, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. You know, do you not, that the report was generally circulated in Ohio that the amount that they were to raise in that State was \$600,000?

Mr. HAYS. I do not.

Senator POMERENE. You never heard of it?

Mr. HAYS. I never heard of it.

Senator POMERENE. Do you not know that that report was referred to in the newspapers of the State?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not. I never saw it and never heard of it. You understand this is all treasurer's office matter.

Senator POMERENE. Well, assuming that a report of that kind was current, what foundation of fact was there for it?

Mr. HAYS. Well, there was no foundation. You create a hypothesis it is impossible to draw conclusions from. There was an amount fixed, I presume, for Ohio. Certainly Ohio owed the situation something.

Senator POMERENE. Certainly.

Mr. HAYS. In interest and contributions.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Now, some discussion must have been had by somebody as to that raising of their part, in a general way, of the necessary money.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Hays——

Mr. HAYS (continuing). But that is all I know about it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, Mr. Hays, that is what every one of us would ordinarily suppose.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. That there was some talk of that kind. And we come to you as the head of the committee to tell us what that talk was, and what the amount was that you thought ought to be raised in the State of Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I have no knowledge or information in that connection at all. I discussed it with nobody within or without the committee, either in the organization or without, as to what Ohio ought to do or in that matter. I had nothing to do with that phase of our activities.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you not prior to the adoption of your budget; which you say was for slightly in excess of \$3,000,000—did you not at different times have conferences with the members of your committees as to the amount of money that was to be raised?

Mr. HAYS. No, no; those were as to how little we could get along with. Those were the conferences I participated in.

Senator POMERENE. Now, you have stated in your directed examination that you think this quota or the budget would have to be added to, in substance.

Mr. HAYS. I did not say I thought. I said we can not tell exactly. It may. They may have to be. There may be items that were overlooked.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. But that is our best judgment.

Senator POMERENE. Now, to what extent must that be added to?

Mr. HAYS. Well, my own idea is not 1 cent; but it is impossible, of course, to tell what may arise, just as we think we have got everything in, so I can not indicate what might arise. But here is this very matter here, necessitating some trifling expense; but, of course, there may not be but very little, if any, increase from that. That ought to be about it, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Now, before this budget——

Mr. HAYS (continuing). I would not want to admit that there would be any increase allowed, however.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. HAYS. I would not want to admit to any of the departments that there would be any increase allowed, because we have to make a definite allowance on the maximum amount that can be expended.

Senator POMERENE. Let us understand one another when you speak in that way, Mr. Hays. Is it your understanding that you have absolute control of that?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. Who has?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, we have an organization, and we are trying to keep expenses down. We say to the publicity department, "Now, you can only spend so much for this or that thing," etc., and I think we can keep it within this budget. That is the real purpose.

Senator POMERENE. Of course, your ideas could be overridden by the other members of the committee?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. When you do not know just how much you can or will receive, you fix your minimum amount, and it is, of course,

very pertinent to keep it down when the money is not raised to pay it.

Senator POMERENE. Certainly. Has any other fund been raised outside of the national committee and the State committees of which you have any knowledge?

Mr. HAYS. No; except the congressional-senatorial, may be.

Senator POMERENE. Yes?

Mr. HAYS. Otherwise not a thing.

Senator POMERENE. And outside of those, is any arrangement in contemplation whereby other funds will be raised?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. And you have no way of placing a limitation upon the State organizations?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. In the raising of funds?

Mr. HAYS. No; except that they have agreed to not raise in those States that have gone in with us——

Senator POMERENE. You say they have agreed. How; orally or in writing?

Mr. HAYS. I understand——Mr. Upham will tell you the arrangement with the States, but I understand that they do not raise any more, where there is a joint money raising arrangement; that they quit that way. But you are right, of course, in that we do not control these minor lesser communities, or units of territory; obviously not.

Senator POMERENE. Well, this agreement, as I understand you, relates to the fund which is to be raised jointly by the State and Federal organizations for the joint use of the two committees.

Mr. HAYS. No; not for the joint use. Raised by the two, but a certain per cent goes to the States for their expenses.

Senator POMERENE. Yes?

Mr. HAYS. And a certain amount to the national committee for national committee expenses.

Senator POMERENE. But any other fund that may be raised in each of the States by the State organizations, outside of this particular fund, the national committee will not participate in.

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator POMERENE. Unless there is some future arrangement made upon that subject.

Mr. HAYS. That is correct.

Senator POMERENE. And, of course, that could be made at any time that your political committee saw fit to make it.

Mr. HAYS. It could.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. But it will not——

Senator POMERENE (interrupting). Well, now, what arrangement has been made as between the State committees and the county committees or municipal committees?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You have no knowledge on that subject at all?

Mr. HAYS. None at all; no, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Very well. Now, you say that those bulletins will be furnished. You will see that they are furnished?

Mr. HAYS. I will ask the treasurer's office to bring over a set; yes.

Senator POMERENE. And you have already, I believe, agreed to furnish a list of your contributors.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham has that here, the 18,000 before the convention, and the twelve or thirteen thousand since; yes.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Senator REED. You stated before adjournment—and by the way, gentlemen, if I repeat anything or cover ground that is already covered, I wish you would please inform me of the fact—you stated before adjournment that you knew of no other committees or organizations engaged in raising funds for the campaign except the national committee and the State committees and the county committees?

Mr. HAYS. Yes—well, now—yes; that is correct. I think the Republican clubs, however, are engaged in raising money among their memberships to go to this fund, though.

Senator REED. Republican clubs?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. All to come to this fund; all these funds——

Mr. HAYS. To come into this.

Senator REED (continuing). That are collected from all sources, are going through the national committee?

Mr. HAYS. Well, all we know anything about. Take the Republican clubs in any city, and they may be canvassing their members to send money to the ways and means organization. They may be going through the membership of many institutions of that kind—clubs, Republican clubs, etc.; but it is all a part of this organization.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). To go into this fund.

Senator REED. The point is that the funds, wherever collected and however collected and by whomsoever collected, are to come through the national committee.

Mr. HAYS. No; that is not true.

Senator REED. And the national committee will allocate the money out?

Mr. HAYS. No; that is not true.

Senator REED. Well, then, let us know what the truth is.

Mr. HAYS. You ask if there is any committee collecting money besides those named. I say, no, there are none that I know of at all—any collateral outside agency. But I assume, although I know of no instance, unless it is possibly the Union League, in New York, or the New York Republican Club—where a member of some local ways and means committee there will undertake to give the membership of that club an opportunity to send their contribution to the ways and means——

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). All within the limitation. But that is all a part of this organization to raise money for the national committee.

Senator REED. Well, either I do not understand you or you have made the statement both ways—and I am not criticizing you at all for I may have misunderstood you. Whatever the organization, association, or individual that may be engaged in raising funds, it is all under the arrangement to pass through the hands of the national committee.

Mr. HAYS. If it is related to the national committee as a part of our organization.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. But there may be organizations now outside of yours, not related to you, that are raising sums of money and using those moneys in the campaign?

Mr. HAYS. If so, I have no knowledge, and the national committee has no knowledge, of them.

Senator REED. Yes; very well; but they might exist.

Mr. HAYS. Of course. I suppose they might.

Senator REED. You also made the statement this morning——

Mr. HAYS. I think we might run into them; that our organization to collect money would run into them, where a man would say, "I am giving here or there, and I do not want to give here." But we have no knowledge of any such thing, of course.

Senator REED. You also stated this morning that you knew of no underwritings, guaranties, or agreements of any kind that had been made.

Mr. HAYS. Except certain loans.

Senator REED. Excepting straight subscriptions.

Mr. HAYS. Yes. I do not know of any guaranties, Senator.

Senator REED. There is an organization, is there not, headed by former Senator Jonathan Bourne?

Mr. HAYS. There is an organization known as the Republican Publicity Association.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. Headed by Jonathan Bourne.

Senator REED. Where is that located?

Mr. HAYS. At Washington.

Senator REED. It is located in Washington?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Do you know anything generally about that organization?

Mr. HAYS. In a general way I do.

Senator REED. How is that?

Mr. HAYS. In a general way I do.

Senator REED. Tell us about it.

Mr. HAYS. Well, it is an organization which for several years has been conducting a publicity movement in Washington, serving certain papers—I do not know how many—not connected directly or indirectly with the Republican national committee.

Senator REED. Exactly, but it is connected very directly with the Republican propaganda carried on throughout the year, is it not?

Mr. HAYS. It is.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Now, I would change that, Senator——

Senator REED (interrupting). And whatever is done in that way, of course, inures to the general common benefit of the Republican campaign?

Mr. HAYS. It does.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. But I would like to ask, Senator——

Senator REED (interrupting). Just a moment.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. This is an organization, you say, that is entirely separate from the national committee?

Mr. HAYS. I say so, Senator.

Senator REED. They are?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. Now, during the period of 1918-19 we had no connection with them directly or indirectly. It prepared its publicity matter, it sent it out, and we had no contact, control, interest, or concern whatever with it. It, however, served certain Republican papers, and to that extent it was good. Having no control over what it sent out, we, of course, were a little concerned about it. Now, the fact is in the last few months it has had no money at all to get out that publicity matter, and for some three or four months we have been sending it enough money from the treasurer's office to keep it going, and our reports will show vouchers to this publicity association within the last two or three months in order that they might continue, because not only do they not raise money to be used by Republicans but they could not maintain themselves.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. And we sent them money because we wanted them during the campaign to continue to go out.

Senator REED. You say not only could they not raise money to be used for Republicans but they could not maintain themselves?

Mr. HAYS. They were not; no.

Senator REED. But as long as they did maintain themselves they were working for the Republican Party?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; with publicity matter, like a Republican syndicate or a syndicate of newspapers using Republican propaganda. We want all of that possible, but it is not ours.

Senator REED. And you regarded that as so useful a thing that you have been sustaining that organization with money from the treasury of the Republican national committee during the last three or four months?

Mr. HAYS. Yes and no, both. It was in order that through this campaign it might continue and do us good, and by certain supervision of the subject matter might not do harm.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. And so we thought we could have by doing that some—not censorship, but contact with what was to go out.

Senator REED. Very well. If you had not sustained it, you would be rid of it now; it was going to die from want of money.

Mr. HAYS. I would not say that at all.

Senator REED. And so you would have been entirely rid of it if you had not sustained it.

Mr. HAYS. I would not say so.

Senator REED. But you thought it was valuable enough to put up the money to keep it alive, did you not?

Mr. HAYS. I did not say it was going to die. I do not think it would have.

Senator REED. You said it was out of money and could not continue.

Mr. HAYS. No; I did not say that.

Senator REED. You did say that, did you not?

Mr. HAYS. No; not out of money and could not run; but that it needed money to maintain its publicity. I did not say it was out of money.

Senator REED. I do not want to spend half an hour splitting hairs. Mr. Hays, as a matter of fact, you regarded this as a useful adjunct in your campaign and you have been putting up the money to keep it alive for the last three or four months. That is the truth of it, is it not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes and no, both. Now, you must get the distinction. In addition to the——

Senator REED (interrupting). There are too many fine distinctions to suit me already.

Mr. HAYS. No. In addition, Senator, to helping it financially, in order that it might proceed, we have a certain contact with the matter that they send out.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. To keep it in line with the general movement.

Senator REED. Exactly. So that you could make it more useful than it otherwise might be.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Yes; all right.

The CHAIRMAN. It has not been in complete harmony with the Republican committee, has it?

Mr. HAYS. No; and that is exactly what brought this about.

Senator POMERENE. Is that the reason you are contributing to it?

Mr. HAYS. In order to keep it in harmony with the regular program.

Senator REED. Is Senator Harding an officer or director of that organization?

Mr. HAYS. He is not.

Senator REED. Was he?

Mr. HAYS. He was.

Senator REED. When did he sever his connection with it?

Mr. HAYS. I think about the time of his nomination.

Senator REED. But prior to that time you had been feeding it with money to keep it alive?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know when we started. We have been helping them, as our reports will show, for a few months. Now, I do not know just when we started.

Senator REED. Do you know how much money they have expended in the last year?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know who the treasurer is?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know. It is a very small proposition.

Senator REED. Do you know what they are paid for their service?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Did it not publish a newspaper at one time?

Mr. HAYS. Not to my knowledge.

Senator REED. Who is it publishes this newspaper that is sent out as an official newspaper for the party?

Mr. HAYS. You may refer, possibly, to the National Republican.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. That is a newspaper published at Washington. It is a private enterprise with which we have no relation whatever.

Senator REED. You do not even contribute to it?

Mr. HAYS. No, no. We buy their papers sometimes, to circularize with.

Senator REED. Your organization does not contribute to it?

Mr. HAYS. Not a cent.

Senator REED. That is, the national committee does not contribute to it?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. They do not contribute articles or money, either one?

Mr. HAYS. Why, articles; yes. Not as committee articles though.

Senator REED. No.

Mr. HAYS. But members of the committee, and candidates, etc., furnish copy to them, as to all Republican papers, or many Republican papers.

Senator REED. But is it not sort of an official document and is it not sent out now to advise the workers of the party all over the country, and advise newspapers with reference to certain things that are transpiring, that are deemed of interest in carrying on Republican propaganda?

Mr. HAYS. That is a very much repeated question. It is published down at Washington, and we buy, as our reports show, copies of it.

Senator REED. How many?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. One or two, or a larger number?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, a large number. We encourage——

Senator REED. When you subscribe to it, how many copies do you subscribe for?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know, Senator.

Senator REED. Well, a great number, is it not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. We encourage it.

Senator REED. Do you not practically sustain it?

Mr. HAYS. No, no.

Senator REED. How much money have you paid to it, or for its product?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know, but anything we pay for subscriptions to that is a part of our budget. That is a part of the publicity.

Senator REED. Oh, yes; but is it specified in the budget how much you pay to it?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. That is what I wanted to find out. Now, I am trying to ascertain how much goes to this particular publication out of the budget.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Or out of any other place that it may come from.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. You do not know that?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Could you approximate it?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Could you come within \$10,000 of it?

Mr. HAYS. No. Mr. Upham can tell you.

Senator REED. Mr. Upham can tell us that?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Very well.

Mr. HAYS. We encourage the circulation of that, of course, as we do all Republican papers.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, it is largely supported and kept alive out of the funds of your committee, is it not?

Mr. HAYS. It is not. It was going before we subscribed to any issues of it.

Senator REED. I understand. Who runs it?

Mr. HAYS. George B. Lockwood.

Senator REED. Has he been connected with the national committee in any way?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Never?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. You say that the national committee or members of it had nothing to do with encouraging the organization of that newspaper enterprise?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I do not know. That has been an institution for many years. It was moved to Washington before I became chairman of the national committee.

Senator REED. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has it been published?

Mr. HAYS. As the National Republican for four or five—three or four or four or five years.

The CHAIRMAN. It was published in Indiana first, was it not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; as the Hoosier Republican; and then they moved it to Washington before I became chairman, and then it became—I know this: I know it was published and called the National Republican then; yes.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the American Defense Society?

Mr. HAYS. I do not.

Senator REED. Did you ever hear of it?

Mr. HAYS. I have.

Senator REED. Did you ever see any of its literature?

Mr. HAYS. Not since the war.

Senator REED. Has your committee had any connection with it?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. And no communication with it?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. When I say "your committee," of course I do not mean the whole committee.

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. I mean the members of the committee.

Mr. HAYS. No, no. We have no contact with it.

Senator REED. No contact with it?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Not at all?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Very well. Now, what do you know about the Inter-Racial Council?

Mr. HAYS. I know nothing.

Senator REED. Nothing at all?

Mr. HAYS. Know that there is such an institution, but I know nothing about it.

Senator REED. You know that that is an institution that deals with the foreign-language newspapers, do you not?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator REED. Have you not as chairman of this committee been in any way concerned with the question of dealing with the foreign-speaking people of the United States?

Mr. HAYS. I am interested in that, of course.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. Certainly.

Senator REED. Have you not noticed anything at all about a movement that has been going on to control or influence the papers published in foreign tongues?

Mr. HAYS. Well, no.

Senator REED. What?

Mr. HAYS. The Inter-Racial Council? You may be driving at an advertising agency——

Senator REED. Exactly. I am coming to that.

Mr. HAYS. But the Inter-Racial Council I do not know anything about.

Senator REED. Tell us about the advertising agency.

Mr. HAYS. I just know that there is an institution—and I do not know the name of it.

Senator REED. Where is it?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know that it is an outgrowth of the Inter-Racial Council, but I presume that is what you mean, because there have been published reports——

Senator REED (interrupting). It is an advertising agency?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. And what is the connection of the advertising agency with the foreign-speaking population?

Mr. HAYS. That I do not know, except that I understand they furnish advertisements for foreign-language papers if they want to buy them from them.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. And take them.

Senator REED. Exactly. Now, do you know who has gotten in touch with this advertising agency recently?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator REED. Did you ever hear of Coleman du Pont?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Did you ever hear of Mr. Francis Keller?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Are they the gentlemen who have acquired the control of the foreign-language newspaper advertising bureau, by whatsoever name it is known?

Mr. HAYS. Frances Keller is a woman.

Senator REED. Well, gentleman or lady, either one. We are getting so we can not distinguish the sexes any more.

Mr. HAYS. I do not know about that at all.

Senator REED. Do you not know——

Mr. HAYS. No; no.

Senator REED (continuing): Have you not understood, Mr. Hays, that these gentlemen have an organization to control the advertising that goes into the foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Have you not understood that?

Mr. HAYS. No; no; and they could not do that, of course. That is absolutely impossible.

Senator REED. And have you not understood that they have been placing advertisements with certain foreign newspapers?

Mr. HAYS. I am not familiar with that at all.

Senator REED. You never heard of that, did you?

Mr. HAYS. No. I have heard of the advertising agency, and that is all.

Senator REED. How did you come to hear of it?

Mr. HAYS. It used to be owned by a man named Hammerling, and that is general information. It is published in that same article of the World, I think, of this morning, of how that was claimed to be in Republican hands, but the details of that——

Senator REED. Did you only hear of it through the World article?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no.

Senator REED. You had heard of it before?

Mr. HAYS. It was public property.

Senator REED. How did you come to hear of it before, if it did not have anything to do with the political situation?

Mr. HAYS. It has no contact, directly or indirectly, I might say, as a matter of general information and political information, both.

Senator REED. How did it become to be political information if it had no contact directly or indirectly?

Mr. HAYS. I got it in connection—I presume it was political information, in that I got it while in this capacity.

Senator REED. How did you come to get it in your capacity as chairman of the committee if it did not have anything to do with politics?

Mr. HAYS. It is a matter of general information, Senator. I do not know what the thing was called——

Senator REED (interrupting). What is the general information?

Mr. HAYS (continuing). But there is an agency that furnishes advertising to foreign language newspapers and agencies that furnish advertising to other newspapers, and it came to me particularly through the different agencies furnishing advertisements to different newspapers insisting on having the right to place Republican advertisements, and that is one of the institutions that has been insisting on placing Republican advertisements.

Senator REED. That is, putting Republican advertisements in foreign-language newspapers.

Mr. HAYS. Putting Republican advertising in foreign-language newspapers.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. I do not think they have been employed to do anything of the kind, though. They wanted to do it, but I do not think they have been employed to do it.

Senator REED. And by placing them liberally—they gave you to understand, did you not, that by placing a liberal amount of Republican advertising in these foreign-language newspapers they could exercise a gentle influence upon the editorial columns?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. How is that?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Was that not talked over?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. How?

Mr. HAYS. No, no.

Senator REED. Not by anybody?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I can not say that. Not by me.

Senator REED. Well, in your presence.

Mr. HAYS. No, sir.

Senator REED. Nor to your knowledge.

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Have you not got as much knowledge of that as you have of some of these newspaper articles you read here this morning?

Mr. HAYS. No, no. Frankly, I know there is such an institution, and I know they want to place Republican advertising in foreign-language newspapers. There has been talk about what agency would place the advertisements of the Republican Party in the foreign newspapers, including the foreign-language papers.

Senator REED. How much has been placed?

Mr. HAYS. I think the exact—well, now, if you want to go into where we are placing our advertising—I know of none.

Senator REED. In foreign-language newspapers?

Mr. HAYS. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. None at all?

Mr. HAYS. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. You have placed contracts, have you not?

Mr. HAYS. Not that I know of.

Senator REED. Have you not made heavy contracts for advertising?

Mr. HAYS. In foreign-language newspapers?

Senator REED. In any newspaper; I will make it general.

Mr. HAYS. No; not any that I know of.

Senator EDGE. I do not want to interrupt the inquiry, Mr. Chairman, but do you not think in a way that is asking the chairman of the committee his plans for his campaign?

Senator REED. I intend to ask him every plan he has got that involves the expenditure of 5 cents.

Senator EDGE. His plan of campaign to elect a President of the United States?

Senator REED. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. You think that is a part of the subject matter here to be investigated by this committee?

Senator REED. Yes; that is a part of this investigation.

Senator EDGE. Well, I take exception to that.

Mr. HAYS. I am perfectly pleased to answer. I know of no contract for placing advertisements in foreign-language newspapers at all.

Senator REED. Do you know of any tentative arrangements that have been made?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator REED. You have made contract for advertising outside of newspapers, have you not?

Mr. HAYS. I think contracts have been signed for certain billboard advertising.

Senator REED. How much do they aggregate?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Is it not over \$400,000?

Mr. HAYS. It is not.

Senator REED. How much is it?

Mr. HAYS. I do not remember.

Senator REED. Who would have charge of that?

Mr. HAYS. The publicity department. It is all in this budget.

Senator REED. Who is at the head of it?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Scott Bone, I presume.

Senator REED. Who?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Scott Bone.

Senator REED. Is he here in the room?

Mr. HAYS. But it is all within that publicity budget that we furnished.

Senator REED. Exactly; but it is there in bulk, and I want it in detail. Now, you said this morning that you did not know—there was not any corporation that had contributed or agreed to contribute, and if so, you would not receive it.

Mr. HAYS. Not knowingly, of course.

Senator REED. And you also said there was no agreement for underwriting or for financial support to carry this campaign through, except your straight-out subscriptions.

Mr. HAYS. I said I knew of none.

Senator REED. Yes. Did you ever see the document of which that [exhibiting to the witness] is a photographic copy?

Mr. HAYS. I never did.

Senator REED. Did you ever see that printed before?

Mr. HAYS. No; I never did.

Senator REED. Anywhere?

Mr. HAYS. No; I never did.

Senator REED. Did you ever see this document [exhibiting to witness]?

Mr. HAYS. I never did.

Senator REED. I will place in the record these four photographic copies of sheets with the heading "The Albany Evening Journal 'Republicanism of 1920,'" and with names written below.

(The four sheets are attached hereto, marked "Hays Exhibits A, B, C, and D.")

HAYS'S EXHIBIT A.

THE ALBANY EVENING JOURNAL—"REPUBLICANISM OF 1920."

[To be published by the Albany Evening Journal and distributed throughout the United States. A victorious 1920 for constructive reconstruction.]

We, the undersigned, appreciate the necessity of restoring to power the Republican Party and approve the widespread distribution of militant Republican propaganda under the direction of Hon. William Barnes. To that end we herewith pledge our moral and financial support.

Ogden L. Mills, Frederick W. Allen, A. W. Burchard, Miss Mary Garret Hay, American Tobacco Company by Percival S. Hill, president, Peter Cooper Bryce, H. ———, Julius Fleischmann, Guaranty Trust Company of New York by Charles H. Sabin, president, Frank C. Munson, Fred A. Muschenheim, Benjamin B. Odell, John J. Riker, Martin Saxe, Henry Seligman, Jefferson Seligman, Henry W. Taft, Jacob Ruppert, Byron F. Cobb, ———, Ogden M. Reid, William C. Van Antwerp, Hon. James W. Wadsworth, jr., J. G. White, Henry A. Wise, William Wrigley, Jr., Company, by B. L. Atwater, vice president, Percival S. Hill, C. L. Auger, W. H. Rogers, Stan J. Murphy (for John D. Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller, jr.)

HAYS'S EXHIBIT B.

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E. W. Rice, jr., A. W. B., Jos. Bacher Co., No. 2 Broadway, W. R. Coes, J. Leonard Replogley, John M. E. Bowman, John J. Riter, Famous Players Lasky Corp., by Adolph Zukor, S. H. Miller, Miller, Robert C. Morris, John A. Topping, George S. Ward, Charles L. Bernheimer, Walter Rogers Deuel, Colgate Hoyt, Walter S. Hoyt, Albert Ottinger, Frank H. Platt, W. A. Harri-man, Frederick E. Kip, W. H. Remick, Henry W. Banks, jr., Bronson Winthrop, Adolph Stahl, Charles Whitman, Charles L. Bernhermer, Charles D. Hilles, L. L. Livermore, W. Murray Crane, R. Skechman, Harry Dornblaser.

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Berwind White Coal Mining Co., by E. J. Berwind, president; General Electric Co.; Hudson Coal Co., by L. F. Loree, president; Frank O. Lowden; Frank H. Platt; S. V. V. Huntington; Henry R. Louree; Franklin Remington; A. B. Leach; Chas. R. Scarborough; William M. Calder; Wm. M. Wood; J. Temple ———; ———; C. M. Warner; L. Hamilton Fish; P. Ballantine & Son; ———; Elisha Walker; ———; A. A. Fowler; ———.

HAYS EXHIBIT D.

THE ALBANY EVENING JOURNAL.—“REPUBLICANISM OF 1920.”

[To be published by the Albany Evening Journal and distributed throughout the United States. A victorious 1920 for constructive reconstruction.]

We, the undersigned, appreciate the necessity of restoring to power the Republican Party and approve the widespread distribution of militant Republican propaganda under the direction of Hon. William Barnes. To that end we herewith pledge our moral and financial support.

James M. Beck; Chester A. Braman; C. A. Coffin; Charles D. Hilles; Walter S. White; S. V. Huntington; Arthur L. Idvermore; Walter C. Teagle; Perley Morse; Wm. Cooper Proctor; Tiffany _____; Theodore Douglas Robinson; _____; Thos. N. McCarter; Adam P. Finglespan; Franklin B. Lord; C. E. Danforth; Clarence H. Mackay; Henry W. Taft; Martin Page; Chas. A. L. _____; John H. Lidgerwood; Charles A. Schleren; Hon. John K. Tener; Hon. William P. Jackson; David J. Kelley; Job E. Hedges; J. H. Barr; William D. Baldwin, president Otis Elevator Co.; Kurnal R. Babbitt; James H. McGraw, sr.; John Markle.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about it?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not. That is connected with the publication of a yearbook by William Barnes at Albany.

Senator REED. How do you know, when you say you never saw it before?

Mr. HAYS. It says so right there [indicating].

Senator REED. Oh, no; it does not.

Mr. HAYS. The Albany Evening Journal.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. “Republicanism of 1920.”

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. That has been in the papers for two or three weeks.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. I never saw that; but this report that Mr. Barnes was getting out a yearbook has been in the papers for two or three weeks.

Senator REED. This does not say anything about a yearbook, does it?

Mr. HAYS. The name, “Yearbook,” has been advertised in all the newspapers, and is right there, “Republicanism of 1920.” That is exactly what that is about.

Senator REED. You must be familiar with it.

Mr. HAYS. It has been in the papers for some time.

Senator REED. I thought you said you had never seen it in the papers and never had heard of it before.

Mr. HAYS. I never have seen that.

Senator REED. Let me read you the rest of it.

We, the undersigned, appreciate the necessity of restoring to power the Republican Party and approve the widespread distribution of militant Republican propaganda under the direction of Hon. William Barnes, and to that end we herewith pledge our moral and financial support.

Now, this Republican yearbook—is that to be used in the campaign?

Mr. HAYS. No; I know nothing about it.

Senator REED. What is it to be used for? What is the Republican yearbook for, except to be used to make sentiment?

Mr. HAYS. Now, Senator, I have no knowledge, directly or indirectly, of that subject matter, except that William Barnes, as I understand it, is getting out what he calls "Republicanism of 1920," which is a yearbook, or—he publishes it, I guess, whenever there is a campaign.

Senator REED. It is a campaign yearbook, then, is it not?

Mr. HAYS. A yearbook for the campaign of 1920.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Which has no connection with us, directly or indirectly. There may be over this country, published by newspapers, 1,000 of these things. This has been in the press in New York and it is well known and been denied many times, and we have no connection, directly or indirectly, with it.

Senator REED. Exactly. If there are organized a thousand agencies, all driving to one point and all working in complete harmony, but with no actual connection, you think that has not anything to do with expense of the movement or the campaign? Is not the commonest subterfuge that is ever adopted to cover up the expenditure of money?

Mr. HAYS. Senator, I know nothing of subterfuges in politics.

Senator REED. No; I know you do not. Now, who is Mr. Barnes?

Mr. HAYS. William Barnes is the editor of the Albany Journal at Albany.

Senator REED. Has he ever been connected with the national committee or the State committee?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. You said a moment ago that it is a campaign book; that is, you got the word half out of your mouth and said campaign, and then said——

Mr. HAYS (interrupting). For the campaign.

Senator REED. Yes; for the campaign.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. That book will be regarded as an adjunct, an aid, in the campaign, will it not?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know how it will be regarded. I know nothing about what matter is to be in it or anything else.

Senator REED. Do you know its contributors? John D. Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, jr.—do you know who he is?

(No answer.)

Senator REED. The American Tobacco Co., by Percival S. Hill, president. That appears to be a guaranty of a corporation, does it not?

Mr. HAYS. Well, I do not know at all what that is. It purports to be, I guess, a subscription list to buy books or help pay for a book published by an institution at Albany. Is that right? Now, I have no knowledge——

Senator REED. "To that end we herewith pledge our moral and financial support." That is all I get out of it. Now, here is another subscription from a corporation: The American Tobacco Co., by Percival S. Hill, president. And another one: The Guaranty Trust Co., of New York, by Charles H. Sabin, president.

Mr. HAYS. I know Mr. Sabin. He is a Democrat in New York and president of the Guaranty Trust.

Senator REED. He seems to have changed his politics about this time, then.

Mr. HAYS. That is not a political subscription list.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not unusual this year, either.

Mr. HAYS. No; he would not be alone in that action.

Senator REED. "We, the undersigned, appreciate the necessity of restoring to power the Republican Party." Now, Mr. Sabin is at the head of the Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, an institution that has something like \$1,000,000,000 of deposits, has it not?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know, Senator.

Senator REED. And is connected with the Morgan string of banks, is it not?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you are asking about the Morgan string of banks, is Mr. Lamont here?

Senator REED. I do not know. Do not get worried. You can examine Mr. Lamont when he comes.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not at all worried.

Mr. HAYS. But the fact remains——

Senator REED (interrupting). Here is Mr. William Wrigley, jr., or the William Wrigley, jr., Co., by B. L. Atwater, vice president. That seems to be another corporation.

Mr. HAYS. Senator Reed, that has no more to do with the Republican national committee or its activities, directly or indirectly, nor with any part of the Republican campaign with which the national committee has a thing to do, than a list of the stockholders of the fair association at St. Louis. Absolutely. We have nothing to do with that, directly or indirectly. That is well understood by everyone who knows about the facts, and I now so state.

Senator REED. There is constantly a gap between you and your committee and this institution, but you are both working in a common cause, and going in the same direction, and pulling at the same rope, are you not?

Mr. HAYS. That is so, like the Chicago Tribune or the New York Sun.

Senator REED. They are not getting underwritings of this kind, are they?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know. But the Republican newspapers are working for Republican success, although we are not responsible for their pay roll nor for their subscription list.

Senator REED. But this is not a Republican newspaper. This is a campaign book. You have already said so yourself. Now, let us stick to the text. Here is the Berwind-White Coal Mining Co., by J. E. Berwind, president. That is another corporate signature, is it not?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. And the Hudson Coal Co., by L. F. Loree, president; and the General Electric Co. These are corporations, are they not?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Oh, yes; you do.

Mr. HAYS. The General Electric Co.——

Senator REED. You know the General Electric Co., and you know the Hudson Coal Co., do you not? You know they are, do you not?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know the Hudson Coal Co.; no.

Senator REED. The famous Players-Lasky Corporation, by Adolph Zukor. Do you know of any other institutions that are working right along in harmony with you in promoting your campaign with which you have no connection, like this one?

Mr. HAYS. Well, all these Republican newspapers all over the country.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. And they have as much contact with us as that or more so.

Senator REED. Do you intend to get out a campaign book of your own?

Mr. HAYS. We have got a textbook ready; yes.

Senator REED. Separate from this one of Barnes's?

Mr. HAYS. We have no connection with that. We have not seen that.

Senator REED. Did you ever see any part of the text of the Barnes' book?

Mr. HAYS. No; I never have at all.

Senator REED. How much did you say had been assigned for speakers in the campaign?

Mr. HAYS. I think \$255,000.

Senator REED. How much of that is for salaries and how much of it is for expenses?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know. A very small amount is for salaries. That was covered before you came in.

Senator REED. Was it?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Pardon me, then. I do not want to go into it again. Who has the list of States with which agreements have been made?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham.

Senator REED. Mr. Upham?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. You have not got that?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Do you know how much money has been sent into the State of Maine?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know approximately?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not. Mr. Upham would know.

Senator REED. Do you know whether Maine—have you not been consulted about the amount of money to be sent into Maine?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, how much did you agree to send there?

Mr. HAYS. Well, we did not agree; but there was a discussion about sending \$25,000.

Senator REED. Is that all?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. For the whole State?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. For the whole campaign?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Who was that discussed with?

Mr. HAYS. That was with the national committeeman, Mr. Upham, and others, last week in New York.

Senator REED. What national committeeman?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Gannett, national committeeman from Maine.

Senator REED. He came down and wanted help. Was that all he asked?

Mr. HAYS. No; he was down for a meeting of the State chairmen of the district last week. The State chairmen and national committeemen of those eastern States were in last week, and it has been customary in both parties to send money to Maine. He said the Democratic committee had sent \$50,000 or \$75,000 last campaign—I forget which it was, and he wanted some money. That has been the custom, and the reports of both committees show that, for many years; and it was decided that they would send him \$25,000—or I think perhaps loan him \$25,000. Now, I do not think they agreed to send it. I think they are going to make them raise it themselves.

Senator REED. Loan it?

Mr. HAYS. Practically, I think, it is a loan. You will have to ask Mr. Upham about that.

Senator REED. Well, you were present when this agreement was made, were you not?

Mr. HAYS. When this discussion was had, yes.

Senator REED. Who else was present there?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Upham, I am certain, and Mr. Gannett, the committeeman from Maine.

Mr. REED. Anybody else?

Mr. HAYS. I do not remember.

Senator REED. Did you state this morning that in raising the money you had used the list of Liberty bond buyers?

Mr. HAYS. I did not.

Senator REED. Did you state that among those 80 men, or whatever the number was, in New York, that you thought ought to each contribute \$1,000, and you found so many had not registered—did you say you got them from the Liberty bond subscription list?

Mr. HAYS. No, no. My only reference to the Liberty loan and Red Cross was that we were developing the same kind of money-raising organization, and that the experience of those people in those organizations and in those activities made this a consistent movement at this particular time; and that in the personnel of our organization were many who were engaged in those drives as collectors for those purposes. That is the only reference that I made to the Liberty loan or Red Cross.

Senator REED. Have you visited Mr. Harding since his nomination?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Were you present when a gentleman who is running here in Chicago on the south side with Mr. Smith for the State senate was present?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. Was he in the party?

Mr. HAYS. No, sir.

Senator REED. When you were present, did you discuss the question of the money that had been raised in Chicago?

Mr. HAYS. No.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, had there been a certain amount of money allotted to Chicago to raise?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Do you know how much money has been raised in Chicago?

Mr. HAYS. I do not.

Senator REED. How can you be chairman of this committee and not have a general knowledge of the financial end of it?

Mr. HAYS. I do have a general knowledge, as I reiterated this morning, but these details are up to Mr. Upham.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS (continuing). And he is here.

Senator REED. I have no more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hays, this book being published by Mr. Barnes, whatever it is, is not a book that the Republican national committee have anything to do with, is it?

Mr. HAYS. We have nothing to do with it at all, and I think there is a gentleman here who investigated that matter independently, probably, and would be able to say that the result of his investigation was that the national committee had absolutely nothing to do with the thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what is in the book?

Mr. HAYS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Barnes supposed to be the author of the book?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Barnes the gentleman who sued Theodore Roosevelt for libel?

Mr. HAYS. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not expect to use this book very generally throughout the country, do you?

Mr. HAYS. We expect to use it not at all. It has nothing to do with us, Senator Kenyon, at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no way of stopping Mr. Barnes from publishing a book and sending it out if he wants to, have you?

Mr. HAYS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not be especially helpful among the Roosevelt Republicans, would it?

Mr. HAYS. I expect not.

Senator REED. I thought the dove of peace was hovering over both camps of Republicans.

Mr. HAYS. I think that is largely true, Senator.

Senator EDGE. I have a very few questions, on a matter that I want to try to make a little clearer.

Mr. HAYS. I wonder if I might go to the telephone for just a moment? Will you bear with me, gentlemen, while I telephone that I can not keep an appointment?

Senator EDGE. Yes. I will not keep you five minutes.

(Thereupon, a short recess was had, after which the hearing was resumed as follows:)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hays, Senator Edge desires to ask you some questions.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Hays, I did intend to follow up just briefly the last subject that was brought out by Senator Reed in connection with the so-called Barnes book.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. But I do not consider that you set yourself up as a censor over all of the private activities that might be incident to the Republican Party, so unless you have something more that you desire to say about it I will pass it over.

Mr. HAYS. Well, that so-called Barnes book, as suggested, is in no way a product of or related to this committee. I understand that every four years this editor gets out a campaign book. Those things are encouraged ordinarily. I have heard since it has been talked about the last two or three weeks in New York, a good deal of complaint, that his solicitors were presuming to undertake to get subscriptions to it on the statement that it was Republican propaganda. He had a lot of indorsements——

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean subscriptions for the book or for funds?

Mr. HAYS. Well, for the fund, to buy books, theoretically, but claiming that it was Republican propaganda, and a Republican contribution. That has come up since that matter has been in the press in New York. We have heard of several instances where their collectors claimed that it was Republican propaganda, party propaganda.

Senator EDGE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hays has not your attention in a general way been called to the activities on the part of newspaper publishers or book publishers all over the country who want to get out what might be termed special editions in the interests of the party, which are more or less commercial?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. And naturally contribute to some extent, supposedly, to the interests of the party.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. That is not any part of the national committee's activities, is it?

Mr. HAYS. No; it is not, of course, and this has been an embarrassment in the last two or three weeks, during this thing.

Senator EDGE. Now, the main thing I wanted to get clear in my own mind, and possibly to make clear in the record, was this: In your statement here you gave us a figure since the 1920 convention, as I analyze it, with the machinery that was built up previous to the convention—which, as you said, covers practically the entire country—and you state that you have received or raised approximately, or actually \$618,000? Is that correct?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. \$618,000?

Mr. HAYS. For the national committee; yes.

Senator EDGE. Now, as I understand it, that \$618,000 applies on your budget of something over \$3,000,000.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. That you have given us as the financial budget of your activities for the next three months or two months?

Mr. HAYS. That is correct.

Senator EDGE. All right. That means, then, approximately, that you still have to raise, as I follow the figures, two and a half million dollars or \$2,400,000?

Mr. HAYS. Well, less whatever is cash on hand, etc.

Senator EDGE. Less cash on hand.

Mr. HAYS. Yes; and some advance bills are paid, etc. I do not know just the condition.

Senator EDGE. Well, approximately, now, as I follow your statement here, you are actually in debt, then, and owe some money?

Mr. HAYS. Whatever it says there; yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. All right. I did not hear the testimony brought out by Senator Spencer immediately following the luncheon recess; but, as a matter of comparison—and I think it enters into our consideration of the case—you, of course, were not chairman during the campaign of four years ago, but can you give us approximately the amount raised by the national committee then?

Mr. HAYS. There was reported, my recollection is, by both committees, Democratic and Republican, as about two and a half millions as the expenses from the convention to the election.

Senator EDGE. Was there any other sum outside of the sum handled by the national committee—I mean a large sum, that would be generally recalled as being a large sum?

Mr. HAYS. Well, the Hughes alliance I mentioned.

Senator EDGE. The Hughes alliance in addition?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. How much was that, Mr. Hays?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know, Senator; I do not know. There is no such thing now.

Senator EDGE. The national committee, I assume, had not discovered any method whereby they can conduct a campaign or pay salaries or buy advertising for any less than the average individual?

Mr. HAYS. No; it is more.

Senator EDGE. Your budget here for advertising varies about one-half, or 45 per cent, I think, of your entire three million?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. It is a recognized fact, is it not, that advertising to-day costs at least double what it did three years ago?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. And even more?

Mr. HAYS. I know a great deal more. It costs a great deal more; yes.

Senator EDGE. I think that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Senator REED. Are newspapers charging more, or less, than the commercial rate for political advertising?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know, Senator. I suppose they charge for political advertising at the commercial rate, but I do not know.

Senator REED. I have no more questions.

Mr. HAYS. Now, this Iowa file—you were putting that in the record, that Iowa file?

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to keep this; yes.

Mr. HAYS. Yes. And this letter, also, showing the activities of 1919 there.

Senator POMERENE. I want to ask another question. You have referred to the ways and means committee of your general committee—the national committee.

Mr. HAYS. The national ways and means committee?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Early in 1919; yes.

Senator POMERENE. Have you got a list of that ways and means committee?

Mr. HAYS. Well, as I say, that has not been functioning for some months. I can tell you who was originally on it, early in 1919. But, as I say, after the plan was made the national ways and means committee, save only the chairman and vice chairman, ceased to have any activity in connection with it.

Senator POMERENE. Now, do you know what, if any, quotas they had prepared?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not.

Senator POMERENE. You have no knowledge on that subject?

Mr. HAYS. No. Mr. Upham would know. I do not have any. I think that was done by the chairman and Mr. Upham, in Mr. Upham's office.

Senator POMERENE. Then you state also that there was a general ways and means committee for each State?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. Can you furnish a list of those committees for each of the States?

Mr. HAYS. That can be furnished by Mr. Upham—probably the membership can be furnished.

Senator POMERENE. Did they have any quotas?

Mr. HAYS. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Then you spoke of a county ways and means committee. You have that, have you?

Mr. HAYS. The purpose was to get such ways and means committee; yes.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you usually accomplish your purpose. do you not?

Mr. HAYS. Well, the plan was adopted, and encouraged all we could.

Senator EDGE. I would like to ask a question. Are you through. Senator?

Senator POMERENE. I did have something further, but that is all right. There may be some other questions later on that I may want to ask Mr. Hays, because I understand he will be here in the city this week.

Mr. HAYS. All week; yes.

Senator POMERENE. And I hope we may have the pleasure of seeing him again.

Mr. HAYS. Very glad to return.

Senator EDGE. I have one additional question that I want to ask you.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Much emphasis has been paid on the possibility, as I have followed the cross-examination, of additional sums being raised from some sections of which you would have no direct know-

ledge. Now, as I follow your explanation of the machinery that has been built up, you are going, as has just now again been brought out by Senator Pomerene, right into the local districts.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. The machinery, starting from the national committee, practically covers, in the old Liberty bond drive style, every section of the country.

Mr. HAYS. That has been done, yes; totalling over 12,000 since June 14—these contributors, different contributors.

Senator EDGE. Is it your judgment that with that effective machinery, and that businesslike solicitation which it has, as I follow it, very much additional can be collected from the various sections after they are through?

Mr. HAYS. No, no; I do not think so; and these State committees do not think so. No; that could not be done—not and keep within the limitation on the size of the gift, you know. Covering the contributions of 12,000 plus contributors already since the convention, and 18,000 plus before, different ones, we can cover the ground to that extent, and I think we can collect the rest of what we have to have that way, but that is all.

Senator POMERENE. Are you through now, Senator?

Senator EDGE. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. I have another question I would like to ask you. When was the date—you gave the date, I believe, as June 12, when you adopted this new scheme of financing?

Mr. HAYS. No. The new plan for financing was early in 1919; very early in 1919. That is, I do not know about its being very early, but I know it was published on May 21, 1919, in the New York Tribune. But it was some weeks or months before that when we started to plan this decentralized method.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions? That is all, Mr. Hays. We are much obliged to you.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cummings, we will hear you now.

TESTIMONY OF HOMER S. CUMMINGS.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We are taking you a little out of order because we understand you want to get away and make a speech somewhere to-night.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir; that is correct, and I thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporters, please.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Homer S. Cummings, Stamford, Conn.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the date when you became chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. CUMMINGS. February 26, 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. 1919?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any plan at that time relating to the collecting of money for campaigns of the Democratic national committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Not that I know of. Do you mean that had been formulated before I became chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Not outside of the usual routine of the treasurer's office.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the treasurer at that time?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Wilbur W. Marsh.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he formulate any plan while you were chairman?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your system, or what was your system, or financial plan? What was your financial plan to raise money?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The financial plan of our committee was largely—indeed, I might almost say practically—under the control of the treasurer's office. The treasurer, as I have said, was Mr. W. W. Marsh. There was also a director of finance, William D. Jamieson, who had more immediate and active control of the treasurer's office. And the system that was in force at the time I became chairman continued after I became chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no change in the plan?

Mr. CUMMINGS. None at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you at any time?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No. I can not say that we made any change in the plan. We lessened the activities of the bureau at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what was the system for raising money under the Jamieson plan?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, in a general way, it was what we might call a follow-up system, or a system of collection by letter writing. The general plan was, as I understand it, to obtain as many names of possible contributors as he could, and he obtained these names in the first instance, as I understand it, by correspondence with the party organization. These gentlemen would send in names as the result of solicitation, and Mr. Jamieson's system was to card index these and correspond with them, and through this method obtain additional names from the men first submitted. And in that way the list was gradually extended. The purpose, I might say, in our party was somewhat different from that in the Republican Party. We had the twofold purpose, which was not only to secure campaign contributions but to secure as many contributors as possible, even though the contributions were in fact very small, the theory being that a man who contributed, even though the amount of the contribution was small, felt a renewed interest in the party welfare, and was therefore stimulating the party activity. That element of the money gathering was constantly in the minds of our committee, and constantly in the mind, I think, of Mr. Jamieson. I do not recall the figures exactly.

I listened with some interest to the testimony here a few moments ago that some 10,000 or 12,000 people had contributed to the Republican fund. I do not know how many have contributed to our fund, but I imagine that in 1912 there were about 60,000 or 70,000, and in 1916 nearly 300,000 people. You see, our contributions were for the most part very small in amount. I think they averaged about \$8 apiece.

The CHAIRMAN. Who can give us the exact information?

Mr. MARSH. About 200,000, Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Marsh corrects me, Mr. Chairman. There were about 200,000 in 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those were postmasters; do you know?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, a very small percentage.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those contributions, or those contributors, rather, were Federal officials?

Mr. CUMMINGS. A very small percentage.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not most of the Federal officials contribute?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, no; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not most of the postmasters of the country contribute?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Many postmasters contributed, but the amount that they contributed and the number who did contribute is really suprisingly small, when compared——

The CHAIRMAN. Where can we get the exact number of postmasters contributing?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think Mr. Marsh can tell you just the number of Federal employees who contributed. There was a great army of people who contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they solicited to contribute—the Federal employees?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Do you mean by the national organization?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; or any suborganization of the national organization.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not know what Mr. Jamieson's method was for approaching the Federal officials.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose you did not pay much attention to the details of raising the money, did you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Practically none.

The CHAIRMAN. What fund did you raise in 1916? How large was it, I mean?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Of course there is a financial report of this which will give you the exact figures.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hays said about two and a half million dollars.

Mr. CUMMINGS. My memory is that it is about \$2,300,000. Is that correct, Mr. Marsh?

Mr. MARSH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There was not much difference, then——

Mr. CUMMINGS (interrupting). But you must remember that there was a deficit there of \$650,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That came over from when?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That was left after 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. After 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is, in other words, while we expended \$2,300,000, it left us with a debit of about \$650,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be included in the report?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. The amount of that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. It always is reported, sworn to, and itemized.

The CHAIRMAN. And you had to make up the deficit after the election?

Mr. CUMMINGS. We had to make up the deficit after the election; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, up to the time you left the chairmanship—which was when, Mr. Cummings? You resigned about the time of the convention, or was it after the convention?

Mr. CUMMINGS. My successor was elected on the—I might as well be accurate about it—20th of July of this year.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the figures of the money that had been raised up to the 20th of July?

Mr. CUMMINGS. From when? Well, I can not do it, anyway, so there is no use in specifying.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there is no use asking you about it.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Marsh can give you the exact figures, I have no doubt.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a congressional committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir. That is, I will say that there is a congressional committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they cooperate with the national committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the treasurer of the congressional committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not know. Mr. Flood is chairman now.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Flood is chairman?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you also have a senatorial committee looking after the election of Senators?

Mr. CUMMINGS. There usually is one during the campaign. I do not know whether it has been created this year or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Your congressional committee raised money, did it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. In the old days they used to; that is, away back; but of late the congressional committee has been financed by the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And received nothing for the congressional committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Pardon me?

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by “financed”—that you have furnished the money from the national committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is, the national committee financed the congressional committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the senatorial committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The same way.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is chairman of that?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not think there is any chairman there. Who is chairman of the senatorial committee, Mr. Marsh?

Mr. MARSH. Gerry was, and Walsh, of Montana, is.

Mr. CUMMINGS. He means now.

Mr. MARSH. Walsh, of Montana.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Senator Walsh, of Montana.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that committee raised any money, do you know?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I should be very much surprised to hear that it had any.

The CHAIRMAN. The complete list of subscribers and the amount of funds raised and the disbursements can be given to us by Mr. Marsh?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes; I think they are right here now. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You are unable to do that, and there will be no use in duplicating the matter any.

Mr. CUMMINGS. No.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Cummings, when did you start as chairman of the Democratic national committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think it was the 26th of February, 1919.

Senator SPENCER. And you continued until July?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The date I gave. I think it was July 20.

Senator SPENCER. July 20, 1920?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now, in connection with the present campaign, the 1920 campaign, was there started a financial campaign of rather extensive proportions along in the summer of 1919 at Washington?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The machinery of the treasurer's office was in active operation during all that period.

Senator SPENCER. Was there any sum expected or hoped to be raised?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No quota fixed that I ever heard of.

Senator SPENCER. Did you ever hear any discussed?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. How much did you think would be necessary?

Mr. CUMMINGS. You mean, my personal opinion?

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. You mean for the purpose of——

Senator SPENCER. For the whole campaign of 1920, commencing from July, 1919, until November, 1920.

Mr. CUMMINGS. You are now asking merely for my opinion?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; for your opinion.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I should say that if the national committee has to finance the congressional committee and is also to finance the senatorial committee so that they have no independent funds of their own, we ought to have, in order to conduct a proper campaign, half a million more than we had in 19——

Senator SPENCER. 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. 1916.

Senator SPENCER. And you had \$2,300,000 in 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why, we spent that; we did not have it. We spent it.

Senator SPENCER. Am I right, therefore, in understanding you as thinking that \$2,800,000 would be necessary, in your judgment, for the present campaign if you financed the senatorial and congressional committees?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not think I used the word "necessary." I said if we conducted the thing adequately, fully, and completely.

Senator SPENCER. Well, use the word adequately instead of necessary.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Of course, there is no limit that you can put on political work; but for a fair, decent campaign, coupled with a good

speaking campaign, and reasonable publicity, I should say that is not far wrong.

Senator SPENCER. Now, when you started in July, 1919, in Washington, did you not rent the second and third and fourth floors—the entire floors of the Bond Building?

Mr. CUMMINGS. They were rented; yes, sir. I did not do it.

Senator SPENCER. For your financial campaign?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The second, third, and fourth floors of the Bond Building; yes, were in fact rented.

Senator SPENCER. On those floors you had approximately 300 employees, did you not?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think there was a peak period when there were, perhaps, 250 or 300 people employed. I may be wrong about that, however.

Senator SPENCER. And you had 150 electric typewriters that cost about \$700 or over apiece, did you not?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think so; yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. On those floors, in the financial campaign.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think so; yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now, under those facts, Mr. Cummings, was there not any idea in the mind of the committee as to how much money would be realized with the amount of machinery they had in contemplation? Did they start 300 employees and 150 electric typewriters and three full floors of a great office building without any idea as to whether they could raise \$10,000 or \$10,000,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, that seems like a pertinent question.

Senator SPENCER. It is intended to be so; certainly.

Mr. CUMMINGS. But this thing was a growth rather than a settled plan. After the campaign of 1916, when we found ourselves \$650,000 in debt, this plan of Mr. Jamieson's—I call it his, because he was perhaps the chief figure in it—proved very successful in extinguishing that deficit, and it was a letter-writing campaign. That method was followed during the congressional elections of 1918. Again we found ourselves with a deficit, I think, of about \$150,000. We were always struggling to keep our heads above water, and it was not a question with us of how much we could get. It was a question with us to get all we could for the purpose of carrying on the necessary work of our party. And, as the figures will disclose, we never had enough and have not now.

Senator SPENCER. Well, now, in the effort to save yourself from this watery grave and arranging the paraphernalia of three floors in a building and 300 employees and 150 electric typewriters, which are, of course, the machinery of a very expensive and extensive propaganda, did you have nothing definite as your aim and purpose, or were you just going to start that vast machinery to work to see what it might perchance bring forth?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, it was largely experimental. We had demonstrated—or, at least, we thought we had demonstrated—that that method of soliciting campaign contributions was successful, and we therefore desired to extend it not only, as I said in the beginning, for the purpose of securing the contributions but for the purpose of securing the contributors merely as contributors. You see, it was partly financial and partly a method of propaganda, and we had

hoped that through that machinery we would be able to accumulate money enough to give us a reasonable campaign fund for 1920.

Now, that hope was not realized. The extension of this machinery and this method, I presume, has a point where it more or less runs out and is not productive. We reached that point. That is why we ceased our activities to some extent.

Senator SPENCER. Now, do you want me to understand that as that plan started and developed, as you say, to a big thing, an extensive proposition, there never was any time when in conference you had any definite idea as to what you hoped might be accomplished?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Absolutely not.

Senator SPENCER. You started the machinery at work.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And waited expectantly to see what it might bring forth.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Absolutely.

Senator SPENCER. And you did not know, and had no plan, as to whether it would bring forth \$10,000 or \$10,000,000.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, we knew it would produce more than \$10,000, and we knew it would not produce \$10,000,000.

Senator SPENCER. But you had nothing definitely.

Mr. CUMMINGS. No. We merely hoped it would produce enough, that is all.

Senator SPENCER. Now, how did that come out?

Mr. CUMMINGS. How is that?

Senator SPENCER. How did that come out? What did you get out of it?

(No answer.)

Senator SPENCER. You say, from July, 1919, on. It was discontinued, was it not, in the spring of 1920?

Mr. CUMMINGS. It was not entirely discontinued but was practically discontinued.

Senator SPENCER. You gave up the three floors of the building?

Mr. CUMMINGS. We gave up the three floors and concentrated the machinery upon one floor.

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. It seemed to me, and it was my judgment, that the overhead was too large to justify carrying on that work.

Senator SPENCER. Well, what did it produce, was my question.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, it varied. The exact figures are here before you. Speaking again from memory, I would say that it was producing along about—oh, perhaps \$20,000 per month. I am just guessing now.

Senator SPENCER. Did it commence really to operate about September 1, 1919?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, this general plan was in operation following the congressional elections of 1918.

Senator SPENCER. 1918?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Then really it was in operation from the fall of 1918 until during your term of office?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. That would be——

Mr. CUMMINGS. It worked very well at first, and we were able to more or less extinguish the deficit of 1918.

Senator SPENCER. That would be practically months, 18 to 20 months.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Now, what was the aggregate production of that plan in money?

Mr. CUMMINGS. You mean the return from that method?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; the gross return.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not know, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any idea?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Marsh has got those figures.

Senator SPENCER. Well, Mr. Marsh can tell us, can he?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And he would also know the expense of it, I presume.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think so.

Senator SPENCER. And he would also know the number of contributors?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, that is all a matter of careful record.

Senator SPENCER. Well, now, Mr. Cummings, you did turn over, did you not, to Mr. Jamieson, in July of this year, a certain sum of money, a substantial sum of money?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I did, you say?

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. In July?

Senator SPENCER. Well, leave the date out. That is a quibble, of course. I mean, when you ended, or just about the time you were ending, your term of office.

Senator POMERENE. Did it appear on the books in black or white?

Senator SPENCER. If he turned over money, it was apt to appear in black.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, we turned over a little cash and a lot of debts.

Senator SPENCER. Yes; and was the cash about \$60,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, dear; no.

Senator SPENCER. How much was it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think it was \$650.

Senator SPENCER. That is all you turned over to—was Mr. Jamieson the financial director?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I sent the check to George White, the incoming chairman. That was the balance left out of the San Francisco fund.

Senator SPENCER. Well, that was a fund I had not yet referred to. Mr. Jamieson is the financial director now, is he?

Mr. CUMMINGS. He was. I do not think he is now. I think he is assistant treasurer now.

Senator SPENCER. When did he terminate?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I say, I think he is assistant treasurer now. I am not sure.

Senator SPENCER. But, during your administration, was he the financial director?

Mr. CUMMINGS. He was what we called director of finance; yes.

Senator SPENCER. Now, do you know of your own knowledge of any money having been turned over to Mr. Jamieson this year—1920—any substantial sum of money?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir. If you will tell me what is in your mind maybe it will help me.

Senator SPENCER. What was in my mind was that there came from you, or from your committee, or with your cooperation, into Mr. Jamieson's hands, a certain sum of money, which, according to the information which I have, was \$60,000; and the date I have was some time in or about July of this year. Now, leaving the dates and the exact amount out, as being unnecessary, was there anything like that that you know of?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No.

Senator SPENCER. The only amount of money that you know of coming into Mr. Jamieson's hands was the \$600 that you spoke of?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, that did not go to Mr. Jamieson.

Senator SPENCER. That went to the treasurer?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That went to Mr. White, and I presume he turned it over to the treasurer. In order to avoid misleading you, I think there was turned over to the treasurer's office \$35,000 out of the San Francisco fund.

Senator SPENCER. What do you mean by the San Francisco fund?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, you may recall that the city of San Francisco donated \$125,000 to the national committee.

Senator SPENCER. Yes?

Mr. CUMMINGS. In connection with the expense of the convention. We were in such desperate financial straits that I turned over part of that money to the treasurer's office.

Senator SPENCER. For what purpose?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, just to keep the machinery going.

Senator SPENCER. To keep the machinery of the national committee going?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Absolutely. But that depleted the San Francisco fund so much that we had to borrow \$15,000 more to pay up our debts in San Francisco.

Senator SPENCER. And so the amount you turned over was \$35,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is my recollection, sir; and I think I am right.

Senator SPENCER. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Cummings, I would like to ask you just one question, I think. Mr. Hays in his direct testimony referred to a letter purporting to have been written by George T. Carroll, president of the New Jersey Federation of Liquor Interests. Do you know anything about him?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I never heard of him before.

Senator POMERENE. Has he any connection, or has he had, or has he now any connection with the national Democratic campaign committee or the executive committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. None whatever, to my knowledge.

Senator POMERENE. I think that is all.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Cummings, as I have followed your estimate of the amount of money necessary to properly conduct this cam-

paign, as compared to the campaign of four years ago, you would increase the budget by approximately a half a million dollars?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. In other words, then, if the figures spent on the campaign four years ago totaled approximately \$2,300,000, you would estimate, as the chairman of the committee—until a month ago—that it would require this time \$2,800,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is my guess at it.

Senator EDGE. In other words, then, there is a difference between your budget, or your estimate, and the budget presented by Chairman Hays of \$200,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is a mere matter of mathematics.

Senator EDGE. Yes. I wanted to bring that out to be sure. I wanted to ask you to be sure that I understood you correctly—that that was the difference between the estimates of the two chairmen.

Now, I think you answered this question—and I do not want to repeat questions that have been answered—that you personally did not have knowledge of the sending out of letters under special delivery to postmasters, in order to help the fund and the organization you had in the Bond Building; and you said you were not acquainted with the details.

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; I was not.

Senator EDGE. Did you understand, then, that Mr. Jamieson is the man who was directly in charge of the organization? Do I understand that?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. He can give you all of the information about that?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I should say so, sir.

Senator EDGE. Was it not generally understood and freely published at that time that, following the view you have expressed, that you were endeavoring to serve a dual purpose, interest the electorate as well as raise funds—was it not generally published at that time by somebody in authority that in this way, by popular subscription, it might be possible even to raise through \$1 subscriptions \$10,000,000 or subscriptions slightly above \$10,000,000? Did not that appear in the newspapers?

Mr. CUMMINGS. By dollar subscriptions?

Senator EDGE. Well, not necessarily confined to dollar subscriptions, because that would take 10,000,000 people; but in small subscriptions.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Who said this?

Senator EDGE. Was not that generally published in the newspapers? And did we not hear a great deal about it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, I saw some wild statements emanating from people who evidently did not know anything about the subject or desired to give a false impression that such a purpose was in mind.

Senator EDGE. Well, as a matter of fact, Mr. Cummings—

Mr. CUMMINGS (continuing). I took the pains to deny it in a long letter written to the Tribune at the time, calling attention to some of the reforms that I thought might be effected by a proper corrupt-practices act. You know, the real trouble with campaign contributions, if I may interject this, is not what the national committee itself does of either party, for that matter, but what is done

knows about it, and knows who is behind it, and knows who is supplying the money and how it is being disbursed. That is all right. I do not know how you are going to check that, or whether you ought to check it. Of course, corruption and the use of money for corrupt purposes is a matter for the criminal authorities under the statutes of practically every State of the Union.

Senator REED. Do you know of any effort being made now to buy the Presidency and corrupt the electorate?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Only such impression as you would gather from the collection and disbursement of manifestly excessive sums.

Senator REED. Well, do you know of any manifestly excessive sums that have been collected?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That have actually been collected?

Senator REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not know of any.

Senator REED. Do you know of your own knowledge of any moneys that have been contracted for or arranged for in excess of those that have been testified about to-day?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir.

Senator REED. Do you regard these amounts that have been testified to as indicative of a purpose to corrupt the electorate?

Mr. CUMMINGS. It depends upon which testimony you have in mind. If you mean the testimony of Mr. Hays——

Senator REED. I am speaking about the testimony given here to-day, that testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the only testimony we have.

Senator REED. That is the only testimony we have.

The CHAIRMAN. So far.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, instead of answering a blanket question like that, I would say that the raising of \$3,000,000 by any national committee would not indicate any corrupt purpose.

Senator REED. Suppose that there was a million dollars more to be raised and used in the State campaigns and expended by the State committees.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, you are getting beyond the limits that I would fix myself.

Senator REED. Now, your committee, the Democratic national committee, expended two and a half million dollars, I think you said, in your last campaign.

Mr. CUMMINGS. About \$2,300,000, I think.

Senator REED. That was by the national committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. The State committees in many instances raised funds in addition to that, that they employed in their own States, did they not?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, absolutely.

Senator REED. Well, would not the aggregate of those two funds amount to probably \$4,000,000 in the United States?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Are you speaking of the Democratic Party?

Senator REED. Yes; for the whole campaign.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I have no doubt of it.

Senator REED. You have no doubt that it would?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I should think the Republican campaign, though, would be double that.

Senator REED. You speak of the extent of this evil——

Mr. CUMMINGS. I beg pardon, sir?

Senator REED. You speak of the extent of this evil and say that the real trouble and danger is not in what the national committees spend but in the large sums of money that are expended by outside organizations. Tell us some of those organizations which have existed or which now exist.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, for instance, I think it would have been a matter of great public interest to have known what the Hughes alliance of 1916 collected and disbursed. Now, I do not know, and I do not know whether anyone knows, but that is just an illustration of what I have in mind.

Senator REED. Well, do you know now of any such organization that exists now?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; but what I fear is that they will crop up during the progress of this campaign.

Senator REED. How about the Antisaloon League?

Mr. CUMMINGS. What about it, Senator?

Senator REED. I say, how about it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I do not know.

Senator REED. Has it been active?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I presume it has.

Senator REED. How about the Liquor Dealers' Association?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I presume the reasoning that would apply to one would apply to the other.

Senator REED. Do you know of others than the ones you have suggested?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, there is a little evidence of it on the table before you.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about the Protective Tariff League?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I have heard of it.

Senator REED. How is that?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I say, I have heard of it.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about its political activities?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I have never traced it to an extent that would justify me in saying what its activities were. I have a general impression, however.

Senator REED. Well, after all, you can not point out where any one of these organizations has ever done any material harm, these outside organizations, can you? You are not able to point out where they have done any material harm, are you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I am satisfied that they have, but I am not prepared to point it out.

Senator REED. Well, which ones have?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Of course, when you use the word "harm" it depends upon which political party you belong to.

Senator REED. I am speaking about the use of money for improper purposes and not the mere use of the word "harm." That is what I was speaking about.

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is not what I was speaking of so much. I was speaking of the use of money for political propaganda. It is perfectly all right to use it for political propaganda if the public

knows about it, and knows who is behind it, and knows who is supplying the money and how it is being disbursed. That is all right. I do not know how you are going to check that, or whether you ought to check it. Of course, corruption and the use of money for corrupt purposes is a matter for the criminal authorities under the statutes of practically every State of the Union.

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Mr. CUMMINGS. I have no doubt of it.

Senator REED. You have no doubt that it would?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I should think the Republican campaign, though, would be double that.

Senator REED. Double, you say?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The Republicans; yes.

Senator REED. How is that again?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I should think the Republicans would be double that, and maybe three times that. They always have more than we do.

Senator REED. I am speaking about what you would have. I simply wanted to know your idea of comparison. You spoke of \$3,000,000 being a legitimate sum for a national committee to expend, and then I asked you if a million dollars in addition would be raised for the expenditure in States, what you thought of that, and you said that was approaching the line.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think that is too much.

Senator REED. Then I asked, for the purpose only of comparison, whether the national committee four years ago did not have, in addition to the \$2,300,000 which they expended directly—whether the arrangement did not permit the States to raise money and expend it themselves, and you said it did.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator REED. And the aggregate of the two funds you said would exceed \$4,000,000.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I should guess that it would; yes.

Senator REED. Did you regard that as a corruption?

Mr. CUMMINGS. How is that?

Senator REED. You did not regard that as a corruption, did you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir.

Senator REED. And would you regard it as a corruption now for Mr. Hays's committee, say, to raise \$4,000,000 in the same way this year, and expend it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, there is this little variation that I would like to direct your attention to, Senator. As I recall it, our national committee in 1916, out of the \$2,300,000, made contributions for the various States. I do not know what the figures are, but I am very confident that that \$2,300,000 contemplated contributions to the State committees. In other words, they reported the aggregate that came into their hands, but part of it was turned back to the State.

Senator REED. Now, that is true, is it not—did you hear Mr. Hays's testimony?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Is not that the same arrangement he is proceeding under, that they take money to get a fund into the national committee, and they help some States that are weak? That is just what you did, is it not?

Mr. CUMMINGS. They always do that. That is perfectly legitimate practice.

Senator REED. Now, I am trying to get at the point at which you think the fund would become dangerous. Is not the real danger in a campaign fund found in its sources and in its uses rather than in the amount that is used?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I think that is true; but I think the amount is also important.

Senator REED. Oh, it is important, of course.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator REED. It may be so excessive, as you say, as to in itself be a badge of corruption. But you seem to agree with Mr. Hays that four or five million dollars, as an aggregate, to be used on either side, does not indicate corruption.

Mr. CUMMINGS. But may I give you an illustration, Senator, of what I have in mind?

Senator REED. Yes, sir; certainly.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Now, in 1916, in the State of Connecticut, there were laws requiring the local committees to make their returns. I found by having some of those returns looked up that there was probably spent in my State by the Republicans between \$200,000 and \$250,000. Now, that is too much money to spend in a little State like Connecticut.

Senator REED. Certainly; but that carried out would make your aggregate; if that was extended at all it would make your aggregate very much larger than the amount we have been discussing.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Let me suggest that that is just what is going to happen this year. When to Mr. Hays's three million you add another million, and when you let the State committees run wild, as they will, and get all the money they can, and let the city committees and the county committees, and all the other local committees gather in all they can, there is going to be an enormous fund.

Senator EDGE. Has either party a monopoly on that practice?

Mr. CUMMINGS. There is no monopoly upon the attempt, but there is no doubt about the Republican success in that direction.

Senator EDGE. Just let me continue my questions, if you please. There are one or two questions I want to ask.

I understood you to state, in connection with this popular collection agency, or whatever you term it, that the 300 employees had been very much curtailed, if not entirely done away with, during last spring; is that correct?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. What was the reason for curtailing the activity?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I told you.

Senator EDGE. I did not understand it.

Mr. CUMMINGS. We reached the conclusion that the overhead charge was so great that the returns did not justify continuing the organization. I consulted with Mr. Marsh about it and with Mr. Jamieson, and as the result of that conference we, acting under our authority, eliminated the activities of that particular department.

Senator EDGE. Then, the response was not as great as you had anticipated?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is what I told you. I told you, in fact, in the beginning, that our hopes were not realized.

Senator EDGE. But what do you lay that to? Was there any particular reason why the response was not as anticipated?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, yes; I have my theory about it.

Senator EDGE. Do you care to state it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I have not the slightest objection.

Senator EDGE. I would be glad to hear them.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why, I think it was an interim period between elections, that is one thing; and I think also the system had extended itself so far that the people, who could be reached through it, made

contributions so small that it did not pay to gather them. That is all there is to it.

Senator SPENCER. That is, the expense of gathering was out of all proportion to the amount realized?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is it precisely, Senator.

Senator EDGE. You don't, I understand, care to give an estimate of what was raised? You can get that?

Mr. CUMMINGS. You can get that exactly from the figures in the books.

Senator EDGE. Are you familiar at all with the statement that has been published that the Democrats to date have raised less than \$100,000? Is that correct? I will read a statement appearing in the Trenton Times:

The campaign-fund receipts of the Democratic national committee to date are less than \$100,000, Chairman White, of the committee, announced to-day.

Commenting on the statement of Treasurer Upham, of the Republican committee, that the Republican fund totals only \$944,353, White said:

"The receipts of the Democratic national committee are far less than \$100,000. The contributions have not been coming rapidly, and mostly in small amounts."

He added that the Democratic organization had no budget and no district allotment.

I am asking you because, of course, his connection with the committee is of such recent origin that I should imagine you would know more about it than he would.

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; he would know more than I about that particular subject, because of that phase of the matter raised since his election to the chairmanship, but I have no doubt from what I have heard that that is a correct statement, or substantially correct.

Senator EDGE. It would seem that those committees have gone to the banks and borrowed money to make up deficits, etc.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, you can always create a deficit if you spend enough.

Senator POMERENE. I have a question that I would like to ask you, Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. You have referred to the fact that during the campaign of 1916 the national Democratic executive committee expended \$2,300,000. Didn't that sum include a large amount which was paid by the national committee back to the several State committees?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir; that is what I mentioned to Senator Reed.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I wasn't quite clear about that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes; and that included certain quotas of allotments to the States.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. Now, another matter. You made the statement that when your successor was elected you turned over to him a small amount of money. What was that amount of money?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think six hundred and fifty-one dollars and some cents.

Senator POMERENE. And what indebtedness did he inherit from you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, I think that there was about \$100,000 of debts in excess of cash.

Senator POMERENE. Now, another matter, and it is a matter that we are all interested in. Both you and Mr. Hays have referred to some national legislation to regulate the subject of receipts and expenditures in campaigns. I want to make this observation for the benefit of both of you, so that we can get the benefit of your thought on the subject. There isn't any question in my mind but what the States have full power to control receipts and expenditures of elections and require all of these side bodies or committees to file proper accounts under certain pains and penalties. There isn't any question in my mind but what the Congress of the United States has plenary power to control the receipts and expenditures when it comes to the nomination or election of either Senators or Congressmen. But when it relates to the question of the election for the Presidency I want to submit this thought for your consideration.

The voter does not vote for President. He votes for the presidential elector. The Federal Constitution provides that the legislatures may undertake to appoint electors. The Supreme Court has defined that word "appoint" as meaning either that the legislatures may appoint directly, or they can provide for their election by popular vote. The Supreme Court has held that a presidential elector is a State official and not a Federal official, and now when you seek to control the election of an elector who is a State official, I would like to have pointed out to me that provision in the constitution which will authorize the Congress of the United States to take jurisdiction of the subject. I am in sympathy with the desire to do it, if the constitutional means could be found.

Mr. HAYS. This is a suggestion. Would a uniform law passed by the States, limiting expenditures for electors to a certain amount per voter, help?

Senator POMERENE. That would help materially.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you think that if we needed a constitutional amendment that it would be very difficult to obtain it?

Senator POMERENE. I don't think so.

Mr. HAYS. I think you could make it a biparty proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. HAYS. I think you could make it a biparty matter to amend the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Democratic Federal officials are there? Can you give us any idea?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, I have not the remotest idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you have lists of them?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I never had them.

The CHAIRMAN. For campaign purposes?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I never had them.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any system of letter writing followed to Federal officials for campaign contributions?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. But you knew who the postmasters were, of course, and they were expected to donate, weren't they?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes; they wanted to donate, most of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Wanted to donate. And various Government officials, such as explosive inspectors, boiler inspectors, and all those, did they want to donate too?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I think the average political appointee is generally a man who wants to contribute. I think so. I think that is human nature, and perfectly natural.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. You never heard of a Republican Federal officer holding contributing anything to campaign, did you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, they never do that.

Senator SPENCER. Well, they probably will after next March.

Senator POMERENE. I think they will—if they are successful.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Cummings, tell me this—

The CHAIRMAN. Let me get through, Senator, please.

Senator SPENCER. I beg your pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. I have some letters of various kinds here from the director of finance of the Democratic national committee to Federal officials around the country regarding contributions. Were you familiar at all with the system that was inaugurated?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; I don't think I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you familiar with the organization of Democratic clubs such as we have heard about here to-day?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I never heard of that club before.

The CHAIRMAN. That secured donations from the postmasters, and then turned them over to the Democratic national committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. So far as I am aware there never was such a system.

The CHAIRMAN. You say there was no such system?

Mr. CUMMINGS. So far as I am aware. I never heard of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear the letter this morning?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That Mr. Hays read?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There seems to have been some such club in one State?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But you don't know of it in any other States?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is my point. I never heard of any such system. I heard the letter read, and it speaks for itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is one to the explosive inspector at one place in the country—I don't suppose you would know him—and then a follow-up letter, and then another follow-up letter for funds. Is that the system that was followed: to keep following up on these Federal officials if they did not contribute?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, Senator, the system was a follow-up system, but, as I suggested when I testified a few moments ago, the number of Federal officials who actually contributed compared with the total number of contributors is ridiculously small.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how many Federal officials contributed? Can you tell?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I swear I don't know, but the reason I say that is this, that Mr. Marsh once told me what the percentage was, and I have forgotten what it was now, but it struck me at the time as very small.

Senator REED. I understood you to say a few moments ago that they were anxious to contribute?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think they are, and they do contribute.

Senator REED. Well, is it strange that men who are anxious to contribute can not succeed in doing it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No difficulty about that, but you all overlook the fact that over 200,000 people contributed to our campaign fund.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how many of them were Federal officials?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Marsh can tell you that. I can not. He can give you the proportion.

Senator EDGE. How can you qualify or explain this statement, which you said was correct, that you have not received to date \$100,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I have not received anything.

Senator EDGE. Well, the committee.

Mr. CUMMINGS. And I have no right to speak for Mr. White or Mr. Marsh since the 20th of July.

Senator EDGE. Quite true.

Mr. CUMMINGS. But I have heard that that was true, that is all. I have forgotten even where I heard that.

Senator EDGE. Before the 20th of July, after the 8 or 9 or 10 months of activities of these 300 clerks, do you mean to say that there were not \$100,000 collected, when your expenses, as I understand, were approximately from \$30,000 to \$35,000 per month?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I told you that I thought the contributions ran about \$20,000 a month.

Senator EDGE. Well, then, that does not square off with the statement of less than \$100,000, because in five months you would total \$100,000.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Are you talking about the statement of Mr. White?

Senator EDGE. That I read a few moments ago.

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is the amount of money contributed, as I understand it, since July 30.

Senator EDGE. He says nothing of the kind. He speaks without reference to any date or anything, and I ask you that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, you will have to clear that up with him.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many votes do you estimate there will be in the United States this election? Around 27,000,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Our friend here, as an expert, will figure that out [indicating Mr. Hays].

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what do you say, Mr. Hays, 27,000,000 or 29,000,000?

Mr. HAYS. With the women, the women voters?

The CHAIRMAN. Counting the women.

Mr. HAYS. Thirty million. We had about 8,000,000 and over Republicans, and possibly the same number of Democrats; 16,000,000; and it would be almost double that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, call it about 30,000,000.

Mr. CUMMINGS. About 30,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. About 30,000,000. Now, what would it cost to send out the ordinary letter, the postage, the envelope, and the paper to each voter?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Ten cents a letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it costs 10 cents? I thought about 5. Ten cents?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Ten cents.

The CHAIRMAN. It would not be anything corrupting if a letter was sent by each political party to every voter in the country, would it, setting forth the principles of the party, what they stand for, and the candidates?

Mr. CUMMINGS. If that were done. But, of course, they would never do that with the money.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you would not call that corrupting would you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I don't mean that to be offensive, but that is an absurd proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Because both parties would exclude from their mailing lists thousands and hundreds of thousands, and indeed millions of people whose party affiliations are so fixed that it is unnecessary to approach them. In other words, the general tendency is to go to the independents and the men that you might expect to get—or women.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that may be true, but you never can tell, of course, when you put your case before them. But to put the case of your party before every voter in the country, according to that, would cost \$3,000,000, wouldn't it, to send one letter to each voter in the country? You would not really call that a corrupting thing, would you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. If anybody did that perfectly absurd thing it would not be corrupting, it would be silly.

The CHAIRMAN. Silly? Well, if you went to half of the voters then it would be a million and a half dollars. I am simply getting at the fact that a really legitimate campaign costs a large sum of money, does it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, there is no doubt about that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. There isn't any use arguing about that; there isn't any dispute about that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. There is no doubt that we have got to take into account the fact that prices are higher, and that there are a lot of new voters.

The CHAIRMAN. It costs a great deal of money to run a campaign.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I have no doubt about that.

The CHAIRMAN. And there are a large number of people who have not been familiar with politics, or given much study to it, who need help in arriving at a right conclusion, so that the campaign this year, on the part of both parties, legitimately can cost a very large sum of money, a much larger sum of money than in 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I said to Senator Edge that there was no limitation of the extent of publicity. You could spend millions and millions and millions of dollars through the newspapers, and circularize the whole electorate; you could do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, where draw the line as to where you came to excessive publicity?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I drew the line for myself in response to an inquiry from Senator Edge. I thought that \$3,000,000 was enough.

The CHAIRMAN. \$3,000,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I would say half a million dollars more than we had in 1916, which was \$2,300,000, along in there; that is about right.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you spent \$2,300,000 in 1916, you could not do the work that you did then for \$3,000,000 now?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, but we could do it much better than we did in 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you were fairly successful then.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes; and we will be successful now also.

Senator EDGE. When?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Next fall.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will pass that by; we can not settle that now.

Mr. CUMMINGS. But I think that both Mr. Hays's organization and ours would really be more effective this year than they were before. I think we have learned something.

The CHAIRMAN. What particular forms of publicity that you have indulged in before would you abrogate this time, from your experience?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, that is for Mr. White to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we are trying to get your judgment. It is an interesting question. Now, how many speakers had you arranged to go out into the country?

Mr. CUMMINGS. For this year—I have not arranged.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea how many speakers will be sent out by the Democratic Party?

Mr. CUMMINGS. By the national organization?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir. Senator Harrison can tell you about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of your speakers paid?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Not paid. Their expenses will be much more this year than they were in 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Some speakers pay their own expenses; they decline to receive even their traveling expenses. Others take their traveling expenses and contribute the amount back to the committee. Others take their traveling expenses, and that is the end of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, isn't it a great proportion of them that have their traveling expenses paid?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I can only speak for 1916, when I had charge of the speakers' bureau for our party, and there were a surprisingly large number of people who donated their services, their time, and their expenses.

The CHAIRMAN. How many speakers did you have out in 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, I have forgotten.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think—

Mr. CUMMINGS. We had headquarters at Chicago and headquarters at San Francisco and at New York for the speakers' bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Do you think in paying speakers' expenses in a campaign such as this will be this year, with the number out in each party, that four or five hundred thousand dollars will be an excessive budget to pay speakers' expenses?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, we never expended any such amount of money.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any idea how much you did spend?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes. Guessing again, in 1916, \$90,000 to \$100,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$90,000 to \$100,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I am just guessing.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that about right?

Mr. MARSH. I just remarked, before you did, \$103,000 or \$104,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$103,000 or \$104,000?

Mr. MARSH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you spend the rest of the money for in 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I was not in charge of the campaign, but I can give you my general impression.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your impression?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, the biggest item was publicity, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The biggest item was publicity.

The CHAIRMAN. The biggest item was publicity. That is the biggest item in any campaign.

Mr. CUMMINGS. It ought to be.

The CHAIRMAN. It ought to be; yes, sir. And a very large sum can be spent in perfectly legitimate publicity, of course?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, these are self-evident propositions, it seems to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are not disputing those propositions?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Of course not.

The CHAIRMAN. And when we speak of corrupting the American electorate and buying the presidency, how much money do you think it would take to corrupt the American people and buy the presidency?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, I don't think you ought to ask me that, nor that I ought to reply to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, hasn't Gov. Cox intimated that \$15,000,000 was the amount that was to be used to do it? Do you think that would buy the American people?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why, I have not the remotest idea that Mr. Harding is going to be elected, or can buy the presidency—no, sir—no matter how much money he has.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think he could buy it for any amount of money?

Mr. CUMMINGS. And I don't think Gov. Cox said that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think Gov. Cox said that he could buy it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. As I understood it, he said it was an attempt.

The CHAIRMAN. An attempt; possibly that is true. I want to ask you about another branch of this investigation. You were at San Francisco?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir; very much so.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us about how many—the number of Federal officials who were delegates to the convention at San Francisco?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us anything about the number of Government employees who were at the San Francisco convention, and with the expense account paid by the Government?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I don't know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know of any. You don't know that there were not any, do you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir; I don't know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Cabinet officers were there?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Four, I think. I may have missed one. I recall four.

The CHAIRMAN. I heard it, or saw it in the papers, that the Secretary of the Navy was there on a battleship. Is that correct?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He came on a battleship. At the Government's expense?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I don't know anything about that. I don't know the purpose. I have every reason to believe that if he came that way it was for a purpose, a legitimate purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The battleship just happened to come around?

Mr. CUMMINGS. If the question is intended as a reflection upon Mr. Daniels, the question should be put to him and not to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I would be glad to put it to him and find out the truth. Did any delegates come on the battleship, do you know?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I never heard of such.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell anything about the number of postmasters who were at the San Francisco convention?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I haven't the remotest idea.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been a good deal of talk about Federal officials in that convention. Of course it is possible——

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why, there is a great deal of talk in every political campaign, which does not amount to anything. In my opinion this falls in that category.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not amount to anything. Do you know whether any officials of the Department of Justice were there?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I know of some. I think the Attorney General himself was there.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, I happened to be acquainted personally with a few that were there, but I could name them on the fingers of one hand.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were they?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think I know that Mr. Spellacy, from my State, was there as delegate.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the Assistant Attorney General?

Mr. CUMMINGS. He is connected with the Department of Justice. I assume that there were others.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he the only one you can name?

Mr. CUMMINGS. For the moment. I think Mr. Garvin is connected with the Department of Justice. He was there.

The CHAIRMAN. Was a Mr. Nebucher there?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Nebucher was there, yes—I am not quite certain.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an assistant to the Attorney General.

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; I am not sure that he was there; I am not sure whether he was or not. I am not quite sure about that. I know who you mean.

The CHAIRMAN. He is from Utah.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I know who you mean. And a very fine gentleman. Whether he was at the convention or not I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose you couldn't see everybody in the convention while you were chairman?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I was very busy there, and I wasn't taking a census of the postmasters, or any other.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who could give us the information as to the number of Federal officials at the San Francisco convention?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, no. The list is public; you could start a clerk to analyzing it, if you are interested, the whole list of delegates is published.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Spencer wants to ask you a question.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Cummings, will you give me information on this, which I have not got quite clear. Our testimony shows that in 1916 the committee under your administration spent \$2,300,000.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I was not chairman in 1916, sir.

Mr. SPENCER. No; but your testimony was that that was the expenditure in 1916?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, that is my recollection of the official report.

Senator SPENCER. That is your recollection of the official report? I think that is right.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I may be wrong. What was it in 1916, Mr. Marsh?

Mr. MARSH. I didn't hear the question.

Senator SPENCER. The expenditure which you made, the amount which you spent, which the national committee spent in the 1916 campaign was \$2,300,000, leaving a deficit of some \$100,000, is that in accordance with your recollection?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Is that about right?

Mr. MARSH. That is about it? My recollection is that the money that was returned to the States was included in that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is right.

Senator SPENCER. That is what I was going to ask.

Mr. CUMMINGS. That was approximately the amount of our deficit, I think you are right. I think I did state that in answer to Senator Pomerene's question.

Senator SPENCER. That is, the expenditures of the Democratic national committee were \$2,300,000, and the expenses, according to our testimony, of the Republican committee were \$2,500,000 in 1916. Now, your expenditures included, as Mr. Marsh states, a certain sum of money which he estimates at the deficit amount, the amount that was returned to the States.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. But I am right, am I not, in thinking that that does not at all mean that in the States of the Union there were not independent State financial campaigns, as in Missouri, for example?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Of course there were.

Senator SPENCER. Of course there were, and the aggregate of that, that was raised in the States, was that included in the \$2,300,000 to which you referred?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Do you mean what the State committees raised and used for their own purposes?

Senator SPENCER. Exactly; and that was not included in your total?

Mr. CUMMINGS. What they kept they kept. What they gave us we took.

Senator SPENCER. Exactly.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I don't know where the balance lies.

Senator SPENCER. And included in your total of \$2,300,000 was only the amount that came into the treasury of the national committee?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Absolutely.

Senator SPENCER. And that did not include at all what was raised in the several States by themselves, for themselves?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Of course not.

Senator SPENCER. Of course not. And that is equally true on the other side?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Absolutely.

Senator SPENCER. Now, you estimate this year that practically \$3,000,000—\$2,800,000—would be required, as you stated, for an adequate campaign?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And Mr. Hays's estimate is \$3,079,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No.

Senator SPENCER. According to our testimony to-day?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No.

Senator SPENCER. Where is the difference?

Mr. CUMMINGS. The difference is that my figures include gifts to the State committees.

Senator SPENCER. How much?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, substantially what was given in 1916.

Senator SPENCER. That is, \$600,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. \$600,000 or \$700,000.

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Whereas his figures exclude an extra million dollars, as I understand, that he expects to give to the State committees.

Senator SPENCER. Well, that is not the testimony; but I don't want to dispute that now.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I may be wrong.

Senator SPENCER. That is not the testimony. But I want to get your testimony right, in fairness to yourself. Your estimate of approximately \$3,000,000 has included in it a certain amount, approximately the same amount as the last campaign, that would be turned back to the States?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Suppose I put it this way, that if the national committee had \$2,000,000 for itself and did not have to give any money for the State, you could conduct a very adequate campaign?

Senator SPENCER. Now, that is getting down to exactly what I want to get at. If you had \$2,000,000 you could conduct a very adequate campaign. Now, in 1916 you had \$2,300,000. If you deduct from that the \$600,000 that you gave back to the States, that would leave \$1,700,000.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Considering the cost of paper, printing and publicity, traveling, advertising, wages and salary, and everything, is it your judgment that in this year, 1920, you could conduct a campaign for \$2,000,000 equal to the one you conducted in 1916, that cost you \$1,700,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is what I said, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And that is your judgment?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Absolutely. I would not have said so if it was not

Senator SPENCER. I wanted to give you a chance at correction.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why, I do not want any chance for correction.

Senator SPENCER. Well, that is for you to say.

Senator EDGE. I understood you to say that you believed that the most important expenditure was newspapers, or publicity, not analyzing it as to any particular class of publicity, and that your expenses for speakers, travel, etc., was approximately \$100,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator EDGE. In answer to the question of the chairman you emphasized the point that the large part of your \$2,300,000 or \$1,700,000, whichever way you put it, was spent in publicity. Therefore, with the knowledge that has been developed several times at the hearing, that publicity to-day costs not less than double, and in most cases treble; how could you possibly carry out a campaign in any way equal to that and following your own idea that publicity is the important feature of the campaign?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Do you want me to answer that?

Senator EDGE. I would like to hear you.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Of course, this is all speculation, because I am not going to run the campaign and I will never have a chance to prove whether I can do it or not. But, for instance, in 1916, if I recall correctly, during the last few days of the campaign, we placed advertising by telegraph in most of the Western States, six or seven hundred thousand dollars worth. I don't know how much there was of it. But I know that we had to pay twice what we could have contracted for if we had started in and made a contract in the beginning. I believe there was a wastage there of a quarter of a million dollars, right in that one item alone. I don't know whether the other gentlemen will agree with me or not, but I think it is true.

I think that as you go along with any organization, no matter what it is, whether a political organization or a business enterprise, you learn economies, and even though the cost of material had gone up, and various other costs, which I called to your attention some time ago, that if you were not burdened with the necessity of contributing to the States you could make a very excellent campaign on \$2,000,000. I still say so. I think so.

Senator EDGE. That is, boiled down, Mr. Cummings—

Mr. CUMMINGS. It would be very nice to have \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000; it would be a great luxury for the chairman of the national committee not to have to worry about expenditures, to be able to give an order to do this and to do that. But that is not what I am talking about. I am talking about an efficient and reasonably satisfactory campaign.

Senator SPENCER. What was your largest contribution, do you remember, Mr. Cummings?

Mr. CUMMINGS. In 1916?

Senator SPENCER. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I don't remember what it was, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. Do you remember what it was in this campaign, during your administration?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I could not tell you. It is all in the books. The books will show you.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any recollection of any of \$25,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. What?

Senator SPENCER. Have you any recollection of any of \$25,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; I have not.

Senator SPENCER. You would not say there were none?

Mr. CUMMINGS. I have no recollection of any. I don't think there was any.

Senator SPENCER. The deficit of \$100,000 that you turned back—I mean when you rendered your account to your successor—was the entire indebtedness of the Democratic national committee, was all that the committee owed when you left?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, I was speaking roughly, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Yes; I know that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I don't want to be tied too close to exact figures.

Senator SPENCER. I know, but approximately \$100,000 was the amount of your deficit when you turned it over to your successor?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, this is what I said, that the amount of debts in excess of the amount of cash on hand was about \$100,000.

Senator SPENCER. And the cash was \$600?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, no; there was more than that.

Senator SPENCER. How much?

Mr. CUMMINGS. About \$80,000.

Senator SPENCER. Well, Mr. Cummings, I asked you particularly as to whether you had turned over any substantial amount of money, and my recollection is that your answer was that no substantial sum of money had been turned over; that you turned over about \$600 with a deficit of \$100,000. Now, did I misunderstand you?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Now, where is your \$80,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. In the bank.

Senator SPENCER. Oh, you thought I meant turned over in actual cash, handed from hand to hand?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No.

Senator SPENCER. What did you think I meant when I asked you how much money you turned over to your successor?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Just what I said.

Senator SPENCER. And you had \$80,000 in the bank?

Mr. CUMMINGS. There is about \$80,000, I think—

Senator SPENCER. That went over to your successor?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; not yet.

Senator SPENCER. It is ready to go over to him?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No.

Senator SPENCER. Well, now we have got the fact, have we?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No; you haven't got all the fact yet.

Senator SPENCER. I am afraid we haven't yet; but I propose to solve that mystery.

Mr. CUMMINGS. All you have to do is to ask me.

Senator SPENCER. Suppose you ask yourself—to get it out. I don't seem to be able to get at the facts from you.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Now, that is because you don't know how to ask the question.

Senator SPENCER. That may be, or, perhaps, because the witness—

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, no; it is just as simple as falling off a log.

Senator SPENCER. But tell me; you know what I want.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. And you knew what I wanted before?

Mr. CUMMINGS. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Then I was very unfortunate.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think you were.

Senator SPENCER. Proceed.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Here is the situation: There was about \$180,000 of notes in the bank. In order to redeem those notes I established a sinking fund separate and apart. That sinking fund amounts to about \$80,000.

Senator SPENCER. Now we have got the fact?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why, subject to variations.

Senator SPENCER. I mean the substantial fact?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. That you have got an indebtedness of \$180,000?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. With a sinking fund of \$80,000 against it?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. Leaving approximately a net indebtedness of \$100,000 and you turned over \$600 in cash?

Mr. CUMMINGS. There you have got it.

Senator SPENCER. Thank you; that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Very much obliged to you, Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Very much obliged to you.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will take an adjournment until 10 o'clock a. m., Chicago time.

(After the announcement of the adjournment was made by the chairman, Congressman Henry D. Flood and Mr. Joseph L. Rhinock requested that they be called as witnesses at this session, as their testimony was short, and they wished to get away.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will reassemble.

(The full subcommittee was present, with the exception of Senator Reed.)

The CHAIRMAN. If Senator Reed objects to it we will have to have you come back. The order of adjournment will be set aside.

TESTIMONY OF MR. HENRY D. FLOOD.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. State your name to the reporter, Mr. Flood.

Mr. FLOOD. Henry D. Flood.

The CHAIRMAN. And what is your business?

Mr. FLOOD. I am a lawyer, but have been a Member of Congress for a number of years. I am now chairman of the Democratic congressional campaign committee.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been chairman?

Mr. FLOOD. Since April, 1920.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your predecessor?

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Scott Ferris, of Oklahoma.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time you became chairman was any money turned over to you?

Mr. FLOOD. Not a cent.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the financial condition of that committee at that time?

Mr. FLOOD. I don't think they had a cent in the treasury. I think they had paid up all the debts, and the balance sheet was about even.

The CHAIRMAN. About equal?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes; equal.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the treasurer now?

Mr. FLOOD. The treasurer is Mr. Joseph L. Rhinock.

The CHAIRMAN. And who was the treasurer then?

Mr. FLOOD. I have forgotten. It was some ex-Member of Congress, and I don't recall who it was.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you cooperate with the national committee?

Mr. FLOOD. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. In your work?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do they furnish any funds for your committee?

Mr. FLOOD. My understanding is that they are to finance my committee.

The CHAIRMAN. They are to finance your committee. Do you go out and raise money separately?

Mr. FLOOD. I hadn't done so, but I have received voluntary contributions for which I account to the national committee, and they are, as I understand it, to finance the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent have you received these voluntary contributions?

Mr. FLOOD. Those that have been actually received and that I count on being as good as received are \$8,700.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us a list of the contributors, Mr. Flood?

Mr. FLOOD. I can give you a list of the contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. And send them on?

Mr. FLOOD. I will send it here.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we may not be here then. I guess you had better send it to me at Washington.

Mr. FLOOD. All right, I will.

The CHAIRMAN. What have been your disbursements?

Mr. FLOOD. If you will hand me that paper I will read them to you. We paid out in salaries up to Saturday night \$1,444.32. We have made one contribution to the congressional district of \$500. The miscellaneous expenses, including telephone, telegraph, stamps, etc., amount to \$498.42, and stationery and supplies to \$263.33. And we have had speeches printed at the Public Printer's for which we have paid, or are obligated to pay, amounting to \$5,098.16.

The CHAIRMAN. What are those? Speeches of Members of Congress?

Mr. FLOOD. They are.

The CHAIRMAN. They are franked to the voters?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose both parties are doing that.

Mr. FLOOD. I suppose so. We have had printed something like 1,300,000 speeches. We are very much limited by a rule of the Joint Printing Committee which limits the speeches that are eight pages to 50,000 copies, and those that are four pages to 100,000 copies, and less than that to 200,000 copies.

The CHAIRMAN. You are having 5,000,000 speeches printed?

Mr. FLOOD. No; I said we had about 1,300,000 speeches.

The CHAIRMAN. You have 1,300,000 speeches of Members of Congress?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are sent out under the Congressmen's franks?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So it does not require any money except for the printing?

Mr. FLOOD. No. And our bill for that is about \$5,098.16.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any speakers' bureau?

Mr. FLOOD. We have a speakers' bureau, but it will cooperate with the national committee. The congressional campaign committee has a member in the national headquarters at New York and will have one here and one at San Francisco, and our speakers' bureau will cooperate with the national committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any budget?

Mr. FLOOD. We have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any estimate of what you expect to raise and spend?

Mr. FLOOD. We expect to spend a good deal in printing if the national committee will furnish us the money, and we expect the national committee to take care of any speakers' expenses that we have to incur. Of course, we do that by conference with them. The running expenses of the committee itself will not be over \$20,000 for the campaign; I mean the clerical force, etc. We don't pay any rent.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your office?

Mr. FLOOD. In the House Office Building.

The CHAIRMAN. It is carried on from the House Office Building?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any Government clerks who are engaged in the work?

Mr. FLOOD. None at all.

The CHAIRMAN. How many clerks do you employ?

Mr. FLOOD. We have now four stenographers and three other men; three men employed to assist me.

The CHAIRMAN. You pay all of them salaries?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Did you ask, Mr. Chairman, for an itemized list of the \$8,700 contributors?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; he is to furnish it to us and send it to me at Washington.

Senator SPENCER. There were several contributors?

Mr. FLOOD. Oh, quite a number of contributors.

Senator SPENCER. You spoke of one contributor?

Mr. FLOOD. No; one contribution the committee has made.

Senator SPENCER. How much do you want to get?

The CHAIRMAN. Get all that you can, I suppose?

Mr. RHINOCK. Get all that I can. I don't know, sir. It is kind of new to me. I never asked for anything in my life.

The CHAIRMAN. How did they happen to make you treasurer?

Mr. RHINOCK. Well, I served in Congress with Cox, and we are good friends, good old friends, and I am in New York, and I have made some money and have been pretty successful, I think, and they wanted me to help them out, and I will do anything I can to help out.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you contributed yourself to the campaign?

Mr. RHINOCK. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How much have you contributed?

Mr. RHINOCK. \$500 I gave.

The CHAIRMAN. You contributed \$500?

Mr. RHINOCK. And that is all they asked me for.

The CHAIRMAN. And have you solicited among your friends for other subscriptions?

Mr. RHINOCK. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You expect to do that at the proper time?

Mr. RHINOCK. I expect to give them some help.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't see that you can throw much light on this proposition.

Mr. RHINOCK. No; I don't think I can. It is a kind of a useless trip I was asked to make.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry we brought you out here, but we did not, of course, know.

Mr. RHINOCK. That is all right.

Senator SPENCER. Do you agree with Mr. Flood that a fund of \$220,000 would be proper, if it can be raised?

Mr. RHINOCK. No, sir; I have never heard of it before.

Senator SPENCER. Have you had anything in mind as a maximum for your budget?

Mr. RHINOCK. No, sir.

Senator EDGE. Any money that you would raise you would turn into your own treasury, but report it to the national committee?

Mr. RHINOCK. That is the first time I have heard of that, and I didn't know that that was the way they did it. I just heard him express it, and I don't know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have anything to do with the election of Senators?

Mr. RHINOCK. No, sir; not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will now adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, Chicago time.

(Thereupon, at 5.50 p. m. (Chicago time), an adjournment was taken until 10 o'clock a. m. Tuesday, August 31, 1920.)

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES

HEARING

BEFORE A

SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. RES. 357

**A RESOLUTION DIRECTING THE COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES
AND ELECTIONS TO INVESTIGATE THE CAMPAIGN EXPENSES
OF VARIOUS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
IN ALL POLITICAL PARTIES**

PART 9

Printed for the use of the Committee on Privileges and Elections



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COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS.

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON S. RES. 357.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, *Chairman.*

SELDEN P. SPENCER.

JAMES A. REED.

WALTER E. EDGE.

ATLEE POMERENE.

CHARLES A. WEBB, *Clerk.*

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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES..

TUESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1920.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS,
Chicago, Ill.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to adjournment, at 10 o'clock a. m., in room 603 Federal Building, Senator William S. Kenyon presiding.

Present: Senators Kenyon (chairman), Reed, Pomerene, Spencer, and Edge.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Upham here?

TESTMONY OF MR. FRED W. UPHAM.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham, have you given your name in full to the reporter?

Mr. UPHAM. My name is Fred W. Upham. I am treasurer of the Republican National Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Upham, you know, of course, in a general way the work of this committee.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And what we are instructed to do.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You also know these charges that have been made by the Democratic nominee for President, some of which have been put in the record.

Now, we want to have you present to us the list of contributions, the method of financing the campaign, all expenses, the names of all contributors, every one of them. Can you do that?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, first, you have books; books are kept of everything, are they?

Mr. UPHAM. The treasurer's office keeps books just the same as any other business institution. We have a regular voucher system. We have a voucher for every expense. I issue a receipt for every dollar that is paid in. I have with me a list of every contributor, with the amount contributed. In addition to that I have with me the number of pledges that have not been paid.

Senator POMERENE. The number of what?

Mr. UPHAM. The number of pledges made to the committee.

Senator POMERENE. That what?

Mr. UPHAM. Pledges, I say.

The CHAIRMAN. Pledges that have not been paid. Now, before we go into that, just a little résumé perhaps. How much money has come into your hands as treasurer of the national committee, say—to make a line of demarcation—since the Republican convention?

Mr. UPHAM. There has come to me as treasurer of the Republican national committee for national committee purposes \$618,013.54. Contributions to State campaign committees, where joint arrangement has been made, amount to——

Senator REED. Let me get those other figures, Mr. Upham, if you please?

Mr. UPHAM. \$618,013.54.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is since the convention, is it?

Mr. UPHAM. This is from June 14 on. We opened our books on June 14, when the new committee started to work. The new national committee was confirmed and the officers elected on the 12th of June, and the 13th was Sunday.

Senator REED. Does that embrace all moneys turned over to you at that time?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; these are the contributions since that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. My balance sheet will show the amount of money that I had on hand.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, go ahead. Those are the contributions since that time?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. These are the contributions. The number of contributors, 12,389; average, \$82.11. Here is a complete list of contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. Of every contributor?

Mr. UPHAM. Of every identical contributor up to last Thursday night, the 26th.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the largest contribution received?

Mr. UPHAM. In that list?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. There are none in excess of \$2,500 on that list. The number of subscribers of more than \$1,000 is eight—they number eight. The amount is \$13,500, or an average of \$1,687.50.

Senator POMERENE. I did not get the first part of your statement there. You said none in excess of \$2,500?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And what did you say after that?

Mr. UPHAM. I said the number being eight; they are eight in number.

Senator POMERENE. In excess of what?

Mr. UPHAM. In excess of \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham, when was that \$1,000 rule established?

Mr. UPHAM. Why, I think, about May, 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of instances of any subterfuge as to that, where families have given more than \$1,000?

Mr. UPHAM. I know of cases where husbands and wives have given a thousand dollars, but not as a subterfuge. I think the women, now having the vote, take a very active interest.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Have you received anything in the Republican national committee from any contributors except as appears in this book?

Mr. UPHAM. Not one penny.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any pledges for contributions?

Mr. UPHAM. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they amount to?

Mr. UPHAM. The unpaid pledges as of the same date, Thursday evening, this last Thursday, amounted to 2,304. The total amount is \$291,565.33.

Senator POMERENE. \$291,565.33?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the total, then, of pledges and actual contributions?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, by adding—that should be added. A part of this is State money. I do not know how much. These are pledges—this should be added, if you want to know how much money; it should be added to the total of the national and State money, and then the State's share would have to come out of this.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can you not give us the total in your evidence right here so that we may have it?

Mr. UPHAM. The total for States?

The CHAIRMAN. No; the total of pledges and of all contributions; of pledges and contributions.

Mr. UPHAM. I have given you the pledges to the national committee, \$618,013.54. Contributions to the State campaign committee, \$399,241.78. Now, to both national and State, in pledges, on hand last Thursday evening there were 2,304; that is, for both national and State, amounting to \$291,565.33. That is divided up by States.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in addition to the \$399,000 item?

Mr. UPHAM. That is in addition to the \$399,000 and the \$618,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, I am not just clear as to this \$399,000. What does that represent?

Mr. UPHAM. That is money that has been collected by State committees with our assistance, all of which has been returned to the States.

The CHAIRMAN. To the States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the \$291,565.33; what does that represent?

Mr. UPHAM. That represents pledges from those States. There is a list of them.

The CHAIRMAN. From those States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Which you have presented here?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In this exhibit?

Mr. UPHAM. That are unpaid. There are only two pledges in excess of \$1,000. There are two \$5,000 pledges unpaid.

The CHAIRMAN. The States are presented in what we will call, Mr. Reporter, Upham's Exhibit No. 1.

Senator REED. I don't understand yet what it is. I have not been able to understand it. What is Upham's Exhibit No. 1?

money——

Mr. UPHAM. We hope to get.

Senator REED (continuing). Is to be disposed of by a division between the national committee and the States committees?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And how much is to go to the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Probably about the same proportion that is shown—collected up to date. For instance, up to date the national committee got \$618,000 and the State committees practically \$400,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And the item of \$399,000——

Senator REED. The State committees \$400,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; \$399,241.78.

Senator REED. That is about 4 to 6, then?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And about four-tenths of the money——

Mr. UPHAM. So far.

Senator REED (continuing). That is, collected by the States, goes back to the States, or is it four-sixths of all the money that is collected that goes back to the States?

Mr. UPHAM. No; you could not carry it out absolutely.

Senator REED. I said four-sixths. I meant four-tenths in each instance, gentlemen. I meant four-tenths.

Mr. UPHAM. No; there are some States that get——

Senator REED. Get more, and some get less!

Mr. UPHAM. Considerably more—in proportion to what they raise; that is, that percentage would not carry out for the whole amount.

The CHAIRMAN. In some States you return 50 per cent, do you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; and in some States only 20 per cent, the larger States being smaller amounts.

Senator REED. But on the average—you do not know what the average would be?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I do not know what the average would be. That has not been figured out.

Senator REED. You can tell the amounts that have actually been returned on moneys collected, and you can tell us that average, can you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Here is a statement of where all the money that is shown there to the State was returned to the State.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if I understand it, the \$399,000 item was all—that money was all returned to the States.

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely. There it is, right there.

The CHAIRMAN. And all of the \$291,000 items——

Mr. UPHAM. The States that are there——

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). The item of pledges, a certain proportion is to be returned to the State?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. According to whatever agreement you may have made with them?

Mr. UPHAM. According to whatever agreement we may have made with them; yes.

Senator EDGE. And the balance added to the \$618,000 for national purposes; is that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. What would that be?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that be it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator EDGE. And the balance of \$291,000 added to the \$618,000 for national purposes.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any idea of the amount of the \$291,000 item that will be left for use by the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. My rough estimate would be \$200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Two hundred thousand dollars?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then to get at what the national committee would have, you would add the \$200,000 to the \$618,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Making around \$818,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You would also add to that any balance carried over, would you not, in order to get at the resources of the committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I have a resource statement.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the balance carried over? Let us get that, and then we will have it.

Mr. UPHAM. The cash on hand on June 14, was \$296,621.27. At that time the committee owed \$100,000.

Senator REED. So that means that you had net, \$196,000.

Mr. UPHAM. If we paid our debts.

Senator REED. All right. And since that you have collected \$618,013.

Mr. UPHAM. And 54 cents.

Senator REED. And you have pledges for \$291,000, and you expect to get \$200,000 of that.

Mr. UPHAM. I think so, for the national——

Senator REED. For the national committee.

Mr. UPHAM. My estimate would be \$200,000; yes.

Senator REED. That makes a little over \$1,000,000, does it not?

Mr. UPHAM. No; it means \$818,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, add the cash on hand.

Mr. UPHAM. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Which brings it up to one million one hundred and some odd thousand.

Mr. UPHAM. Oh, yes.

Senator REED. How much of that has been spent?

(No answer.)

Senator REED. Well, I do not want to interrupt your examination, Senator. I am simply trying to get the things a little clearer in my own mind; that is all.

Mr. UPHAM. Here is an absolute statement from our books of our cash receipts and disbursements that tells the whole story. The cash on hand and working funds on June 14 were \$296,621.27.

The CHAIRMAN. Say that again, please. Give us that again.

Mr. UPHAM. Cash on hand and working funds, \$296,621.27.

The CHAIRMAN. That was June 14.

Mr. UPHAM. That was June 14, when we opened our books.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. Contributions received for national committee up to—this is all up to August 26 at the close of business—\$618,013.54. Contributions received for States where joint working arrangement has been made with them, \$399,241.78.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that has all been returned?

Mr. UPHAM. That has all been returned; yes. Received on loans, \$360,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what were these loans, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, they were bank loans, with the exception of two.

The CHAIRMAN. And they were straight bank loans, were they?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; straight bank loans.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no underwriting in that?

Mr. UPHAM. Not a penny; and all made with my personal assurance that the money is going to be paid back.

Senator REED. Why do you have loans when you have got the money on hand?

Mr. UPHAM. We did not have the money on hand at the time we borrowed that money.

Senator REED. You have the money now.

Mr. UPHAM. We did not borrow that money, Senator, on the 14th day of June. We borrowed it as we needed it.

Senator REED. Yes; but you had a balance turned over to you.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; I know; but this cash balance shows that on August 26, even after borrowing \$360,000, we only had \$155,000 left.

The CHAIRMAN. And had you paid the \$360,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Why, it shows what we paid out, either paid or loaned. You see, we have loaned, and this statement shows we have loaned—I might finish the statement first, though, if you will let me.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you had better do that.

Mr. UPHAM. We received for prize money from Mr. Beale \$10,000, which was paid out.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. UPHAM. He offered—well, I do not know exactly—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Beale?

Mr. UPHAM. He is a Washington man. He offered a prize for—well, some essays.

The CHAIRMAN. On a platform?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know what it was about. It was all in the papers at the time. Truxton Beale is the man—Truxton Beale.

The CHAIRMAN. For the best platform; was that it?

Senator REED. He paid out \$10,000 for that?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. For this platform that you adopted?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I do not know what platform it was. I used to be in the lumber business, but I do not know. I could not tell which platform this was.

The CHAIRMAN. You ought to know about platforms. Well, that money was turned over to the committee?

Mr. UPHAM. That money was turned over and paid out as prize money to the ones that the chairman was notified had been awarded the prizes. That really did not go into the campaign fund. I received \$10,000 and I have to account for it, and I do account for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Pardon me for the interruption; but is that not a very clear demonstration that most money that is turned over to political committees is wasted?

The CHAIRMAN. This was turned over for a specific purpose.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I am not an essayist. I could not tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, take the next item.

Mr. UPHAM. We have loaned the congressional committee—you will notice in the disbursements—\$200,000.

Senator REED. Have you an extra copy of that, Mr. Upham, that you can let us have, so that we can follow it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. I will give you all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you loaned that money—that item you speak of—to the congressional campaign committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; \$200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$200,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; of which they have paid back \$11,500, as shown by the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, your miscellaneous receipts—interest, refunds, etc., \$9,000—what does that cover?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, that covers checks where a check has been drawn and has not been used, or is the wrong amount and is consolidated later, or something of that kind, to get it off the books. That is a bookkeeping figure. Then we get interest on our bank balances, and whatever interest we get goes into this fund. Now, we have returned to the States, as shown here, the amount we received for the States, exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. You have the names of the States?

Mr. UPHAM. I have given you the list there of the States and the amounts returned to each State.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. And the amount that was received by the national committee for each State. Do you find that there?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Just one more question. You have yourself charged here with contributions received for States, where joint

working arrangement is had with them, \$399,241.78; and under the head of disbursements returned to States, exactly the same amount.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. That does not mean, does it, that all of the money, in the aggregate, that you got from the States was returned? It means that you have, in charging yourself with moneys from the States, only charged yourself under this item with the amount which was afterwards to go back to the States?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I have submitted an exact accounting as to how that was handled, and it will show each State; the red figures show where we have given a State more than we have got from it.

Senator REED. Well, as a matter of fact, have you returned to the States all that was collected by the States?

Mr. UPHAM. We have collected all that was shown here, absolutely.

Senator REED. Well, but you are holding up another sheet of paper there, and that does not mean anything in the record, Mr. Upham.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, but I have already submitted that sheet. There it is [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. Give us some more of those you have in your hand.

Senator REED. All I want to get into the record is this, whether we are to understand that the States collected a total of \$399,241.78 and turned that over to the national committee—that amount over to the national committee.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Then the national committee redistributed exactly the same amount to the States?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think we can clear that up, Senator, in this way—

Senator REED (interrupting). Let him answer that first, please. Is that what we are to understand?

Mr. UPHAM. The collection, of course, is by joint effort, under the direction—where we have a working arrangement with the State, under our direction, and in every case we have kept faith with the State and given them their money, not all that they were entitled to exactly, but it shows exactly what they did get. Some got more than they were entitled to, I mean. This statement shows—

Senator REED (interrupting). Well, I may be very dull, but, Mr. Upham, I want to get this point in my mind.

Mr. UPHAM. All right.

Senator REED. And I am sure you can explain it.

Mr. UPHAM. I will try to answer the question fairly.

Senator REED. You have an arrangement with a number of the States by which they are to go out in connection with the national committee and collect moneys, all of those moneys to be turned over to the national committee, and then a portion of the money, as we were given to understand yesterday, returned to the States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, I want to know if this balance sheet that you have given us here—

Mr. UPHAM (interrupting). Yes.

Senator REED (continuing). Which shows that you got \$291—where is that figure?

The CHAIRMAN. \$399,000?

Mr. UPHAM. \$399,241——

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. The statement shows we returned exactly the same amount that we received.

Senator REED. As a matter of fact, you did do that, then?

Mr. UPHAM. We did do that; and it shows here in detail just exactly what we did.

Senator REED. So that up to the time this statement was made, which was the 26th day of August, you have turned back to the States an amount of money exactly the equivalent of all the money that had been collected by the States and the national—the State organizations and the national organization working jointly.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, was that the arrangement originally? Or was not the arrangement as testified to here yesterday, that a percentage of it was to be returned to the States and a percentage of it was to remain for the benefit of the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, that was true.

Senator REED. But it appears that you turned it all back?

Mr. UPHAM. In some States we turned back more money than we received.

Senator REED. More?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; and here is my accounting of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Take your sheet now and let us get this clear.

Mr. UPHAM. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Take the State of Alabama.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have for national committee, \$824.15.

Mr. UPHAM. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have——

Mr. UPHAM. No; that is not correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you have it that way.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, that is in red figures, in the center.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you have, to States, \$1,464.15. Now, does that mean——

Mr. UPHAM. That means that we collected \$1,464.15 in Alabama—no; we collected \$640 in Alabama. We have returned to Alabama or paid out in expenses of the campaign in Alabama—that is, the financial campaign—\$1,464.15, so that Alabama to-day on my books is \$824.15 in red.

The CHAIRMAN. Instead of the national committee, then, keeping any part of the contribution from Alabama——

Mr. UPHAM. We have overpaid Alabama \$824 more than——

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). They have expended \$824.15 more than received.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, take the State of Arizona. You received \$2,377.50.

Mr. UPHAM. My auditor, Mr. Pearson, calls my attention to something. He thinks I misunderstood your question, Senator. He thinks that my reply would lead you to think that \$399,000 was all we received from those States.

Senator REED. \$399,000?

Senator EDGE. All right.

Senator REED. However, it was not returned to the State where it was raised necessarily, but it was returned and distributed—put into other States—was that the case?

Mr. UPHAM. Here is an exact statement of what was done by States. I can not give you anything better than that. You have the same statement before you that I have.

Senator REED. I do not understand it, that is all.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I will be very glad to explain it.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Upham, in other words, this detailed statement showing a total of \$1,017,255.32, subdivided in the two columns, of \$618,000 retained by the national committee and \$399,000 distributed or sent to the States, is a recapitulation of your balance sheet here, which shows exactly the same figures, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; it is to explain it so that you can understand.

The CHAIRMAN. The trouble we are getting into——

Mr. UPHAM (continuing). This is to show this committee just where we got the money, and how, and all about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, here is the trouble, I think: We are taking the \$399,000 as the total received from the States through the joint working arrangement. Now, all of the money was received—\$1,017,255.32, that was received from the States?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, \$399,000 of that goes back to the States and \$618,000 is kept by the committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is all there is to it, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. That is all there is to it; yes.

Senator EDGE. In other words, every dollar you received is credited to the States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Whether you retain it in the national, or a part of it?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not get \$399,000 from the States and then use \$399,000 in the States?

Mr. UPHAM. We kept books with every State.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is just an unfortunate way of stating it that makes it a little difficult to understand.

Senator EDGE. It is perfectly clear from the figures.

Senator POMERENE. I would like to ask you one question, Mr. Upham, to clear up the situation in my own mind: Do I understand that this actual \$399,241.78 represents the amount which was to be returned to the States by the national committee, under your contracts with those several States?

Mr. UPHAM. No. It represents the amount that we have returned.

Senator POMERENE. But you have contracts with those several States, as I understand it.

Mr. UPHAM. We have understandings with a good many of them; yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Well, with all of this list of States, you have? I have not followed it to see whether you mentioned them all or not.

Mr. UPHAM. No; we have not working arrangements with all of them.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. UPHAM. I say we have not working arrangements with all of them.

Senator POMERENE. So that in the cases that are in red you turned over to them—if you have contracts with them, you turned over to them more than you have received—that is, more than you have received as representing their portion.

Mr. UPHAM. This is a true statement, and that is all I can say.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I am not disputing that.

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator POMERENE. I simply am trying to understand it; that is all.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham, when you speak of these agreements and contracts with the States—as I understand Mr. Hays's testimony yesterday, the arrangements were that this finance committee, or ways and means committee, would go ahead and arrange for the collecting of the money?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the State would keep out of that.

Mr. UPHAM. Just having only one collecting agency.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have not any particular contracts, have you, with States? You adjust this matter with them as your committee thinks is wise in carrying on the campaign, do you not?

Mr. UPHAM. That may be readjusted several more times before the election.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Some States you give more than 30 per cent and some you give 50 per cent, as you think the situation requires; that is the situation, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir. We had an understanding in Missouri, a 50 per cent understanding to start with, and I think that will be revised in favor of Missouri.

The CHAIRMAN. Missouri wants more, does it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; before we get through.

Senator REED. I saw some indication that Missouri wanted more.

Senator SPENCER. I hope it may be revised again.

Senator EDGE. That is demonstrated by your statement here, is it not, Mr. Upham, in which you show loans to four different States, I presume because you thought they needed the money.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead with the disbursements now. You have loaned to the congressional—

Senator REED. Well, just one further question. The fact about it is this, is it not: While your bookkeeping sheet here shows \$399,241.75 as returned to the States, you state that is the amount coming to them?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I do not.

Senator REED. What you really mean is this, that it is the amount that you sent to them and charged to them, but there may be further and other sums coming to them under the arrangements that have been made, or further sums paid to them under arrangements that may hereafter be made; is that correct?

Mr. UPHAM. That is the fact, absolutely.

Senator REED. Yes. I understand it now.

Mr. UPHAM. I have a very technical auditor, and—

Senator REED (interrupting). Now, I want to ask one further question. It was testified yesterday that the State of Maine had been given or loaned—either given or loaned—\$25,000 in this campaign. Now, this present sheet here shows that the State of Maine contributed \$11,660, and that there was sent to it only \$1,841.01.

Mr. UPHAM. That included the expense in Maine as well.

Senator REED. But where does the \$25,000 that you sent to them come in?

Mr. UPHAM. It is a straight loan, to be respected and paid.

Senator REED. But where would it be listed?

Mr. UPHAM. It would not be listed. That has nothing to do with the contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. You will find that in the disbursements, on the disbursement sheet, Senator, loan to Maine, \$25,000.

Senator REED. Well, the amount sent to the States here is shown.

Mr. UPHAM. I know, but this was not an amount sent to Maine. This was an amount loaned to Maine.

Senator REED. It is shown on the loan sheet, is it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; absolutely as a loan.

Senator REED. Where is that loan sheet?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, it is on this statement there [indicating].

Senator REED. Is that it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; showing Maine, \$25,000; Indiana, \$1,000; North Carolina, \$7,000; Maryland, \$5,000.

Senator REED. I guess I have not seen that.

Mr. UPHAM. Right here [indicating].

Senator REED. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through, Senator?

Senator REED. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Loans to the senatorial campaign committee. What can you tell us about that?

Mr. UPHAM. I have had no conference personally with the senatorial committee, with the exception of a talk with Senator——

The CHAIRMAN. Poindexter?

Mr. UPHAM. Poindexter; and my understanding is that we are to loan the senatorial committee up to \$200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$200,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, how much are you to loan the congressional campaign committee?

Mr. UPHAM. \$500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$500,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. But only \$400,000 before the 2d of November.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the 2d of November?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. When you say loaned, do you mean that is to be paid back?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely, absolutely expected to be.

Senator REED. Where are they going to get their money from?

Mr. UPHAM. The Republicans, I expect.

Senator REED. Go out and gather it up?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, then, that means that the amount of money that you loan to them must be collected by them, and therefore that must be added to the total of your campaign fund, does it not?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is included in the budget, is it not, Mr. Upham? That is included in the budget, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. Oh, no.

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. That means, therefore, that if you are to loan \$50,000 to the senatorial committee, and get it back, they in turn collecting it from the people, and \$200,000 to the congressional campaign committee, and get it back, they in turn collecting it from the people, that you have got to add a quarter of a million dollars to the campaign fund which will be employed by the Republicans in this fight, have you not?

(No answer.)

Senator REED. Certainly, that is what it would mean, would it not?

Mr. UPHAM. No. I think your arithmetic is very bad.

Senator REED. It is?

The CHAIRMAN. More than that; more than a quarter of a million.

Senator REED. Yes, that is wrong; \$250,000—no, that is right; \$250,000.

Senator SPENCER. No, \$500,000 to the congressional committee.

Senator REED. Well, I was taking the figures on this sheet.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, this sheet is only—these are only loans, to be repaid.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And when it is repaid you will have the money again.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. To use.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; we will have the money, and when we get this money back we can pay the money we owe. We have borrowed money.

Senator REED. Let me revise the figures, my own figures. You are to loan \$500,000 to the congressional committee.

Mr. UPHAM. If they need it.

Senator REED. All right. And you are to loan how much to the senatorial committee?

Mr. UPHAM. \$200,000.

Senator REED. \$200,000.

Mr. UPHAM. I do not expect to loan either committee that amount, because I think they will pay off their loans.

Senator REED. You have loaned \$250,000 in the aggregate up to date?

Mr. UPHAM. And the congressional committee have already returned \$11,500, as shown by this statement.

Senator REED. Now, those two committees have got to go out to the people and collect that money, have they not?

Mr. UPHAM. I think they have.

Senator REED. When they collect that money then they will give it back to you people?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; but we will not—

Senator REED (interrupting). And there will be just that much added to the aggregate of the campaign fund, will there not?

Mr. UPHAM. Not of our campaign.

Senator REED. Oh, no; but you know, Mr. Upham, and I know, and we need not any of us equivocate in the slightest degree about it, that if money is put into the campaign it is not put in so that it merely benefits the presidential candidate, or the candidate for the Senate, or the candidate for Congress. It can not be used that way practically. It is put in to benefit the general campaign, and all of these candidates ride through in the same wagon, or they all ride through in the same automobile, and the gas that hauls one of them hauls the rest of them. So that just means that you propose to have \$500,000 raised by the congressional committee, and \$250,000 raised by the senatorial committee—

Mr. UPHAM. \$200,000.

Senator REED. \$200,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED (continuing). Making a total of \$700,000 that they are to raise, and in the meantime you are to advance it to them. But to get the aggregate of the campaign fund that is being employed for national purposes, if we include congressional candidates in that, you have got to add \$700,000 to the totals that were given us yesterday. have you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Only \$600,000, because you have got \$100,000 that the congressional committee does not use until after—it is for congressional work a year hence.

Senator REED. Is it \$100,000 which you are going to use in the next campaign, or is it to clean up in this campaign?

Mr. UPHAM. No, no; it has nothing to do with this campaign.

Senator REED. And, of course, you expect these gentlemen to over-run a little bit, do you not?

Mr. UPHAM. No. I expect them to have a very comfortable cash balance when they get through. They should have. They always have that, as I understand it.

Senator REED. Very well. If we add, then, to the—what is the total there?

The CHAIRMAN. That is the point right there.

Senator REED (continuing). If we add to the \$3,079,037.20, which is your budget, this \$700,000, we begin then to——

Mr. UPHAM. It is not \$700,000. It is \$400,000 and \$200,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, whatever it is.

Senator REED. \$500,000 and \$200,000.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And you say \$100,000 of that is to lie over?

Mr. UPHAM. That is to lie over, and they should have one or two thousand of it left on the 1st of November.

Senator REED. They might have; yes.

Mr. UPHAM. If they are economical.

Senator REED. But they might spend it all, might they not, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. They might.

Senator REED. And when you have a good hot fight you generally spend it all, do you not?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not. I try to keep most of it.

Senator REED. Well, you do.

Mr. UPHAM. But I am not running politics.

Senator REED. You are not the one who spends it?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator REED. You are the one who tries to keep it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. But the committee pulls very hard on the purse strings when they need it, do they not?

Mr. UPHAM. It takes money to run a campaign.

Senator REED. You would not want to guarantee that you would have any particular amount left in the congressional committee, would you?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I think the way Chairman Fess does business, he is sure to have a good surplus there. He always has had.

Senator REED. He is a good financier?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. I understand he is somewhat expert on that. We can not do so well. I guess that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham, I think there is a conflict between your testimony and that of Mr. Hays on that subject. Now, we want to get it exactly right. I may be wrong about it, but I understood from his testimony yesterday that the budget covered the congressional and senatorial committees. Am I wrong about that?

Mr. UPHAM. He did not testify to that.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not testify to that?

Mr. UPHAM. No; he gave a list of the budget.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, whatever the congressional committee and the senatorial committee raise—now, please listen to this—

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get this straight.

Mr. UPHAM. I am getting it. I am looking for the budget here.

The CHAIRMAN. Whatever they raise must be added to the budget figures as given to us by Mr. Hays?

Mr. UPHAM. Not to the national committee's fund, but to what is spent by the Republican Party; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, well, that is what we are getting at.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. Spent by the Republican Party.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it would run the expenditures which are proposed to be made up six or seven hundred thousand dollars, in addition to the figures of the present budget?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, if they spend—whatever they spend is in the campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. And not in the budget?

Mr. UPHAM. Of course, the committee—as treasurer of the national committee, I have no control over that, and neither has Mr. Hays in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Hays, that is correct, is it not, that it is not included in the budget?

Mr. HAYS. We have nothing to do with the expenditure of the senatorial and congressional.

Senator REED. Then in order to complete that, in addition to that, Mr. Upham, there are a number of States with which you have no arrangement for the collection or division of the funds, and in those States the State committee, or the local organization, can raise whatever sums of money they please and employ them in their campaign in those States; that is correct, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. They could; yes.

Senator REED. Then there is another group of States where you have a joint arrangement for raising funds, and when the funds have been raised, the quota assigned to a State, and paid into the national committee, is it not true that the State organization and the local organizations can go on and raise money if they see fit?

Mr. UPHAM. They are not organized to do it. They are through. They have told everybody that it is just one solicitation, and they can not go back over the ground.

Senator REED. They can not go over the ground again?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. How are you going to keep them—

Mr. UPHAM. They have closed the door.

Senator REED. I say, How are you going to keep them from doing that, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. It is not my job to keep them from doing it, but I know they can not do it.

Senator REED. Have you got any letters or communications of any kind in writing from any of these States with which you have made these arrangements?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I don't think so.

Senator REED. You haven't anything of that kind?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; I don't think so.

Senator REED. How are the arrangements made? By word of mouth?

Mr. UPHAM. Talking with the national committeeman and the State chairman out of the State in which we set up our business campaign.

Senator REED. And you say that where you raise the money by joint effort in a State, the quota has been raised which has been assigned to that State, that then neither the State committee nor the county committee are at liberty to go out and solicit funds?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, we are covering the ground all at one time. There is nothing left for them to do. Our organization is at work. They have no organization. They have surrendered their chance to do it.

Senator REED. But when you have got the quota raised do you quit then, or keep on raising?

Mr. UPHAM. It looks to me as if it would take me until the day of the election to do that.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Upham, of course I am not disputing your word, and I am asking these questions to get at the facts.

Mr. UPHAM. I will answer them.

Senator REED. I know a little about the way that campaigns are conducted—not a very great deal. I know, for instance, that when there is a local fight, I will say in my own city—Kansas City—when they have a county ticket to elect, they need money to conduct a campaign. The local committee appoints whomsoever it pleases, and they go out and solicit funds for that local fight.

Mr. UPHAM. That is another election other than the presidential election.

Senator REED. But it is now presidential election.

Mr. UPHAM. My experience is——

Senator REED. Now, when that money is used, it is used through a Democratic organization. Hacks are hired to haul people to the polls, for instance. When the voter comes in, if he is a Democrat—and they don't try to haul any Republicans, of course, from the Democratic organization—he is supposed to vote the Democratic ticket from President to constable. Or, if the money is used for any other purpose, to get the vote out—and I am speaking about perfectly legitimate campaign work—the man that is brought in, the party voter who is brought in votes the ticket; is supposed to vote it from top to bottom, with possibly such minor changes as he may want to make to suit his own views.

Now, do I understand you to say that that sort of thing which I have just described is excluded under your arrangement with these States where you have made a contract for the divisional funds and joint election?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, it has made it practically impossible in a great many places. I would not say that it has made it impossible in such cities as Kansas City or St. Louis or Chicago or the larger centers. No one can tell.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not predict it.

Mr. UPHAM. But where you take your State, for example, the State of Iowa: Now, we pass the hat in Iowa—the State and the

national committee together. I don't think another fellow can go around and collect money, because the man he approaches says: "I have already been seen; I am through."

Senator REED. I guess they will only see one in ten.

Senator EDGE. To supplant your explanation, Mr. Upham, doesn't your organization, when you have the arrangements with the States, operate directly first with the State committee, and the State committee naturally deals directly with the members of the subcommittees, wherever they come from; isn't that the basis of your organization?

Mr. UPHAM. We don't go beyond the organization; yes.

Senator EDGE. The State committee naturally having its finance committee. Well, while as stated, it is impossible—I should imagine that if anyone could start additional collections they would be made; but as I understand the system, and if I am wrong correct me, the real force of this collection idea is the general understanding from the State committee to the voters in the State that this will be the only official demand or request on them for funds to run the campaign?

Senator POMERENE. What do you mean by "official demand"?

Senator EDGE. Well, the word "demand" is probably bad to use. I mean official request coming from the State committee.

Senator POMERENE. Well, wouldn't there be a county official request and a State official request and a national official request?

Senator EDGE. Wait a moment until I get through with the witness, Senator. When I am through you can ask him any questions you desire. The State committee is made up in every State, is it not, by members from the counties?

Mr. UPHAM. Why certainly.

Senator EDGE. Or some subdivision?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Therefore, if that request is made through the official State committee, naturally, through their various members it goes out to every section of the State in the ordinary way. Now, no one can, of course, say that other contributions can not be secured; but as I understand your system, there would not be very much opportunity for large duplicated contributions from the State, from any other organization, for political purposes?

Mr. UPHAM. I think it would be difficult.

Senator REED. Well, I undertake to say that there has been more money—and we are putting in our testimony—raised and expended locally in the city of Chicago in every fight that you have had than the national committee ever saw from the city of Chicago; and that that will be true this fall, and that it will be true in every city of the Union. And I am not haggling, and I don't want you to say this unless you mean to say it—that when this one contribution has been made, that that ends it, because I know it won't end it; I know it can not end it. I know that when the county candidates get together and want to get elected, and the State candidates, and they need some money, they are going to go out and get it; and you can not get any injunction to stop it.

The CHAIRMAN. As a general thing, Mr. Upham, aren't the State chairmen glad to be relieved of the duty of raising the money?

Mr. UPHAM. They seem to be very much in favor of the new plan.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not expect to get it unless you raise it yourselves down there with your organization?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The only way you can pay yourselves back is to go and raise it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. That does not apply to the \$7,000. We won't try to raise that. That is their job.

The CHAIRMAN. The Maryland State campaign is \$5,000, is that it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Maryland is in red on contributions \$118,000. That is, you sent that much more into the State for the State than you have received in contributions?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama? Yes; they are here. Mississippi?

Mr. UPHAM. Mississippi raised \$879, all of which was kept.

The CHAIRMAN. You have sent nothing into Mississippi?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator REED. How are the national committeemen sustained in that State?

The CHAIRMAN. And Georgia, you have a balance in your favor in Georgia.

Mr. UPHAM. I have it as it shows here; \$1,342.15.

The CHAIRMAN. Your next item: Advanced to eastern treasurer four thousand and some odd dollars. Who is the eastern treasurer?

Mr. UPHAM. The eastern treasurer is James G. Blaine, jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they raise money in the East separate from your committee here?

Mr. UPHAM. Every dollar goes on my books as treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Goes into your books, and all the money is paid out on your order?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no one in the East authorized to raise money and expend it for the committee?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir. Mr. Blaine can sign checks, but his signature is the same as mine. It goes on the same book.

The CHAIRMAN. Publicity, speakers, headquarters, and general expense, \$839,937.56. Have you paid out that much already?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; we have vouchers for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any speakers out now talking?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't have anything to do with anything except the money end of it.

Senator REED. You know who gets the money?

Mr. UPHAM. I have got a voucher for every dollar that is expended. If you send to the head of the speakers' bureau, you can get that.

The CHAIRMAN. Whatever he says, you pay?

Mr. UPHAM. If it is in the budget. I won't exceed the budget raised.

Senator REED. Exactly. But you know if you get a voucher from a man what that voucher represents, don't you, whether it represents expenses or salaries?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; all of them are on vouchers.

Senator REED. Now, are you paying any of these speakers salaries?

Mr. UPHAM. That I could not tell you. I don't know. I suppose we are.

Senator REED. But where are the vouchers?

Mr. UPHAM. The vouchers are in my office.

Senator REED. They would show, would they?

Mr. UPHAM. They would. Every voucher would show exactly what it is for.

The CHAIRMAN. You believe in the policy of paying speakers' salaries to go out in the campaigns?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I don't think my belief cuts any figure.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you know whether the Democrats pay any speakers?

Mr. UPHAM. I have always supposed they did. I have always supposed we did.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, don't you think the people ought to know if a speaker is making a speech and is being paid for it?

Mr. UPHAM. Oh, well, that is——

The CHAIRMAN. That is just a matter of political——

Mr. UPHAM. I don't think that has anything to do with the treasury department.

The CHAIRMAN. There aren't very many speakers in either party being paid salaries, are there, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. I should think they are very few.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember what the amount for speakers and headquarters, etc., in the budget was? Have you the budget there?

Mr. UPHAM. I have got the budget here—\$255,100.

The CHAIRMAN. For speakers?

Mr. UPHAM. Speakers' bureau. Here is the budget.

Senator REED. When that budget was made up, Mr. Upham, that total arrived at was arrived at from items, wasn't it?

Mr. UPHAM. This budget was made up by the executive committee of the national committee; I suppose that is where it came from to me.

Senator REED. Yes. You didn't see the items that go into the budget? You were simply handed the aggregates?

Mr. UPHAM. I was handed the amount for each bureau or headquarters; the amount for Washington I am given; the amount for Denver, for San Francisco, for Chicago; and it is my job to see that they do not overdraw.

Senator REED. You don't know what the items were that made up the aggregate of any one of these lump sums?

Mr. UPHAM. Oh, no; I haven't those.

Senator REED. Now, who would know?

Mr. UPHAM. The department head.

Senator REED. The department head. You have a speakers' bureau, do you, and the head of the speakers' bureau would know how much goes to salaries?

Mr. UPHAM. Senator New would know; I should think he would probably know.

Senator REED. How much goes for traveling expenses and hotels, and such things?

Mr. UPHAM. My job is to see that the speakers' bureau does not overdraw the amount of the budget.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to live strictly to this budget through the campaign?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. You will honor no checks above the budget?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir. Not checks; I won't honor any bills. I won't voucher any bills.

Senator REED. Suppose that the budget is changed? It can be changed, can it?

Mr. UPHAM. It could be by the national committee; it could be changed by the fellows that made it.

Senator REED. There isn't anything to hinder the national committee from meeting and doubling this budget all along the line if it wanted to?

Mr. UPHAM. They would have to get a new treasurer if they did.

Mr. HAYS. Yes; and a new chairman.

Senator REED. Well, they would not if they showed you where they could get the money, would they?

Mr. UPHAM. What?

Senator REED. They would not if they showed you where they could get the money?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, they have only shown me how to spend money. None of them have shown me where to get it.

Senator REED. Exactly. But you would not object to them raising the budget if they saw fit to do so, provided the funds were forthcoming to meet the raise?

Mr. UPHAM. This budget looks large enough to me.

Senator REED. You would not permit them to increase it?

Mr. UPHAM. It is not up to me; all I can do is to refuse to serve. I do not like it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will put in the record the statement of unpaid pledges as Upham Exhibit 1, the book containing the list of contributors as Upham Exhibit 2, and the statement of cash receipts and disbursements, June 14, 1920, to August 26, 1920, as Upham Exhibit 3.

(Upham's exhibits 1, 2, and 3 are attached hereto.)

UPHAM EXHIBIT 1.

Unpaid pledges Aug. 26, 1920.

| State. | Number of subscriptions | Amount. | State. | Number of subscriptions | Amount. |
|-----------------|-------------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Arkansas..... | 121 | \$3,739.25 | New Mexico..... | 12 | \$400.00 |
| Arizona..... | 16 | 797.50 | North Carolina..... | 69 | 4,650.00 |
| California..... | 184 | 5,602.25 | New York..... | 81 | 32,500.00 |
| Colorado..... | 7 | 5,875.00 | Ohio..... | 783 | 92,800.00 |
| Florida..... | 10 | 617.50 | Oklahoma..... | 110 | 15,400.00 |
| Georgia..... | 160 | 9,729.50 | Oregon..... | 49 | 1,500.00 |
| Iowa..... | 25 | 4,200.00 | Pennsylvania..... | 53 | 28,000.00 |
| Idaho..... | 3 | 18.00 | Rhode Island..... | 2 | 25.00 |
| Illinois..... | 200 | 13,644.90 | South Dakota..... | 23 | 750.00 |
| Indiana..... | 29 | 3,248.25 | Tennessee..... | 31 | 11,200.00 |
| Kansas..... | 205 | 3,908.18 | Texas..... | 65 | 7,600.00 |
| Kentucky..... | 67 | 2,941.50 | Utah..... | 22 | 3,100.00 |
| Louisiana..... | 21 | 2,767.50 | Vermont..... | 1 | 50.00 |
| Maine..... | 2 | 225.00 | Virginia..... | 19 | 1,750.00 |
| Michigan..... | 47 | 10,700.00 | West Virginia..... | 11 | 600.00 |
| Minnesota..... | 1 | 20.00 | Wisconsin..... | 9 | 400.00 |
| Missouri..... | 31 | 16,070.00 | | | |
| Montana..... | 20 | 180.00 | Total..... | 2,304 | 241,500.00 |
| Nebraska..... | 5 | 3,200.00 | Average..... | | |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1209

UPHAM EXHIBIT 2.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Contributions to Republican national committee June 14, 1920, to Aug. 26, 1920----- | \$618, 013. 54 |
| Also, including contributions for State committees, where joint working arrangement is had with them, June 14, 1920, to Aug. 26, 1920----- | 399, 241. 78 |

(NOTE.—By order of the committee the names of all contributors less than \$100 were not printed.—PRINTING CLERK.)

Republican national committee—Treasurer's report—Detailed statement of receipts.

June 14, 1920:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Lewis L. Fawcett, New York City----- | \$100. 00 |
| C. C. Overton, New York City----- | 250. 00 |
| Walter E. Newbert, Boston, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Charles H. Dunker, Brookline, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| F. E. Atteaux, Boston, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Frazer L. O'Leary, Dorchester, Mass----- | 100. 00 |

June 15, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| J. M. Dowsett, Honolulu, Hawaii----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| J. T. Moir, Papaikou, Hawaii----- | 150. 00 |
| W. H. Shipman, Hilo, Hawaii----- | 100. 00 |
| James Henderson, Hilo, Hawaii----- | 100. 00 |
| O. W. Kapham, Chicago, Ill----- | 200. 00 |
| William H. Gannett, Augusta, Me----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. H. Laimbeer, jr., New York City----- | 100. 00 |
| Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, New York City----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. B. L. Taylor, New York City----- | 100. 00 |

June 17, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| F. J. Oakes, jr., Brookline, Mass----- | 500. 00 |
| Frank M. Williams, Everett, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| S. R. David, Brookline, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Leo Schlesinger & Co., New York City----- | 250. 00 |
| A. A. Fowler, New York City----- | 100. 00 |
| Charles S. Amsel, Brooklyn, N. Y----- | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Ambrose Monell, Tuxedo Park, N. Y----- | 250. 00 |
| Mrs. Ernest R. Adee, Tuxedo Park, N. Y----- | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Herbert L. Satterlee, Highland Falls, N. Y----- | 200. 00 |
| Vincent Astor, Rhinebeck, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. Vincent Astor, Rhinebeck, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Thomas R. Proctor, Utica, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Charles B. Rogers, Utica, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Frederick T. Proctor, Utica, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| John H. Merriman, Utica, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. Jerome Green, Utica, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| George De Forest, Utica, N. Y----- | 500. 00 |
| William T. Baker, Utica, N. Y----- | 250. 00 |
| John E. McLaughlin, Utica, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Arthur Hind, Clarks Mills, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Barton Haselton, Rome, N. Y----- | 860. 00 |
| H. S. Wolfe, Rome, N. Y----- | 860. 00 |
| H. J. Rowland, Rome, N. Y----- | 860. 00 |
| W. B. Johnson, Rome, N. Y----- | 925. 00 |
| Percy C. Thomas, Rome, N. Y----- | 365. 00 |
| James A. Spargo, Rome, N. Y----- | 100. 00 |
| George A. Clyde, Rome, N. Y----- | 200. 00 |
| Frank J. De Bisschop, Rome, N. Y----- | 200. 00 |
| C. H. Halstead, Rome, N. Y----- | 100. 00 |
| George H. Brown, Rome, N. Y----- | 300. 00 |
| F. M. Potter, Rome, N. Y----- | 720. 00 |
| Herbert T. Dyett, Rome, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |

June 18, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Samuel Bird, jr., New York City----- | 200. 00 |
| John Steward, New York City----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| F. A. Selberling, Akron, Ohio----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. Bradley Martin, jr., Westbury, N. Y----- | 100. 00 |

June 19, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| James Speyer, New York City | \$1,000.00 |
| Arnon L. Sgulers, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 125.00 |
| W. D. Scholle, New York City | 400.00 |
| Mrs. C. A. Stone, Locust Valley, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Mrs. J. D. Maguire, Locust Valley, N. Y. | 250.00 |
| Mrs. C. A. Coffin, Locust Valley, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |

June 21, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| Richard U. Sherman, Utica, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Henri W. Bendel, Great Neck, N. Y. | 200.00 |
| John C. Letts, Washington, D. C. | 100.00 |
| William J. Flather, Washington, D. C. | 100.00 |
| Charles C. Glover, Washington, D. C. | 1,000.00 |
| Charles E. Hughes, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Warren Delano, Barrytown, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| George N. Miller, Dr., Rhinebeck, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| S. K. Phillips, Beacon, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Miss Madeleine I. Dinsmore, Staatsburg, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Frank A. Hotchkiss, Millerton, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Mrs. Jos. T. Tower, Millbrook, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Justine de Peyster Martin, Tivoli, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Mrs. Estelle de Peyster Hosmer, Tivoli, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Helen Astor, Mrs. Vincent, Rhinebeck, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| L. Gordon Hamersley, Barrytown, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |

June 23, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Oscar W. Gridley, Utica, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. J. S. Berquist, Brookville, N. Y. | 250.00 |
| Ord Preston, Washington, D. C. | 500.00 |
| Mrs. Simon Guggenheim, New York, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Joseph Katz, New York, N. Y. | 100.00 |

June 24, 1920:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| Archibald Rogers, Hyde Park, N. Y. | 500.00 |
|------------------------------------|--------|

June 25, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| Hon. C. S. Page, Rutland, Vt. | 500.00 |
| Henry B. Newhall, New York City | 200.00 |
| Samuel H. Bloomingdale, New York City | 200.00 |
| Charles H. C. Pearsall, New York City | 100.00 |
| A. Tauber, New York City | 300.00 |
| M. Heineman & Co., New York City | 500.00 |
| L. I. Lipton | 200.00 |
| Charles G. Cornell, New York City | 150.00 |
| M. H. Tiryakian, New York City | 100.00 |

June 26, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| Edmund Platt, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. | 150.00 |
| Broom & Newman, New York City | 100.00 |
| James W. Beck, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| B. N. Schwartz, New York City | 200.00 |
| William Friedman, New York City | 100.00 |
| I. H. Barnett & Bro., New York City | 100.00 |
| Lustberg, Nast & Co., New York City | 250.00 |
| Bob & Baskind, New York City | 500.00 |

June 28, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| E. W. Voorhies, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Marcus B. Campbell, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| F. F. Nicola, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| E. P. Whitcomb, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 300.00 |
| H. H. Westinghouse, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| John F. Miller, Wilmerding, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| A. L. Humphrey, Edgewood Park, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| T. W. Siemon, Edgewood Park, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| D. F. Crawford, Edgewood Park, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| W. S. Bartholomew, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| Frank Moore, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| Thomas L. Brown, Edgewood Park, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| Samuel E. Diescher, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| J. C. Brydon, Somerset, Pa. | 250.00 |
| F. B. Gordon, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |

June 28, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| G. E. Horney, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | \$1, 000. 00 |
| Valentine Manley, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| C. W. Heppenstall, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| H. M. Brackenridge, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| W. H. Parke, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| Wm. Metcalfe, jr., Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| E. A. Johnson, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| W. E. Epstein, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| C. N. Kell, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| George A. Edgin, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| W. B. Klee, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| Mrs. W. M. McKelvy, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| W. A. Somers Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 125. 00 |
| W. T. Todd, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 125. 00 |
| Charles Dreifus, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| Charles G. H. Good, Sharpsburg, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| James B. Wallace, McKees Rocks, Pa..... | 200. 00 |
| Charles C. Brenner, Sharpsburg, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| Frank C. Martin, Crafton, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Elma E. Murphy, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| Edwin M. Hill, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| Grant McCargo, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| C. W. Iams, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| George N. Glass, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| M. Diebold, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 200. 00 |
| W. H. R. Hilliard, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 2, 000. 00 |
| Helen C. Frick, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. Henry C. Frick, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Childs Frick, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Pennock Hart, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| Joseph E. Fawell, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| G. W. Baum, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| Samuel McMillen, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| Albert C. Lehman, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 100. 00 |

June 29, 1920:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Bedros Kazanjian, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| John A. Eckert, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| Philip S. Seligman, New York City..... | 200. 00 |
| J. A. Cheyne, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Republican national ways and means committee of New Jersey, New Jersey | 10, 000. 00 |
| Nicholas E. Devereux, Utica, N. Y..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| J. F. Maynard, Utica, N. Y..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| J. H. Roberts, Utica, N. Y..... | 750. 00 |
| William E. Lewis, Utica, N. Y..... | 1, 000. 00 |

June 30, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| George F. Baker, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Charles L. Bernheimer, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| Jules S. Bache, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Edwin A. Ames, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| Nelson S. Clark, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| William R. Bayes, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Mortimer L. Schiff, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| John E. Cowdin, Tuxedo Park, N. Y..... | 250. 00 |
| J. C. McKinney, Titusville, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |

July 1, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Mrs. Margaret R. Phipps, Washington, D. C..... | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. S. L. H. Slocum, Washington, D. C..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Samuel London, New York City..... | 200. 00 |
| Lucius N. Littauer, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Hans Kronika, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| A. Blumberg & Bro., New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Louis B. Tim, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| J. C. Leeds, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| John H. Riker, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Percy Chubb, Glen Cove, L. I..... | 250. 00 |

July 1, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Beecher N. Crouse, Utica, N. Y. | \$1,000 |
| Andrew Frey, Utica, N. Y. | 1,000 |
| Gilbert Butler, Utica, N. Y. | 1,000 |
| George De Forest, Utica, N. Y. | 500 |
| W. H. Roberts, Utica, N. Y. | 250 |
| Wm. T. Baker, Utica, N. Y. | 250 |
| Samuel P. Colt, Providence, R. I. | 1,000 |

July 2, 1920:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| David Oberndorf, New York City | 250 |
| Lewis Bros. Co., New York City | 100 |
| A. Alexander, New York City | 100 |
| Bacon & Co., New York City | 1,000 |
| Frank A. Munsey, New York City | 1,000 |
| Stephen Carlton Clark, New York City | 1,000 |
| Ludwig Nissen, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 500 |
| William T. Baker, Utica, N. Y. | 500 |

July 3, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Laew & Co., New York City | 1,000 |
| H. H. Powell, New York City | 500 |
| Julius Fleischmann, New York City | 1,000 |
| Ralph Hunter, New York City | 125 |
| Lawrence Marx, New York City | 250 |
| Charles A. Stone, New York City | 1,000 |
| Robert A. Kensley, Montclair, N. J. | 500 |
| Henry Chalfant, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000 |
| C. J. Bell, Washington, D. C. | 500 |
| N. E. Alles, Washington, D. C. | 500 |
| William R. Harr, Washington, D. C. | 100 |
| George A. Draper, Hopedale, Mass. | 1,000 |

July 6, 1920:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Edward H. Maddox, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 250 |
| J. W. Williams, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500 |
| George S. Davison, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000 |
| W. V. Hartman, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500 |
| W. S. Mitchell, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 250 |
| W. L. Mellon, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000 |
| C. V. McCright, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 250 |
| William McConway, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500 |
| William McConway, jr., Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500 |
| Wesley A. Looney, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500 |
| George H. Taber, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000 |
| J. D. Lyon, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000 |
| G. R. Nutty, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500 |
| A. W. Mellon, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000 |
| Alvah L. Lawrie, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500 |
| Henry F. Lippitt, Providence, R. I. | 1,000 |
| W. D. Hoxie, Westerly, R. I. | 100 |
| Le Roy Fales, Pawtucket, R. I. | 500 |
| Frederick L. Jenckes, Pawtucket, R. I. | 1,000 |
| Isaac B. Merriman, Pawtucket, R. I. | 1,000 |
| Frederick S. Peck, Providence, R. I. | 1,000 |
| Albert A. Jenks, Pawtucket, R. I. | 500 |
| G. P. Castle, Honolulu | 250 |
| A. L. Castle, Honolulu | 200 |
| W. W. Goodale, Wailua, Hawaii | 200 |

July 7, 1920:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Charles Kaye, New York City | 100 |
| Rush Taggart, New York City | 100 |
| Mrs. Charles S. Sabin, New York City | 1,000 |
| Mrs. Charles H. Keep, New York City | 100 |
| George Arentz, jr. | 500 |
| T. C. du Pont, Wilmington, Del. | 1,000 |
| John J. Bausch, Rochester, N. Y. | 500 |
| George N. Saegmuller, Rochester, N. Y. | 500 |
| Adolph Lomb, Rochester, N. Y. | 500 |
| Carl F. Lomb, Rochester, N. Y. | 500 |

July 7, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| William A. E. Drescher, Rochester, N. Y..... | \$500. 00 |
| William Basuch, Rochester, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |
| Edward Bausch, Rochester, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |

July 8, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| W. J. Patterson, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| F. A. Levy, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Thomas A. Painter, Upper Montclair, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Eugene Meyer, jr., Mount Kisco, N. Y..... | 2, 000. 00 |
| Felix M. Warburg, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Franklin A. Chappell, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Otto R. Bannard, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| William Hayward, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Newbold Morris, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Frank Hamilton Davis, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| W. R. Craig & Co., New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |

July 9, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| John Henry Hammond, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
|--|------------|

July 10, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Lewis A. Park, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. B. Nellen, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| F. J. Marron, Wilmington, Del..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| M. S. Greenbaum, Chicago, Ill..... | 500. 00 |
| George A. Evslenko, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| Stuyvesant Fish, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Eversley Childs, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Adolph Lewisholm, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Alexander Smith Cochran, Yonkers, N. Y..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| George McNeir, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Hartune Gulbenkian, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Joseph Welwood, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| Le Roy Frost, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. C. Runyon, Scarsdale, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |

July 12, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Henry Helde, jr., New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Cornelius H. Tiebout, jr., Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| J. J. Silbert, Little Falls, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |
| A. L. Humphrey, Edgewood Park, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Lyman B. Goff, Pawtucket, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Webster Knight, Providence, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Edward E. Arnold, Providence R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Samuel M. Nicholson, Providence, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Joseph E. Fletcher, Providence, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Henry D. Sharpe, Providence, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |

July 13, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Charles Clifton, Buffalo, N. Y..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. B. Keegan, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| B. N. Duke, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| George W. Davison, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Francis J. Arand, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Fisher, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Henry W. Taft, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| John H. Morice, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Lafayette B. Gleason, New York City..... | 200. 00 |

July 14, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Clarence W. Thornton, Jersey City, N. J..... | 100. 00 |
| V. S. Mulford, Montclair, N. J..... | 400. 00 |
| Irwin R. Kirkwood, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| David M. Goodrich, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Arthur M. Crane, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Stephen Callaghan, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |
| Ferdinand Schlesinger, Milwaukee, Wis..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| A. A. Schlesinger, Milwaukee, Wis..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| H. J. Schlesinger, Milwaukee, Wis..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Myron T. MacLaren, Milwaukee, Wis..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| E. G. Wilmer, Milwaukee, Wis..... | 1, 000. 00 |

July 15, 1920:

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Harry Payne Bingham, New York City | \$1,000.00 |
| R. A. C. Smith, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Wilbur C. Flisk, New York City | 100.00 |
| Benjamin H. Baker, New York City | 100.00 |
| George F. Baker, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| William J. Baxter, New York City | 500.00 |
| Arnon L. Squiers, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 125.00 |
| F. L. Hine, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Miss Martha McCook, Tuxedo, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Richard F. Howe, Jericho, N. Y. | 100.00 |

July 16, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| James Jamison, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Paul R. Mackinney, New York City | 100.00 |
| J. F. Lucey, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Garrett Schenck, Boston, Mass. | 1,000.00 |

July 17, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| C. F. Bliss, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Charles F. Murphy, New York City | 250.00 |
| Benj. H. Namm, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Clarence B. Smith, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| David E. Kemlo, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Walter C. Humstone, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| John T. Rafferty, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Clara J. Yale, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Denis M. Hurley, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Charles S. Aronstam, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Granger A. Hollister, Rochester, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Frank G. Martin, Ingram, Pa. | 100.00 |
| John Woodwell, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| John F. Casey, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| H. S. Davison, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| J. B. Kelly, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| D. J. Kennedy, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 100.00 |
| H. Kleinhaus, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| J. P. Krager, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| T. A. Mellon, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| E. J. McElwee, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| H. E. Pollock, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| E. H. Swindell, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| Clarence M. Brown, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 250.00 |
| Raymond Pitcairn, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| Theodore Pitcairn, Bryn Athyn, Pa. | 750.00 |
| Harold F. Pitcairn, Bryn Athyn, Pa. | 750.00 |
| H. S. Wherrett, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 250.00 |
| E. B. Raymond, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 250.00 |
| Charles W. Brown, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 600.00 |
| Edward Pitcairn, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 250.00 |
| W. W. Heroy, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 250.00 |
| W. L. Clause, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 600.00 |

July 19, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| E. M. Wichert, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 500.00 |
| John F. Miller, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| H. H. Westinghouse, Pittsburgh, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| H. K. L. Castle, Honolulu, T. H. | 100.00 |
| F. F. Baldwin, Punne, T. H. | 1,000.00 |
| G. R. Carter, Honolulu, T. H. | 1,000.00 |
| A. J. Campbell, Honolulu, T. H. | 100.00 |
| Bartlett Arkell, Canajoharie, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| W. L. Benedict, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. J. P. Morgan, jr., New York City | 250.00 |

July 21, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Elihu Root, jr., New York City, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Clifford F. Taylor, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Miss Lizzie P. Bliss, New York City, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| James E. Gleason, Rochester, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| E. D. Tenney, Honolulu, Hawaii | 1,000.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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July 21, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| F. C. Atherton, Honolulu, Hawaii | \$250. 00 |
| C. H. Cooke, Honolulu, Hawaii | 500. 00 |
| J. D. McInerny, Honolulu, Hawaii | 125. 00 |
| John Waterhouse, Honolulu, Hawaii | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. H. Rice, Lihue, Kauai | 500. 00 |
| C. A. Rice, Lihue, Kauai | 500. 00 |
| F. J. Lowrey, Honolulu | 100. 00 |
| W. D. Baldwin, Haiku, Maui | 1, 000. 00 |

July 22, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Russell S. Tucker, Illinois | 200. 00 |
| E. J. Bownes, jr., Chicago, Ill | 200. 00 |
| Mrs. Chandler Hale, Washington, D. C | 100. 00 |
| Edwin B. Cadwell, New York City, N. Y | 200. 00 |
| Furman G. Cole, Wilmington, Del | 200. 00 |
| J. B. D. Edge, Wilmington, Del | 100. 00 |
| Alexis I. Du Pont, Wilmington, Del | 100. 00 |
| Charles L. Patterson, Wilmington, Del | 200. 00 |
| Willard A. Speakman, Wilmington, Del | 100. 00 |
| Thomas E. Peeney, Wilmington, Del | 100. 00 |
| Norman P. Crouch, Wilmington, Del | 150. 00 |
| Charles H. Lippincott, Wilmington, Del | 100. 00 |

July 23, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Julia A. Jenckes, Providence, R. I | 150. 00 |
| Eleanor T. Beeckman, Providence, R. I | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Robert W. Taft, Providence, R. I | 250. 00 |
| Mrs. William Grosvenor, Beacon Hill, Newport, R. I | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Alfred M. Coats, Providence, R. I | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Charles J. Steedman, Providence, R. I | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Samuel M. Nicholson, Providence, R. I | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Jesse H. Metcalf, Providence, R. I | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Henry F. Lipplitt, Providence, R. I | 200. 00 |
| Frank Altschul, New York City | 1, 000. 00 |
| E. L. Ballard, New York City | 500. 00 |
| Charles A. Munn, New York City | 100. 00 |
| P. Huntington, New York City | 200. 00 |
| Joseph Seligman, New York City | 250. 00 |
| Henry Walters, New York City | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. H. Beardsley, New York City | 500. 00 |
| Simon N. Stein, Rochester, N. Y | 1, 000. 00 |
| J. Lewis Hay, Newark, N. J | 100. 00 |

July 24, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| Colgate Hoyt, New York City | 750. 00 |
| E. N. Brown, New York City | 500. 00 |
| Holden A. Evans, Baltimore, Md | 1, 000. 00 |
| Morris Wjlttridge, Baltimore, Md | 100. 00 |
| James M. Easter, Baltimore, Md | 200. 00 |

July 26, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| John A. Graver, New York City | 100. 00 |
| Bernard Karp, New York City | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. Edw. Willets, Westbury, N. Y | 100. 00 |
| W. A. Harriman, Tuxedo, N. Y | 1, 000. 00 |
| Joseph E. Stevens, Tuxedo, N. Y | 100. 00 |
| R. F. Cutting, Tuxedo Park, N. Y | 500. 00 |
| F. de P. Foster, Tuxedo Park, N. Y | 250. 00 |
| T. Frelinghuysen, Tuxedo Park, N. Y | 250. 00 |
| J. Insley Blair, Tuxedo Park, N. Y | 500. 00 |
| H. L. McVickar, Tuxedo Park, N. Y | 100. 00 |
| R. E. Thibaut, Highland Mills, N. Y | 100. 00 |

July 27, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| William Henry Benn, Greystone, R. I | 1, 000. 00 |
| Alfred M. Coats, Providence, R. I | 1, 000. 00 |
| C. Prescott Knight, Providence, R. I | 1, 000. 00 |
| H. H. King, Pittsburgh, Pa | 100. 00 |
| Miss Agnes E. McKinney, Titusville, Pa | 1, 000. 00 |
| J. M. Willis, Baltimore, Md | 1, 000. 00 |

July 27, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|--|----------|
| George Allison, Baltimore, Md..... | \$500.00 |
| John S. Gibbs, jr., Baltimore, Md..... | 250.00 |
| George S. Ward, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| William E. Williams, New York City..... | 150.00 |
| Frederick Strauss, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| Carle C. Conway, New York City..... | 100.00 |
| Mrs. LeRoy Baldwin, Tuxedo Park, N. Y..... | 100.00 |

July 28, 1920:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| W. K. Dana, Westbrook, Me..... | 800.00 |
| Phillip Dana, Westbrook, Me..... | 200.00 |
| E. S. Cruttenden, New York City..... | 500.00 |
| C. M. Guggenheim, New York City..... | 500.00 |
| S. F. Dribben, New York City..... | 500.00 |
| John D. Clarke, Frazer, N. Y..... | 100.00 |

July 29, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| W. H. Truesdale, New York City..... | 500.00 |
| Roy A. Hunt, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1,000.00 |
| A. P. Clarke, jr., Washington, D. C..... | 100.00 |
| Corcoran Thom, Washington, D. C..... | 200.00 |
| Hon. N. B. Scott, Washington, D. C..... | 250.00 |
| Percy Cranford, Washington, D. C..... | 250.00 |
| J. H. Cranford, Washington, D. C..... | 250.00 |

July 30, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Herbert J. Brown, Portland, Me..... | 1,000.00 |
| Elizabeth M. Horne, Sewickley, Pa..... | 1,000.00 |
| Newton W. Gilbert, New York City..... | 250.00 |

July 31, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| A. V. Barnes, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| Joseph De Wyckoff, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| Alan C. Dodson, Bethlehem, Pa..... | 100.00 |

Aug. 2, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| H. Hughart Laughlin, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1,000.00 |
| Louis C. McKinney, Titusville, Pa..... | 1,000.00 |
| George Peabody Wetmore, Newport, R. I..... | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. M. M. Van Beuren, Newport, R. I..... | 200.00 |
| Estate of R. I. Gammell, Providence, R. I..... | 1,000.00 |
| Chas. D. Owen, jr., Providence, R. I..... | 500.00 |
| George L. Shepley, Providence, R. I..... | 200.00 |
| Samuel P. Colt, Providence, R. I..... | 1,000.00 |
| F. A. Juilliard, Tuxedo Park, N. Y..... | 1,000.00 |
| A. R. Horr, New York City..... | 250.00 |
| E. M. Townsend & Co., New York City..... | 250.00 |
| Dickson & Eddy, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| J. Guild, Honolulu, Hawaii..... | 100.00 |
| A. W. T. Bottomley, Honolulu, Hawaii..... | 1,000.00 |
| E. F. Bishop, Honolulu, Hawaii..... | 1,000.00 |
| John L. Wright, Wilmington, Del..... | 150.00 |
| King, George E., Wilmington, Del..... | 100.00 |
| Willis, J. Wirt, Wilmington, Del..... | 100.00 |

Aug. 3, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| Mrs. Irving Brokaw, Mill Neck, N. Y..... | 100.00 |
| Mrs. Cooper Bryce, Locust Valley, N. Y..... | 100.00 |
| Fred Mayglothing, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| Thomas M. Schumacher, New York City..... | 500.00 |
| Charles A. Wimpfheimer, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| Stephen Valentine, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100.00 |
| Jeremiah Milbank, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| O. H. Kahn, New York City..... | 1,000.00 |
| F. W. Smythe, New York City..... | 500.00 |

Aug. 4, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| Mrs. John Hays Hammond, Washington, D. C..... | 1,000.00 |
| Francis J. Oakes, jr., Brookline, Mass..... | 500.00 |
| Arthur L. Norton, Boston, Mass..... | 200.00 |
| William B. Scaife, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500.00 |
| J. V. Schaife, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 500.00 |
| G. W. Eisenbeis, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 250.00 |

Aug. 4, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|---|------------|
| Samuel Walker, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | \$500. 00 |
| J. V. Ritts, Butler, Pa..... | 200. 00 |
| R. L. Spalde, Butler, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| George Worrall, Butler, Pa..... | 100. 00 |
| J. H. Allman, Butler, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| T. H. Gillespie, Butler, Pa..... | 500. 00 |
| T. W. Phillips, jr., Butler, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Arthur V. Davis, Pittsburgh, Pa..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| James N. Jarvis, Montclair, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Thomas Oakes, Bloomfield, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Charles L. Auger, Paterson, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Emil Geering, Paterson, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Charles E. Lotte, Paterson, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Frank Maass, Paterson, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Edward F. Lotte, Paterson, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| S. S. Evans, Paterson, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Wm. L. Lyall, Passaic, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| E. H. Wells, Montclair, N. J..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Hugh J. Chisholm, Portland, Me..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Walter Douglas, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Everett B. Sweezy, New York City..... | 125. 00 |
| Frederic P. Pratt, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| John McE. Bowman, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Frank V. Storrs, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| William Thomson, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| C. V. Meserole, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| Andrew Fletcher, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. Herbert L. Satterlee, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Edward Perry Townsend, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| D. H. Ralston, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| George W. Baker, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 5, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| William Whitman, Brookline, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| William Whitman, jr., Boston, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Hendricks H. Whitman, Beverly, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Franklin W. Hobbs, Brookline, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Arthur T. Bradlee, Chestnut Hill, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Louis H. Fitch, Newton Center, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| George H. Waterman, Chestnut Hill, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Nelson A. Hallett, Newtonville, Mass..... | 500. 00 |
| Martin Cantine, Saugerties, N. Y..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. H. Duval & Co., New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| C. A. Gordon, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| F. E. Tufts, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| N. R. Hopkins, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| W. F. Etherington, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| H. F. Harrison, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| John R. Miller, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| James S. Pettit, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Stephen K. Reed, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| William Mitchell, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| F. A. Vanderlip, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. William Boyce Thompson, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. Theodore Schulze, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Francis D. Bartow, New York City..... | 125. 00 |
| Thos. H. Roulston, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |
| William Sloane, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Maitland F. Griggs, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. Fred Pratt, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| Leo D. Greenfield, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Herbert L. Pratt, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |

Aug. 6, 1920:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Lloyd C. Griscom, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| William Williams, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Frederick E. Kip, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Henry A. Wise, New York City..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 6, 1920—Continued.

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|---|------------|
| Frederick Victor & Achelis, New York City | \$1,000.00 |
| Simon Guggenheim, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Samuel Eiseman, New York City | 100.00 |
| Moses Tanenbaum, New York City | 100.00 |
| Perley Morse, New York City | 100.00 |
| William Harris Douglas, New York City | 500.00 |
| Chauncey M. Depew, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Leopold Stern, New York City | 500.00 |
| H. K. McCann, New York City | 500.00 |
| Maj. Arthur W. Little, New York City | 100.00 |
| W. F. Roberts, Sparrows Point, Md | 1,000.00 |
| W. P. Jackson, Loon Lake, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| S. M. Hann, Baltimore, Md | 100.00 |
| A. E. Duncan, Baltimore, Md | 100.00 |
| William Einstein, Bound Brook, N. J. | 100.00 |
| Isaac T. Mann, Bramwell, W. Va. | 1,000.00 |

Aug. 9, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| John C. Duncan, Mechanicsville, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Robert Walton Goslet, Newport, R. I. | 1,000.00 |
| Robert H. Ives Goddard, Providence, R. I. | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. William Gammell, Providence, R. I. | 100.00 |
| Mrs. William Goddard, Providence, R. I. | 1,000.00 |
| I. S. Betts, New York City | 100.00 |
| S. F. Rothschild, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Mrs. Henry R. Hoyt, New York City | 500.00 |
| David L. Luke, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Alvah Miller, New York City | 250.00 |
| T. T. Waller, New York City | 250.00 |
| N. L. Miller, New York City | 250.00 |
| A. C. Hastings, New York City | 250.00 |
| Roger W. Allen, New York City | 100.00 |
| Joseph B. Terbell, New York City | 500.00 |
| George L. Bourne, New York City | 500.00 |
| H. B. Slaybaugh, New York City | 100.00 |
| Charles Harris, New York City | 100.00 |
| Lee Deutch, New York City | 100.00 |
| C. L. Winey, New York City | 100.00 |
| F. N. Foote, New York City | 100.00 |
| Alexander Turner, New York City | 100.00 |

Aug. 10, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| C. M. Warner, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Alexander S. Katz, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 250.00 |
| S. W. Childs, New York City | 100.00 |
| Miss Katheryn Mackay, New York City | 100.00 |
| John Wynne, Bronx, New York City | 100.00 |
| Thomas Luke, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Joseph Gatti, New York City | 500.00 |
| C. E. O'Hara, New York City | 250.00 |
| Edward S. Clark, Cooperstown, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| W. A. Luke, Covington, Va. | 1,000.00 |

Aug. 11, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Charles Lanier, New York City | 250.00 |
| William H. Wise, New York City | 100.00 |
| August F. Schwarzler, New York City | 200.00 |
| Pierre J. Smith, New York City | 500.00 |
| Moses Taylor, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Buell Hollister, New York City | 500.00 |
| J. Amory Haskell, New York City | 100.00 |
| Henry H. Wehrhane, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Ogden Mills, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Harold I. Pratt, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. Harold I. Pratt, New York City | 1,000.00 |
| Samuel S. Blood, New York City | 100.00 |
| Mrs. Sarah E. Lowrie, New York City | 200.00 |
| Mrs. Jessie B. Christlancy, Hartsdale, N. Y. | 250.00 |
| G. A. C. Christlancy, Hartsdale, N. Y. | 250.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1219

Aug. 11, 1920—Continued.

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|---|------------|
| Charles Eddison, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y..... | \$100. 00 |
| Frederick C. Sayles, Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| S. S. Spaulding, Springfield Center, N. Y..... | 200. 00 |
| Dr. Lewis R. Morris, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| H. L. Wardwell, Springfield Center, N. Y..... | 500. 00 |
| Frank M. Smith, Oneonta, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| Douglas Campbell, Oneonta, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| Dr. Lewis R. Morris, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| R. L. Beeckman, Providence, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Geo. H. Cahoon, Providence, R. I..... | 200. 00 |

Aug. 12, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| George T. Adey, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Alfred P. Sloan, jr., New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Antonin Chapal, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| Herman Basch, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| F. Jarrigeon, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 100. 00 |
| Wm. Fellowes Morgan, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| John W. Garrett, Baltimore, Md..... | 1, 000. 00 |

Aug. 13, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| David Heller, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| John R. Morron, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| R. W. Kelley, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| William R. Peters, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Arthur Knox, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Edmond E. Wise, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. J. Moorehead, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| William N. Cohen, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Albert H. Harris, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| Elbridge G. Snow, New York City..... | 100. 00 |
| E. E. Allen, Warren, Pa..... | 250. 00 |
| J. A. McCandless, Honolulu, Hawaii..... | 1, 000. 00 |

Aug. 14, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Louis Marshall, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| H. & H. W. Lewis, New York City..... | 500. 00 |
| Sol Wexler, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Julius Kruttschnitt, New York City..... | 250. 00 |
| E. P. Swenson, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. Arthur S. Burden, Hericho, N. Y..... | 250. 00 |
| Bernon K. Mumford, Boston, Mass..... | 100. 00 |
| J. J. Bodeell, Providence, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |

Aug. 16, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| George W. Perkins, jr., New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| J. M. Danziger, New York City..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Edwin A. Shewan, Brooklyn, N. Y..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Frederick M. Stearns, Chestnut Hill, Mass..... | 250. 00 |
| C. B. Smith, Fitchburg, Mass..... | 300. 00 |
| Charles B. Smith, Fitchburg, Mass..... | 500. 00 |
| Joseph A. Lowe, Fitchburg, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Col. George B. Wallace, Fitchburg, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| A. B. Lowe, Fitchburg, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Alvah Crocker, Fitchburg, Mass..... | 500. 00 |
| Gifford K. Simonds, Fitchburg, Mass..... | 500. 00 |
| B. H. Bristow Draper, Hopedale, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| William H. Coolidge, Boston, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| George Wigglesworth, Boston, Mass..... | 250. 00 |
| James Richard Carter, Boston, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| A. W. Wheelright, Westwood, Mass..... | 200. 00 |
| Aldus C. Higgins, Worcester, Mass..... | 250. 00 |
| D. H. Fanning, Worcester, Mass..... | 250. 00 |
| Hon. W. Murray Crane, Dalton, Mass..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| John B. Lewis, Providence, R. I..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. W. Shingle, Honolulu, Hawaii..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. F. Dillingham, Honolulu, Hawaii..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| M. F. Prosser, Honolulu, Hawaii..... | 100. 00 |
| G. N. Wilcox, Lihue, Kauai..... | 500. 00 |
| James Dowsett, Honolulu..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| G. P. Cooke, Honolulu..... | 913. 76 |

Aug. 17, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Mrs. Henry Seligman, New York City, N. Y. | \$1,000.00 |
| Elisha P. Cronkhite, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Henry Whiton, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| H. V. Day, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| S. Hinman Bird, New York City, N. Y. | 200.00 |
| Walter S. Hubbell, Rochester, N. Y. | 250.00 |
| George F. West & Son, Portland, Me. | 100.00 |
| George B. Morrill, Portland, Me. | 250.00 |
| Herbert Payson, Portland, Me. | 100.00 |
| Franklin C. Payson, Portland, Me. | 100.00 |
| C. H. Robinson, Portland, Me. | 100.00 |
| Harold Lee Berry, Portland, Me. | 125.00 |
| A. H. Berry, Portland, Me. | 500.00 |
| Redfield Proctor, Proctor, Vt. | 1,000.00 |
| Louis F. Payn, Chatham, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |

Aug. 18, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Joseph Percy Bartram, New York City, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Logan & Bryan, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| George G. Bell, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| S. G. Etherington, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| George F. Perkins, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Mac Arnstein, New York City, N. Y. | 150.00 |
| Slg. Arnstein, New York City, N. Y. | 150.00 |
| Henry Bodenheimer, New York City, N. Y. | 125.00 |
| Wm. B. Durgin, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| George E. Fahys, New York City, N. Y. | 250.00 |
| William S. Hedges, New York City, N. Y. | 400.00 |
| Harry C. Larter, New York City, N. Y. | 125.00 |
| Sidney H. Nordlinger, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Lee Reichman, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Albert R. Stearns, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Melville Undermeyer, New York City, N. Y. | 125.00 |
| Joseph K. Cass, Irvington, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| T. F. Manville, Somerville, N. J. | 1,000.00 |
| Post & Flagg, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| W. S. Benson, Passaic, N. J. | 1,000.00 |
| R. D. Benson, Passaic, N. J. | 1,000.00 |
| Fernando C. Mesa, Irvington, N. J. | 500.00 |
| J. Edward Ogden, Bayonne, N. J. | 500.00 |

Above donations from New Jersey covered by O. H. Hammond's check for \$5,000.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|
| Wm. Larimer Jones, Philadelphia, Pa. | 1,000.00 |
| Wm. R. Castle, Honolulu, T. H. | 500.00 |

Aug. 19, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| E. W. Rice, jr., New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| H. T. Parson, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Wm. H. Moore, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. Otto H. Kahn, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| M. Friedsam, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| G. Creighton Webb, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Chester S. Allen, Warren, Pa. | 250.00 |

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| F. H. Bennett, New York City, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| F. L. Chipman, New York City, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| C. A. Coffin, New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Wm. Schall & Co., New York City, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Raymond P. Morse, Brooklyn, N. Y. | 500.00 |
| Jos. B. Cousins, New York City, N. Y. | 300.00 |
| Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, New York City, N. Y. | 150.00 |
| Arthur H. Hunter, Dunkirk, N. Y. | 1,000.00 |
| Daniel A. Reed, Dunkirk, N. Y. | 250.00 |
| Henry K. Williams, Dunkirk, N. Y. | 100.00 |
| Wm. J. Doty, Mayville, N. Y. | 150.00 |
| Robt. S. Wallace, Ashby, Mass. | 1,000.00 |

Aug. 20, 1920.—Continued.

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|---|------------|
| J. P. Lyman, Ashby, Mass----- | \$250. 00 |
| L. S. Starrett, Athol, Mass----- | 500. 00 |
| Rene E. Paine, Brookline, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Frederic C. Hood, Brookline, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Edw. D. Sawyer, East Cambridge, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Chas. L. Harding, Dedham, Mass----- | 200. 00 |
| Harlan K. Simonds, Fitchburg, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| C. T. Crocker, Fitchburg, Mass----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| John A. McGregor, Fitchburg, Mass----- | 500. 00 |
| J. Lovell Johnson, Fitchburg, Mass----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Geo. P. Grant, jr., Fitchburg, Mass----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Chester P. Hardy, Fitchburg, Mass----- | 300. 00 |
| R. S. Parks, Fitchburg, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| D. M. Dillon, Fitchburg, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| Edwin A. Bayley, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| Richard Engstrom, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| Wallis C. Blake, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| G. L. Gilmore, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| Edw. C. Stevens, Lexington, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Chas. B. Davis, Lexington, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| F. F. Sherburne, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| Harry S. Kelsey, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| Frank E. Clark, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| W. A. Gallup, Lexington, Mass----- | 250. 00 |
| Wm. D. Miller, South Ashburnham, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Oliver J. Shoonmaker, South Ashburnham, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| R. G. Fessenden, Townsend, Mass----- | 100. 00 |
| Zudoc L. White, Winchendon, Mass----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Aug. 21, 1920: | |
| A. J. Seligman, New York City, N. Y----- | 200. 00 |
| Louis V. Bright, New York City, N. Y----- | 100. 00 |
| Frank De K. Huyler, New York City, N. Y----- | 100. 00 |
| William Miller Collier, Auburn, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| James S. Watson, Rochester, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Henry W. Sackett, Providence, R. I----- | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 23, 1920: | |
| L. H. Kahler, New York City, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| H. C. Lewis, New York City, N. Y----- | 500. 00 |
| George H. White, Brooklyn, N. Y----- | 250. 00 |
| Ernest C. Wheeler, Brooklyn, N. Y----- | 200. 00 |
| George W. Todd, Rochester, N. Y----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Charles H. Payson, Portland, N. Y----- | 250. 00 |
| Gov. Percival W. Clement, Montpelier, Vt----- | 250. 00 |
| Dr. Charles W. Richardson, Washington, D. C----- | 200. 00 |
| M. F. Finley, Washington, D. C----- | 100. 00 |
| Thomas L. Jones, Washington, D. C----- | 100. 00 |
| H. C. Sheridan, Washington, D. C----- | 500. 00 |
| George E. Hamilton, Washington, D. C----- | 500. 00 |
| George T. Slade, St. Paul, Minn----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| H. A. Baldwin, Puunene, Maui, Hawaii----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Mrs. J. M. Dowsett, Honolulu----- | 100. 00 |

ARIZONA.

Aug. 4, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| R. J. Hight, Tempe, Ariz----- | 100. 00 |
| Andrew Baumert, jr., Phoenix, P. O. Box 478----- | 100. 00 |
| Hugh Daggs, Phoenix, 516 East Roosevelt----- | 250. 00 |

Aug. 11, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| A. J. Chandler, Chandler, Ariz----- | 100. 00 |
| Rudolph Kuchler, Phoenix, 839 N. 2nd Ave----- | 100. 00 |
| M. E. Cassidy, Bisbee----- | 100. 00 |

Aug. 18, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Geo. Mauk, Phoenix, Columbia Theater----- | 100. 00 |
| H. D. Wilkinson, Phoenix, 520 N. Central Ave----- | 100. 00 |

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| J. R. Knowland, Oakland..... | 250.00 |
| Aug. 6, 1920: | |
| E. F. Hutton, San Francisco..... | 100.00 |
| Aug. 9, 1920: | |
| R. F. Pray, Susanville, Red River Lumber Co..... | 150.00 |
| Martha Cooper Hughes, Monterey..... | 100.00 |
| Will Jacks, Monterey..... | 100.00 |
| Thomas J. Field, Monterey..... | 275.00 |
| Aug. 10, 1920: | |
| J. F. Cariston, Oakland, Central National Bank..... | 250.00 |
| J. Cal Ewing, Oakland, Park and San Pablo Ave..... | 100.00 |
| M. C. Chapman, Oakland, 57 Santa Clara Ave..... | 100.00 |
| Aug. 11, 1920: | |
| M. H. Sherman, Los Angeles, 344 S. Main St..... | 1,000.00 |
| Gregory Perkins, jr., Los Angeles, 234 W. Adams St..... | 100.00 |
| R. P. Bishop, Los Angeles, 1366 E. 7th St..... | 200.00 |
| W. T. Bishop, Los Angeles, 1366 E. 7th St..... | 200.00 |
| J. O. Koepfl, Los Angeles, 1366 E. 7th St..... | 200.00 |
| Karl Triest, Los Angeles, 331 Andrews Blvd..... | 250.00 |
| Karl Steinleib, Los Angeles, 404 S. Andrews Blvd..... | 250.00 |
| Dan Murphy, Los Angeles, 1117 Trust and Savings Bldg..... | 500.00 |
| J. M. Elliot, Los Angeles, 914 W. 28th St..... | 150.00 |
| H. Jevne, Los Angeles, Union Terminal..... | 300.00 |
| Charles Weir, Los Angeles, 108 W. 6th St., room 1033..... | 125.00 |
| J. O. Johnson, Los Angeles, 205 O. T. Johnson Bldg..... | 500.00 |
| S. M. Kennedy, Los Angeles, 1225 N. Grand..... | 100.00 |
| R. H. Ballard, Los Angeles, Ansonia Apts..... | 100.00 |
| John B. Miller, Los Angeles, Columbia St. and Hillside R..... | 350.00 |
| A. N. Kemp, Los Angeles, 1408 S. St. Andrews Pl..... | 100.00 |
| D. J. Hanlon, Oakland, foot of Fifth Avenue..... | 500.00 |
| E. J. Henderson, Oakland, First National Bank Building..... | 100.00 |
| S. Ewell, Marysville..... | 100.00 |
| Sidney M. Ehrman, San Francisco, 713 Nevada Bank Building..... | 500.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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Aug. 13, 1920:

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|---|-----------|
| W. E. Creed, Oakland, 128 Carrington Street..... | \$250. 00 |
| George C. Perkins, Oakland, Perkins and Vernon Streets..... | 100. 00 |
| J. H. Hansen, Oakland, Glascock Street..... | 125. 00 |

Aug. 19, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| John H. Mackanzie, San Francisco..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| B. F. Pearson, Los Angeles, 5965 Hays Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Edwin R. Davis, Los Angeles, 927 Fedora Street..... | 100. 00 |
| C. A. Henderson, Los Angeles, 733 Pacific Electric Building..... | 100. 00 |
| G. J. Kuhrts, Los Angeles, 721 Pacific Electric Building..... | 100. 00 |
| Dr. E. A. Bryant, Los Angeles, 612 Pacific Electric Building..... | 100. 00 |
| W. E. Dunn, Los Angeles, 724 Pacific Electric Building..... | 700. 00 |
| H. W. Ellington, Los Angeles, post-office box 608, station C..... | 100. 00 |
| G. C. Ward, South Pasadena..... | 100. 00 |
| W. D. Longyear, Los Angeles, 3555 Wilshire Boulevard..... | 200. 00 |
| Dr. Walter Lindley, Los Angeles, 2007 South Figueroa..... | 150. 00 |
| E. P. Clark, Los Angeles, Consolidated Realty Co..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. C. Price, Los Angeles, 809 Hillingsworth Building..... | 100. 00 |
| R. I. Rogers, Los Angeles, Merchants' National Bank..... | 150. 00 |
| J. E. Fishburn, Los Angeles, Merchants' National Bank..... | 150. 00 |
| William Shiells, Fillmore, Ventura County..... | 100. 00 |
| J. A. Graves, Alhambra..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| M. H. Whitter, Los Angeles, 617 Merritt Building..... | 750. 00 |
| J. H. Braly, Glendale, 505 North Brand Boulevard..... | 100. 00 |
| Harry Chandler, Los Angeles, Los Angeles Times..... | 1, 000. 00 |

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| J. D. Clark, San Francisco..... | 250. 00 |
| Grant D. Miller, Oakland, 2372 East Fourteenth..... | 150. 00 |
| A. Warenskjo'd, Oakland, foot of Nineteenth Avenue..... | 150. 00 |
| L. H. Bill, San Leandro, 476 Estudillo Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Norman De Vaux, Piedmont, 62 Farragut Street..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| George H. Johnson, Los Angeles, 3973 Budlong..... | 100. 00 |
| James Irvine, Tustin..... | 250. 00 |
| A. C. Denman, jr., Los Angeles..... | 250. 00 |

COLORADO.

July 13, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| C. Mac A. Wilcox, 900 Penn Street, Denver..... | 500. 00 |
| William V. Hodges, Colorado National Bank Building, Denver.... | 250. 00 |

Ju'y 16, 1920:

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|---------------------------------------|---------|
| A. D. Lewis, Denver Club, Denver..... | 250. 00 |
|---------------------------------------|---------|

July 21, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| H. Ralph Antonides, 509 First National Bank Building, Denver.. | 250. 00 |
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July 22, 1920:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| J. M. Bemis, Colorado Springs..... | 200. 00 |
|------------------------------------|---------|

July 27, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Oliver H. Shoup, Exchange National Bank Building, Colorado Springs | 1, 000. 00 |
|--|------------|

Aug. 6, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| John Evans, 205 California Street, Denver..... | 250. 00 |
| J. C. Burger, Hamilton National Bank..... | 125. 00 |

FLORIDA.

June 24, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| E. M. Brelsford, Pa'm Beach..... | 200. 00 |
|----------------------------------|---------|

July 30, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| N. B. K. Pettingill, Tampa, 922 Citizens Bank Building..... | 100. 00 |
| Charles E. Barnes, Plant City, 416 Reynolds Street..... | 250. 00 |
| E. E. Tufts, Tampa, P. O. Box 1011..... | 200. 00 |

Aug. 3, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| M. B. MacFarlane, Tampa, 1712 Florida Avenue..... | 200. 00 |
| Oscar Daniels, Tampa..... | 100. 00 |

Aug. 7, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| F. E. Hunt, Miami, Box 80..... | 100. 00 |
| Charles S. Williams, Key West, 901 Eaton Street..... | 100. 00 |

Aug. 10, 1920:

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|--|---------|
| Val N. Antuous, Tampa, 1316 Spring Street..... | 100. 00 |
| J. B. Jeffries, Miami..... | 250. 00 |

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| Aug. 12, 1920: | |
| George W. Bean, Tampa..... | \$100.00 |
| July 14, 1920: | |
| Henry Blun, Savannah..... | 500.00 |
| July 21, 1920: | |
| Charles Adamson, Cedartown..... | 500.00 |
| July 22, 1920: | |
| J. S. Dorn, Woodstock..... | 100.00 |
| July 27, 1920: | |
| Don H. Clark, 110 Bryden Street, Savannah..... | 125.00 |
| Aug. 20, 1920: | |
| H. L. Johnson (District Grand Lodge No. 18), 200 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta..... | 200.00 |

ILLINOIS.

| | |
|--|--------|
| June 14, 1920: | |
| J. Willis Gardner, Quincy, care Gardner Governor Co..... | 100.00 |
| W. G. Noll, Quincy, 1680 Main Street..... | 100.00 |
| June 15, 1920: | |
| T. M. Walsh, Campus..... | 100.00 |
| W. H. James, Danville, 1508 North Virginia..... | 100.00 |
| V. R. Riley, Jacksonville, Box 285..... | 100.00 |
| Miller Wier, Jacksonville..... | 100.00 |
| W. S. Middlesworth, Shelbyville..... | 100.00 |
| William J. Fulton, Sycamore..... | 100.00 |
| R. & F. J. Tenk, Quincy, 121 South Fifth Street..... | 100.00 |
| June 17, 1920: | |
| Grant Holmes, Danville, 30 North Hazel Street..... | 100.00 |
| June 18, 1920: | |
| John H. Harrison, Danville, 17 West North Street..... | 100.00 |
| June 21, 1920: | |
| H. A. Ainsworth, Moline, 1025 Fifteenth Street, A..... | 200.00 |
| F. E. LeSeure, Danville, 44 Vermillion Street..... | 100.00 |
| June 24, 1920: | |
| Harvey C. Adams, Danville, 141 North Vermillion..... | 100.00 |
| A. S. Witwer, Joliet, 700 North Raynor Street..... | 150.00 |
| June 28, 1920: | |
| J. D. Horner, Lawrenceville..... | 100.00 |
| June 29, 1920: | |
| John Lewman, Danville, Courthouse..... | 100.00 |
| A. F. Barker, Danville, 222 West Main Street..... | 100.00 |
| Andrew Russell, Jacksonville..... | 500.00 |
| July 6, 1920: | |
| J. S. McFerren, Hoopeston..... | 200.00 |
| E. Iliff, Hoopeston..... | 200.00 |
| William Moore, Hoopeston..... | 200.00 |
| July 7, 1920: | |
| F. E. Furst, Freeport, care Furst McNess Co..... | 100.00 |
| Bradford Brinton, Dixon..... | 100.00 |
| A. W. Leland, Dixon, 322 South Crawford..... | 100.00 |
| Philip E. Eltings, Macomb..... | 100.00 |
| Miss Mary S. Jones, Danville, 112 West North Street..... | 100.00 |
| July 8, 1920: | |
| R. J. Shand, Springfield..... | 100.00 |
| Hugo L. Olson, Rockford, Rfd. Milling Machine Co..... | 100.00 |
| F. W. Butterworth, Danville, West Center Street..... | 100.00 |
| W. T. Duker, Quincy..... | 100.00 |
| July 12, 1920: | |
| A. Meis, Danville, 1664 North Vermillion Street..... | 100.00 |
| Julius W. Hegeler, Danville, 2318 North Vermillion..... | 100.00 |
| John A. Cathcart, Sidell..... | 250.00 |
| J. M. Brownback, Decatur, 1305 West Main..... | 100.00 |
| Edward Danner, Decatur..... | 100.00 |
| F. M. Dickinson, Decatur, 531 West William..... | 100.00 |
| O. B. Gorin, Decatur, 328 West Prairie..... | 100.00 |
| W. A. Hammer, Decatur, 1529 West Wood Street..... | 100.00 |
| M. L. Harry, Decatur, 124 South Water..... | 200.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1225

July 12, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|---|------------|
| G. P. Lewis, Decatur, Milliken National Bank..... | \$100. 00 |
| C. L. Lieban, Decatur, 510 South Sigel..... | 100. 00 |
| J. S. McClelland, Decatur, 170 Oak Crest..... | 100. 00 |
| J. A. Meriweather, Decatur..... | 250. 00 |
| S. E. Walker, Decatur, 323 North Macon..... | 100. 00 |
| H. D. Warner, Decatur, 1496 West Main..... | 100. 00 |
| D. E. Willard, Decatur, 1259 West Main..... | 100. 00 |
| Charles Levis, Alton..... | 100. 00 |
| Burton F. Peck, Moline..... | 100. 00 |
| July 13, 1920: | |
| George N. Peek, Moline, Moline Plow Co..... | 250. 00 |
| July 14, 1920: | |
| E. H. Wilson, Moline, 714 Nineteenth Street..... | 100. 00 |
| F. A. Brewer, Tampico..... | 125. 50 |
| July 15, 1920: | |
| Thomas Flynn, Robinson..... | 100. 00 |
| Journal-Standard, Freeport, 133 Stephenson Street..... | 100. 00 |
| July 19, 1920: | |
| W. A. Rosenfield, Rock Island..... | 150. 00 |
| Wm. Bell, Robinson..... | 100. 00 |
| July 20, 1920: | |
| E. E. Crabtree, Jacksonville..... | 100. 00 |
| July 22, 1920: | |
| Harry A. Severson, Rockford..... | 100. 00 |
| F. G. Horner, Lawrenceville..... | 100. 00 |
| E. B. Coolley, Danville, 112 Pine Street..... | 100. 00 |
| July 23, 1920: | |
| Joseph T. Griggs, Bridgeport..... | 100. 00 |
| July 27, 1920: | |
| L. G. Gray, Decatur..... | 100. 00 |
| July 29, 1920: | |
| F. G. Hogland, Rockford, 818 North Second Street..... | 250. 00 |
| J. L. Tinch, Danville, First National Bank..... | 100. 00 |
| W. C. Lewman, Danville, Elks' Club..... | 100. 00 |
| T. E. O'Brien, Decatur..... | 200. 00 |
| L. E. Nutt, Moline, 2011 Sixth Avenue..... | 300. 00 |
| July 30, 1920: | |
| Charles Devere Wimen, Moline..... | 100. 00 |
| Wm. Butterworth, Moline..... | 500. 00 |
| E. J. Murphy, Joliet..... | 250. 00 |
| Aug. 3, 1920: | |
| Elmore H. Stafford, Rock Island, 715 Twentieth Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Chas. Esplin, Rock Island, 2525 Fourth Avenue..... | 200. 00 |
| Geo. W. Johnson, Moline, 1440 Twelfth Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Geo. Humrichouse, Danville, 310 East North Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 4, 1920: | |
| Geo. W. Niedringhaus, Granite City, National Enameling & Stamping Co..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Aug. 9, 1920: | |
| Robert Pilcher, Joliet, 103 LaFayette Street..... | 100. 00 |
| H. A. Hillmer, Freeport..... | 100. 00 |
| Arthur W. Cutten, Downers Grove..... | 250. 00 |
| Frank J. Bogan, Glen Ellyn..... | 100. 00 |
| Monte B. Taylor, Wheaton, 101 East Front Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 11, 1920: | |
| Thos. J. Cossey, Danville, 1120 Oat Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 12, 1920: | |
| J. D. McChesney, Glen Ellyn, 539 Hawthorne Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 13, 1920: | |
| Frank S. Whitman, Belvidere, 429 South State Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Wm. L. Pierce, Belvidere, 519 South State Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Marshall Bros., Belvidere, 703 Pearl Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Willis S. Brown, Belvidere, 554 East Lincoln Street..... | 100. 00 |
| O. W. Johnson, Rockford, care of Ward Love Pump Co..... | 100. 00 |
| C. L. Sandusky, Danville, 37 Vermillion..... | 100. 00 |

Aug. 17, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| T. B. Davis, Rock Island | \$500.00 |
| R. W. Phelps, Rock Island, 1528 44th St | 100.00 |
| Tully D. White, Rock Island, 603 23rd St | 100.00 |
| P. A. Peterson, Rockford | 100.00 |
| Wm. E. Hull, Peoria | 1,000.00 |

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| C. J. Cooper, Moline | 100.00 |
| Wm. A. Murphy, Joliet, 204 Higgle Bld | 100.00 |
| C. K. Palmer, Danville | 100.00 |
| Hjalmar Rehn, Joliet | 100.00 |
| E. P. Irving, Decatur | 200.00 |

June 14, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Donald R. Wegg, Chicago, 80 E. Jackson Blvd | 100.00 |
| H. K. Tenney, Chicago, 137 S. LaSalle St | 100.00 |
| E. M. Platt, Chicago, 1070 Old Colony Bldg | 100.00 |
| C. S. Borden, Chicago, 220 W. S. Water Street | 100.00 |

June 18, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Edward S. Moore, Chicago, 111 West Washington St | 1,000.00 |
| Spencer Otis, Chicago, 80 E. Jackson Blvd | 250.00 |

June 22, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Charles W. Stiger, Chicago, 64-8 E. 25th Street | 200.00 |
| F. B. Cozzens, Chicago, 610 Federal Street | 200.00 |
| Luther C. Rogers, Chicago, 120 Polk St | 250.00 |

June 23, 1920:

| | |
|--|--------|
| Kemper K. Knapp, Chicago, 208 So. LaSalle Street | 100.00 |
|--|--------|

June 28, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| A. A. Sprague, Chicago, 600 West Erie St | 400.00 |
| Peter J. Kasper, Chicago, 701 W. Lake St | 300.00 |
| O. C. Mattern, Chicago, 465 W. 22nd St | 100.00 |
| Edward F. Carry, Chicago, Railway Exchange | 1,250.00 |

June 29, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| P. D. Fenn, Chicago, 120 North Jefferson St | 100.00 |
| E. F. Hamm, Chicago, 418 S. Market St | 100.00 |
| E. S. Shepherd, Chicago, 259 E. Erie St | 250.00 |

July 7, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Arthur Anderson & Co., Chicago, Harris Trust Bldg | 100.00 |
| F. Ray Comstock, Chicago, 110 W. Madison St | 100.00 |
| H. L. Stuart, Chicago, 209 S. LaSalle St | 250.00 |
| Howard Elting, Chicago, 1833 Seward St | 100.00 |
| Michael E. Fox, Chicago, 4529 N. Campbell Ave | 100.00 |
| Wm. F. Bode, Chicago, 314 N. Clark St | 250.00 |
| E. J. Buffington, Chicago, 208 S. LaSalle St | 500.00 |
| L. E. Block, Chicago, 1105 First Nat'l Bk. Bldg | 250.00 |
| Wood Beal, Chicago, 1750 McCormick Bldg | 250.00 |
| Thos. E. Finnegan, Chicago, 332 S. Michigan Ave | 500.00 |
| Geo. R. Carr, Chicago, 332 S. Michigan Ave | 250.00 |

July 8, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Walter H. Wilson, Chicago, 209 S. LaSalle St | 1,000.00 |
| Herbert S. Johnson, Chicago, 1526 S. State St | 100.00 |
| Clyde T. Hoyt, Chicago, 1526 S. State St | 100.00 |
| J. K. Dering, Chicago, 1914 McCormick Bldg | 500.00 |
| H. W. Allen, Chicago, 110 N. Peoria St | 250.00 |
| G. H. Jones, Chicago, 1105 First Nat'l Bk | 250.00 |
| G. C. Hixon, Chicago, 717 Monroe Bldg | 250.00 |
| Geo. E. Van Hagen, Chicago, 80 E. Jackson Blvd | 1,000.00 |

July 12, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| R. H. Ripley, Chicago, 332 S. Michigan Ave | 250.00 |
| Egbert H. Gold, Chicago, 80 E. Jackson Blvd. Ry. Ex | 250.00 |
| D. E. Felt, Chicago, 1717 N. Paulina St | 1,000.00 |
| Elizabeth Felt, Chicago, 432 Wellington St | 500.00 |
| Mrs. Agnes Felt, Chicago, 432 Wellington St | 1,000.00 |
| William S. Furry, Chicago, 53 W. Jackson Blvd | 500.00 |

July 13, 1920:

| | |
|--|--------|
| John S. Miller, Chicago, 70 West Monroe Street | 250.00 |
| Ezra J. Warner, Chicago, 600 West Erie Street | 300.00 |
| Ariel Meinrath, Chicago, 10 South LaSalle Street | 100.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1227

July 13, 1920—Continued.

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|---|------------|
| Edward L. Thornton, Chicago, 2315 Elston Avenue..... | \$250. 00 |
| G. E. Scott, Chicago, 332 S. Michigan Avenue..... | 250. 00 |
| R. P. Lamont, Chicago, 232 S. Michigan Avenue..... | 500. 00 |
| H. Stillson Hart, Chicago, Railway Exchange..... | 100. 00 |
| Albert G. Welch, Chicago, McCormick Building..... | 250. 00 |
| Frederick T. Vaux, Chicago, 319 W. Ontario Street..... | 200. 00 |
| Jacob Mortenson, Oak Park, 175 North Euclid Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| H. R. Hamilton, Chicago, 185 Leclair Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Harry Vessering, Chicago, 14 E. Jackson Boulevard..... | 1, 000. 00 |

July 16, 1920 :

| | |
|--|---------|
| D. H. Burnham, Chicago, 209 S. Laselle Street..... | 150. 00 |
| Albert Nason, Chicago, 1380 Old Colony Building..... | 250. 00 |
| H. H. Taylor, Chicago, 1215 Old Colony Building..... | 500. 00 |
| D. E. McMillan, Evanston, 2422 Orrington Avenue..... | 125. 00 |
| J. P. McMillan, Evanston, 1720 Asbury Avenue..... | 125. 00 |
| F. R. Spear, Chicago, 80 E. Jackson Boulevard..... | 100. 00 |

July 20, 1920 :

| | |
|--|------------|
| C. A. Bickett, Chicago, 1260 Lake Shore Drive..... | 500. 00 |
| Silas H. Strawn, Chicago, 38 S. Dearborn Street..... | 500. 00 |
| Chas. I. Pierce, Chicago, 1221 Peoples Gas Building..... | 500. 00 |
| Edward S. Moore, Chicago, 111 W. Washington Street..... | 1, 000. 00 |

July 23, 1920 :

| | |
|--|---------|
| G. T. Pushman, Chicago, 16 S. Wabash Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Jas. P. Soper, Chicago, 2204 Loomis Street..... | 250. 00 |

July 26, 1920 :

| | |
|---|------------|
| R. Ortman, Chicago, 1214 McCormick Building | 1, 000. 00 |
|---|------------|

July 27, 1920 :

| | |
|---|---------|
| Geo. M. Weaver, Chicago, 1533 S. Michigan Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

July 30, 1920 :

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|---|---------|
| Fred A. Poor, Chicago, 80 E. Jackson Blvd..... | 250. 00 |
| George B. Harrington, Chicago, 324 Fullerton Parkway..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 2, 1920 :

| | |
|--|------------|
| A. H. Beale, Chicago, 6053 Kenwood Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| W. L. Brown, Chicago, 332 S. Michigan..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. Sykes, Chicago, 2111 Conway Bldg..... | 125. 00 |
| C. P. Wheeler, Chicago, 332 S. Michigan..... | 500. 00 |
| Anson Mark, Chicago, Conway Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
| C. Clarence Mark, Chicago, Conway Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
| Ward Wire, Chicago, 111 W. Washington..... | 125. 00 |
| B. T. Bechtel, Wilmette, 869 Pine..... | 125. 00 |
| Winsor Chase, Chicago, 1331-111 W. Washington..... | 125. 00 |
| Frank F. Corby, Chicago, 111 W. Washington..... | 125. 00 |
| John K. Saville, Evanston, 911 Sheridan Rd..... | 125. 00 |
| C. F. Speth, Glencoe..... | 125. 00 |
| E. H. Haslam, Chicago, Conway Bldg..... | 125. 00 |
| Clayton Mark, Chicago, Conway Bldg..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 4, 1920 :

| | |
|--|---------|
| Morris Vehon, Chicago, 731 S. Wells St..... | 500. 00 |
| S. E. Leeman, Chicago, 319 W. Van Buren St..... | 400. 00 |
| Alfred E. D'Abcona, Chicago, Van Buren and Sangamon..... | 120. 00 |
| H. X. Strauss, Chicago, care of Meyer & Co., S. W. Cor. Adams and Green Sts..... | 250. 00 |
| A. W. Meyer, Chicago, care of Meyer & Co., S. W. Cor. Adams and Green Sts..... | 250. 00 |
| George W. Anderson, Chicago, care of A. E. Anderson & Co., Green and Van Buren..... | 200. 00 |

Aug. 9, 1920 :

| | |
|---|---------|
| C. P. Wright, Chicago, 332 S. Michigan Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| Sumner T. McCall, Chicago, Amer. Manganese Steel Co., 332 S. Michigan Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| E. S. Black, Chicago, Amer. Manganese Steel Co., 332 S. Mich- igan Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| W. S. McKee, Chicago, Amer. Manganese Steel Co., 332 S. Mich- igan Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| W. G. Nichols, Chicago, Amer. Manganese Steel Co., 332 S. Mich- igan Ave..... | 150. 00 |

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|----------------|--|------------|
| Aug. 10, 1920: | | |
| | William H. Davies, Chicago, 105 W. Monroe St..... | \$250. 00 |
| Aug. 12, 1920: | | |
| | C. E. Cromer, Chicago, 1526 S. State St..... | 100. 00 |
| | Alexander H. Revell, Chicago, Adams & Wabash Ave..... | 200. 00 |
| | F. C. Caldwell, Chicago, Western Ave. & 17th St..... | 200. 00 |
| | F. C. Honnold & A. B. McLaren, Chicago, 2017 Fisher Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
| Aug. 18, 1920: | | |
| | Mrs. M. E. Pearson, Chicago, 325 Fullerton..... | 100. 00 |
| | Mrs. Wayne Ponting, Chicago, 1040 Hollywood Ave..... | 500. 00 |
| | Silas J. Llewellyn, Chicago, 104 S. Michigan Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| | Oliver N. Caldwell, Chicago, Western Ave. & 17th St..... | 200. 00 |
| | B. E. Sunny, Chicago, 212 W. Washington St..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| | Lyman D. Rudolph, Chicago, United Mfg. & Distrib. Co., Ohio St. & Lake Shore Drive..... | 200. 00 |
| | Seymour Coleman, Chicago, 1690 Old Colony Bldg..... | 100. 00 |
| | J. Parker Gowing, Chicago, 320 W. 26th St..... | 100. 00 |
| June 28, 1920: | | |
| | Mrs. Joseph G. Coleman, 712 Rush Street, Chicago..... | 253. 24 |
| June 29, 1920: | | |
| | Mrs. Frank D. Stout, 3150 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago..... | 500. 00 |
| Aug. 2, 1920: | | |
| | Mrs. Louis E. Laflin, Lake Forest, Ill..... | 100. 00 |
| INDIANA. | | |
| June 25, 1920: | | |
| | Walter H. Ball, Huntington, 520 Henry St..... | \$100. 00 |
| | Paul M. Taylor, Huntington..... | 100. 00 |
| | F. E. Wickenhiser, Huntington, 920 Gullford St..... | 100. 00 |
| | Richard Lieber, Indianapolis, State House..... | 100. 00 |
| | A. B. Meyer, Indianapolis, 225 N. Penn St..... | 125. 00 |
| | H. C. Atkins, Indianapolis, E. C. Atkins & Co..... | 250. 00 |
| | C. W. Craig, Indianapolis, 6 E. Wash. St..... | 100. 00 |
| | Fred C. Gardner, Indianapolis, E. C. Atkins & Co..... | 250. 00 |
| | A. M. Glossbrenner, Indianapolis, State House Square..... | 100. 00 |
| | J. M. McIntosh, Indianapolis, 14 East Washington Street..... | 100. 00 |
| | D. M. Rosenthal, Indianapolis, 440 South Illinois Street..... | 125. 00 |
| | E. W. Steinhart, Indianapolis, Eleventh and Meridian Streets..... | 100. 00 |
| | Clemens Vonnegut, Indianapolis, 120 East Washington..... | 250. 00 |
| July 8, 1920: | | |
| | E. C. Wharf, Vincennes, La Plank Building..... | 100. 00 |
| July 12, 1920: | | |
| | A. L. Block, Indianapolis, 33 West Washington Street..... | 125. 00 |
| | Charles B. Sommers, Indianapolis, D. Sommers & Co..... | 125. 00 |
| July 13, 1920: | | |
| | J. I. Holcomb, Indianapolis, Draper and Van Buren Streets..... | 250. 00 |
| July 16, 1920: | | |
| | Frederic M. Ayres, Indianapolis, L. S. Ayres & Co..... | 400. 00 |
| | Katherine A. Smitheson, Indianapolis, 1319 North New Jersey..... | 200. 00 |
| July 20, 1920: | | |
| | Robert H. Hassler, Indianapolis, 1535 Naomi Street..... | 500. 00 |
| | Stoughton A. Fletcher, Indianapolis, Fletcher American National Bank..... | 500. 00 |
| July 22, 1920: | | |
| | L. C. Huesmann, Indianapolis, 210 South Capitol Avenue..... | 250. 00 |
| July 23, 1920: | | |
| | W. S. Wilson, Indianapolis, 210 South Capitol Avenue..... | 250. 00 |
| July 30, 1920: | | |
| | John M. Carey, Indianapolis, Stewart Carey Glass Co..... | 100. 00 |
| | W. A. Jackson, Evansville, 918 Washington Avenue..... | 500. 00 |
| Aug. 6, 1920: | | |
| | William G. Irwin, Bartholomew Co., Columbus..... | 500. 00 |
| Aug. 16, 1920: | | |
| | A. D. Warner, Mishawaka..... | 333. 33 |
| Aug. 17, 1920: | | |
| | Will H. Mooney, Columbus, 619 5th St..... | 350. 00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1229

Aug. 18, 1920:

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|--|-----------|
| S. F. Bowser, Fort Wayne, 1232 East Creighton Ave..... | \$375. 00 |
| Henry C. Berghoff, Fort Wayne..... | 125. 00 |
| W. H. Noll, Fort Wayne, 123 West Columbia..... | 100. 00 |
| W. K. Noble, Fort Wayne, 420 West Wayne St..... | 100. 00 |

IOWA.

June 14, 1920:

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|--|---------|
| Jay E. Decker, Mason City, 112 2nd St. SE..... | 250. 00 |
|--|---------|

June 30, 1920:

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|--|---------|
| P. J. Mills, Des Moines, 120 SW. 5th St..... | 100. 00 |
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July 1, 1920:

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|---|---------|
| F. F. Everest, Council Bluffs, 551 W. Bway. Co..... | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

July 6, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Edwin Hewett, Des Moines, 118 4th St..... | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

July 12, 1920:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Chas. R. Brenton, Dallas Center..... | 100. 00 |
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July 15, 1920:

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|--|---------|
| C. H. Martin, Des Moines, Peoples Sav. Bank..... | 125. 00 |
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|---|---------|
| F. P. Flynn, Des Moines, Peoples Sav. Bank..... | 125. 00 |
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July 16, 1920:

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|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Edward Killian, Cedar Rapids..... | 100. 00 |
|-----------------------------------|---------|

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|--|---------|
| Ed. H. Smith, Cedar Rapids, Higley Bldg..... | 200. 00 |
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July 20, 1920:

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|---|---------|
| G. E. McKinnon, Des Moines, 319 Fifth St..... | 100. 00 |
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|---|---------|
| James B. Weaver, Des Moines, 417 C. N. B. Bldg..... | 100. 00 |
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| | |
|--|---------|
| Louis Kurtz, Des Moines, 312-14 Walnut St..... | 125. 00 |
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July 30, 1920:

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|--|---------|
| Chas. R. Hannan, jr., Bluffs, 8050 2nd St..... | 100. 00 |
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|------------------------------------|---------|
| S. G. Armstrong, Cedar Rapids..... | 300. 00 |
|------------------------------------|---------|

Aug. 3, 1920:

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|------------------------------|---------|
| W. E. Brice, Mason City..... | 250. 00 |
|------------------------------|---------|

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| W. L. Cherry, Cedar Rapids..... | 100. 00 |
|---------------------------------|---------|

| | |
|-------------------------|---------|
| Almor Stern, Logan..... | 500. 00 |
|-------------------------|---------|

| | |
|--------------------------|---------|
| E. M. Hugg, Denison..... | 175. 00 |
|--------------------------|---------|

August 6, 1920.

| | |
|----------------------|---------|
| Thos. K. Murphy..... | 100. 00 |
|----------------------|---------|

Aug. 10, 1920:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| J. M. Jensen, Buffalo Center..... | 122. 00 |
|-----------------------------------|---------|

Aug. 12, 1920:

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|---|---------|
| A. H. Blank, Des Moines, 326 Iowa Building..... | 100. 00 |
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| | |
|--|---------|
| H. W. Byers, Des Moines, Crocker Bldg..... | 100. 00 |
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|--|---------|
| Howard J. Clark, Des Moines, Crocker Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
|--|---------|

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|--------------------------------|---------|
| R. J. Clemens, Des Moines..... | 100. 00 |
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|--|---------|
| W. J. Proudfoot, Des Moines, 9th and Walnut..... | 150. 00 |
|--|---------|

| | |
|--|---------|
| W. W. Sears, Des Moines, 10th and Locust St..... | 100. 00 |
|--|---------|

| | |
|---|---------|
| John P. Wallace, Des Moines, 14th and Walnut..... | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

Aug. 16, 1920:

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|----------------------------------|---------|
| W. R. Green, Council Bluffs..... | 200. 00 |
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Aug. 17, 1920:

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|---|---------|
| Dave Davidson, Sioux City, 4th and Pierce St..... | 500. 00 |
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|---------------------------------|---------|
| A. S. Galinsky, Sioux City..... | 100. 00 |
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|--------------------------------|---------|
| A. S. Hanford, Sioux City..... | 500. 00 |
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| | |
|--|---------|
| W. P. Manly, Sioux City, 523 4th St..... | 400. 00 |
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|---|---------|
| J. P. Newton, Sioux City, 2312 Nebraska St..... | 100. 00 |
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|---|---------|
| W. S. Warfield, Sioux City, Nebraska and 3d St..... | 500. 00 |
|---|---------|

| | |
|--|---------|
| William Milchrist, Sioux City, Security Bank Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
|--|---------|

Aug. 18, 1920:

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|----------------------------------|------------|
| J. W. Bettendorf, Davenport..... | 1, 000. 00 |
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|---|---------|
| Charles Grilk, 201 Putnam Bldg., Davenport..... | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

| | |
|------------------------------|---------|
| R. H. Harned, Davenport..... | 200. 00 |
|------------------------------|---------|

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| J. L. Hecht, Davenport..... | 250. 00 |
|-----------------------------|---------|

| | |
|---|---------|
| Joe R. Lane, Lane Bldg., Davenport..... | 500. 00 |
|---|---------|

| | |
|--|---------|
| Alfred C. Mueller, 32 Dvpt. Svc. Bk. Bldg., Davenport..... | 250. 00 |
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| | |
|--|---------|
| H. V. Scott, Gordon-Van Tine Co., Davenport..... | 500. 00 |
|--|---------|

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| C. J. Von Naur, Davenport..... | 200. 00 |
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Aug. 20, 1920:

N. W. Wilchinski, care Yonker Bros. (Inc.)-----\$250.00

KANSAS.

June 23, 1920:

D. J. Fair, Sterling-----100.00

M. B. McNair, Lyons-----100.00

G. W. Connelly, Caney-----100.00

A. Loelau, Caney, care of Connelly Glass Co-----100.00

John Redmond, Burlington, care of Burl. Rep-----115.00

July 24, 1920:

E. H. Connor, Leavenworth-----100.00

H. Kaufman, Wichita, 133 N. Rutan St-----100.00

June 29, 1920:

Otis L. Benton, Oberlin-----300.00

July 6, 1920:

E. E. Mullaney, Hill City-----200.00

July 12, 1920:

E. D. Lysle, Leavenworth, 508 Brdway-----200.00

E. Muller, Atwood-----225.00

M. W. Hardman, Downs-----100.00

July 14, 1920:

A. H. Schlanger, Pittsburg, Globe Bldg-----100.00

W. S. Fitzpatrick, Independence, 409 W. Myrtle St-----250.00

A. W. Shulthis, Independence, 507 North Penn Ave-----250.00

July 15, 1920:

C. E. Roth, Independence-----100.00

July 22, 1920:

George H. Hunter, Wellington, 7005 S. Washington St-----500.00

July 27, 1920:

C. E. Warner, Ottawa-----200.00

William Wallace, Ottawa-----100.00

J. H. Hill, Smith Center-----100.00

Aug. 2, 1920:

O. W. Sheperd, Kansas City-----100.00

C. K. Wells, Kansas City-----100.00

Aug. 3, 1920:

Frank W. Sponable, Paola-----200.00

Myra D. Sponable, Paola-----100.00

George T. Guernsey, Independence, 524 N. Penn Ave-----250.00

Aug. 6, 1920:

J. H. Stewart, Wichita-----100.00

Aug. 16, 1920:

D. W. Mulvane, Topeka-----500.00

Sheffield Ingalls, Atchison-----100.00

Aug. 17, 1920:

W. S. Dickey, Pittsburg-----125.00

KENTUCKY.

June 21, 1920:

Mrs. Christine Bradley South, Frankfort-----100.00

July 1, 1920:

Lewis R. Atwood, Louisville-----1,000.00

July 2, 1920:

Charles E. Eveleth, Lexington-----100.00

July 9, 1920:

Chas. W. Allen, Belknap Hardware & Manufacturing Co., Louisville-----100.00

July 14, 1920:

J. S. Cooper, Somerset-----100.00

July 20, 1920:

Maurice L. Galvin, Covington-----200.00

July 23, 1920:

Joseph Burge, 409 West Main, Louisville-----100.00

July 27, 1920:

John J. Craig, State Auditor, Frankfort-----200.00

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1231

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Aug. 5, 1920: | |
| Richard P. Ernst, Covington----- | \$900. 00 |
| Aug. 7, 1920: | |
| G. A. Seiler, Covington----- | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 10, 1920: | |
| Wm. A. Burkamp, Newport, Newport National Bank Building---- | 100. 00 |
| John A. Creech, Winchester----- | 100. 00 |

LOUISIANA.

| | |
|---|---------|
| June 14, 1920: | |
| J. A. Foster, Lake Charles----- | 250. 00 |
| Silvain Newberger, 839 Gravier Street, New Orleans----- | 200. 00 |
| E. V. Benjamin, 1050 Constance Street, New Orleans----- | 250. 00 |
| Powell Lumber Co. (Geo. M. King), Lake Charles----- | 200. 00 |
| J. C. Warner, care of Mente & Co., New Orleans----- | 150. 00 |
| J. Lebermuth, Lauderdale----- | 200. 00 |
| July 8, 1920: | |
| Gideon T. Stanton, New Orleans, 822 Common Street----- | 500. 00 |
| W. S. Penick, New Orleans, Whitney Bank Building----- | 500. 00 |
| Walter C. Wright, New Orleans, 606 Commercial Place----- | 100. 00 |
| July 13, 1920: | |
| J. S. Thomson, Lake Charles----- | 200. 00 |
| July 16, 1920: | |
| J. A. Badger, New Orleans----- | 150. 00 |
| G. W. Rowbotham, New Orleans, 602 South Peters Street----- | 100. 00 |
| Thos. H. Underwood, New Orleans, 809 Roosevelt Place----- | 125. 00 |
| July 20, 1920: | |
| Wm. Edenborn, New Orleans, 700 Title Guarantee Bldg----- | 500. 00 |
| July 30, 1920: | |
| I. T. Rhea, New Orleans, 730 Carrollton----- | 100. 00 |
| Rudolf Krause, Lake Charles----- | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 6, 1920: | |
| R. O. Giddens, Coushatta, box 33----- | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 12, 1920: | |
| Emile Kuntz, New Orleans, 1446 Nashville Avenue----- | 250. 00 |
| D. A. Lines, New Orleans, 1940 North Rampart Street----- | 125. 00 |
| Aug. 13, 1920: | |
| Charles R. Beattle, New Orleans, 701 Herman Building----- | 200. 00 |
| Aug. 19, 1920: | |
| John Barclay & Co., New Orleans, 219 North Peters Street----- | 200. 00 |
| Glassel & Merren, Shreveport, Merchants Building----- | 250. 00 |

MICHIGAN.

| | |
|---|------------|
| June 14, 1920: | |
| Walter C. Piper, Detroit, 450 Holden Building----- | 250. 00 |
| Russell A. Alger, Detroit, 2040 Penobscot Building----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| C. J. Butler, Detroit, 315 Iroquois Avenue----- | 100. 00 |
| June 16, 1920: | |
| John J. Carton, Flint, 407 the Dryden----- | 125. 00 |
| June 21, 1920: | |
| M. E. Anlsbrook, Sturgis----- | 100. 00 |
| J. T. Sabds, Pentwater----- | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. William A. Butler, jr., Grosse Point----- | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. John B. Ford, Detroit, 1730 Jefferson Avenue----- | 100. 00 |
| W. T. Mullen, St. Joseph----- | 100. 00 |
| J. W. Tiscornia, St. Joseph----- | 100. 00 |
| J. O. Wells, St. Joseph----- | 200. 00 |

MAINE.

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| Aug. 17, 1920: | |
| M. S. Bird, Portland----- | 500. 00 |
| A. F. Cox & Son, Portland----- | 500. 00 |
| Charles Sumner Cook, Portland----- | 250. 00 |

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| John S. Harlow, Dixfield..... | \$100. 00 |
| Novelty Turning Co. (not Inc.)..... | 100. 00 |
| W. P. Holliday, Detroit, Majestic Building..... | 500. 00 |
| Edward P. Hammond, Detroit, 1015 Hammond Building..... | 250. 00 |
| Fred M. Alger, Detroit, Penobscot Building..... | 1, 000. 00 |

June 22, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Clarence A. Lightner, Detroit, 1004 Dime Bank Building..... | 100. 00 |
| W. G. Henry, Detroit, 1360 East Jeff Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Edw. J. Molnet, St. Johns..... | 100. 00 |

June 29, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Albert A. Albrecht, Detroit, 1130 Penobscot Building..... | 250. 00 |
| E. H. Butler, Detroit, Grosse Pointe Farms..... | 250. 00 |
| Mrs. Horace E. Dodge, Detroit, Grosse Pointe Farms..... | 250. 00 |
| Mrs. J. B. Schlotman, Detroit, Grosse Pointe Shores..... | 100. 00 |
| W. J. Fell, Battle Creek, Michigan Carton Co..... | 100. 00 |
| George R. Rich, Battle Creek, Maple Street..... | 250. 00 |
| Theodore Huss, Saginaw, 802 Holland Avenue..... | 125. 00 |
| Benton Hanchett, Saginaw..... | 250. 00 |

July 1, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| W. Livingstone, Detroit, Dime Savings Bank..... | 250. 00 |
| David C. Whitney, Detroit, 1124 Ford Building..... | 500. 00 |

July 6, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Frank H. Milham, Kalamazoo, West South Street..... | 200. 00 |
| B. C. Dickinson, Kalamazoo, 428 West South Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Noah Bruant, Kalamazoo, South Park Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Charles E. Townsend, Jackson..... | 500. 00 |
| Louis A. Weil, Port Huron..... | 100. 00 |
| John P. Gates, Port Huron, 2373 Military Street..... | 100. 00 |
| C. K. Chapin, Detroit, 85 Porter Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Joseph M. Schenck, Detroit, 18 Woodward Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Richard P. Joy, Detroit, 1740 Penobscot Building..... | 500. 00 |
| W. H. Price, Detroit, care Detroit Creamery Co..... | 100. 00 |

July 8, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Stephen Y. Seyburn, Detroit, 1118 Ford Building..... | 1, 000. 00 |
|--|------------|

July 13, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| T. M. Longyear, Marquette..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| John R. Van Evera, Marquette..... | 100. 00 |
| M. M. Duncan, Ishpeming..... | 250. 00 |
| Lewis H. Jones, Detroit, 91 Clark Avenue..... | 500. 00 |
| Frank J. Hecker, Detroit, 915 Union Trust Building..... | 500. 00 |
| John D. Mackay, Detroit, 1505 Dime Bank Building..... | 125. 00 |
| A. G. Bishop, Flint..... | 100. 00 |
| Lloys M. Richardson, Saginaw, 210 Eddy Building..... | 250. 00 |
| Frederick W. Dennis, Detroit, 1740 Penobscot Building..... | 125. 00 |
| Charles R. Sligh, Grand Rapids, Sligh Furniture Co..... | 250. 00 |
| Murray W. Sales, Detroit, 76 Jefferson Avenue..... | 500. 00 |

July 14, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| H. D. Sheldon, Detroit, 1840 Penobscot Building..... | 500. 00 |
| Guy S. Greene, Detroit, McGraw Building..... | 200. 00 |
| Lem W. Bowen, Detroit, care of D. M. Ferry & Co..... | 250. 00 |
| J. G. Reynolds, Marquette, 500 East Ridge Street..... | 250. 00 |

July 15, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| F. G. Austin, Detroit, 1742 Ford Building..... | 100. 00 |
| Maj. Walter C. Piper, Detroit, 400 Holden Building..... | 500. 00 |
| Charles M. Roehm, Detroit, 91 West Woodbridge Street..... | 125. 00 |
| R. D. Chapin, Detroit, Grosse Point Farms..... | 500. 00 |
| Henry L. Vander Horst, Kalamazoo..... | 100. 00 |
| Herbert H. Dow, Midland..... | 200. 00 |
| Eugene W. Lewis, Detroit, 306 Dime Bank Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
| C. C. Winingham, Detroit, Book Bldg..... | 100. 00 |

July 16, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| H. D. Minich, Detroit, Republican Motor Truck Co..... | 200. 00 |
| H. H. Bassett, Flint, 421 E St..... | 100. 00 |
| William H. Murphy, Detroit, 2248 Penobscot Bldg..... | 250. 00 |
| Fred E. Lee, Dowagiac, Beckwith Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
| Albert Kahn, Detroit, Marquette Bldg..... | 125. 00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1233

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|---|------------|
| July 16, 1920—Continued. | |
| C. H. Bonbright, Flint, 515 E..... | \$250. 00 |
| Charles H. Schaeffer, Marquette, Arch St..... | 250. 00 |
| July 19, 1920: | |
| Fred M. Warner, Farmington..... | 500. 00 |
| July 20, 1920: | |
| Sands & Burr, bankers, Manistee, 386 River St..... | 100. 00 |
| July 21, 1920: | |
| Henry Laethem, Detroit, Belle Isle East Side Creamery..... | 100. 00 |
| E. H. McMillan, Detroit, McMillan Estate, Union Trust Bldg..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Charles Briggs, Calumet..... | 500. 00 |
| Leonard Freeman, Flint..... | 200. 00 |
| W. S. Ballenger, Flint, 814 Church St..... | 100. 00 |
| C. S. Mott, Flint, 1400 E. Kearsley St..... | 950. 00 |
| William Judson, Grand Rapids, 18 Market Avenue..... | 200. 00 |
| H. T. Stanton, Grand Rapids, 18 Market Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| W. R. Roach, Grand Rapids, 508 Murray Building..... | 300. 00 |
| July 22, 1920: | |
| E. W. Atwood, Flint..... | 125. 00 |
| Delos A. Blodgett, Grand Rapids, "Lakewood"..... | 250. 00 |
| July 23, 1920: | |
| R. W. Smith, Manistee, 440 Cedar Street..... | 100. 00 |
| James Russell, Marquette..... | 100. 00 |
| A. F. Maynard, Marquette..... | 100. 00 |
| N. G. DeHaas, Marquette..... | 200. 00 |
| Waldo T. Potter, Ishpeming..... | 100. 00 |
| July 27, 1920: | |
| Mrs. Henry B. Joy, Detroit, Grosse Pointe Farms..... | 500. 00 |
| Henry B. Joy, Detroit, 1740 Penobscot Building..... | 500. 00 |
| R. H. Webber, Detroit, 305 Iroquois Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| July 28, 1920: | |
| George Shiras, 3d, Ishpeming..... | 500. 00 |
| July 29, 1920: | |
| C. C. Jennings, M. D., Detroit..... | 200. 00 |
| Howard E. Coffin, Detroit, care Hudson Motor Car Co..... | 500. 00 |
| J. T. Wylie, Saginaw, Batchelor Timber Co..... | 200. 00 |
| Henry W. McMorran, Port Huron, 2535 Military Street..... | 100. 00 |
| Waldo A. Avery, Detroit, 901 Majestic Building..... | 100. 00 |
| Benj. Gero, Manistique, 244 Arbutus Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| H. H. Beese, Saginaw, Morart Const. Co..... | 100. 00 |
| H. Woodruff, Saginaw, U. S. Graphite Co..... | 250. 00 |
| J. T. Stearns, Ludington..... | 300. 00 |
| July 30, 1920: | |
| Alex Dew, Detroit, 18 Washington Avenue..... | 500. 00 |
| Aug. 4, 1920: | |
| Jerome H. Remick, Detroit, Detroit Creamery Co..... | 250. 00 |
| Julius H. Haass, Detroit..... | 100. 00 |
| John R. Searles, Detroit, 166 Parker Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| C. P. Binthy, Owosso..... | 100. 00 |
| A. E. Gorham, Mount Pleasant, 222 North Francher Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| M. N. Brady, Saginaw..... | 100. 00 |
| Martin J. Dregge, Grand Rapids..... | 500. 00 |
| Aug. 5, 1920: | |
| Clayton A. Grinnell, Detroit, 245 Woodward Avenue..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Christian Gallmeyer, Grand Rapids, 103 Hastings Street..... | 100. 00 |
| E. J. Vogt, Grand Rapids, corner North and Muskegon..... | 100. 00 |
| Matthew Slush, Detroit, 1748 Penobscot Building..... | 100. 00 |
| Richard W. Meade, Detroit, 257 Seminole Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 6, 1920: | |
| D. W. Ferry, jr., Detroit, care of D. W. Ferry & Co..... | 500. 00 |
| Robert W. Irwin, Grand Rapids..... | 500. 00 |
| George H. Clippert, Detroit, 161 Virginia Place..... | 100. 00 |
| Charles F. Clipper, Detroit, 2051 West Grand Boulevard..... | 100. 00 |
| Wallace E. Brown, Grand Rapids..... | 100. 00 |
| William H. Gay, Grand Rapids..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 10, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| E. Golden Filer, Manistee----- | \$500.00 |
| Hon. H. B. Darragh, St. Louis, 110 Clinton----- | 100.00 |
| George Shiras, jr., Marquette, 450 Ridge Street----- | 250.00 |
| William G. Mather, Ishpeming----- | 500.00 |
| Alton T. Roberts, Marquette, 320 Cedar Street----- | 200.00 |
| Oscar Webber, Detroit, 80 Virginia Park----- | 100.00 |
| John B. Corliss, Detroit, 34 West Canfield Avenue----- | 500.00 |
| C. Burton, Detroit, 234 Randolph Street----- | 1,000.00 |
| Lew. W. Tuller, Detroit, Hotel Tuller----- | 1,000.00 |
| A. A. Schantz, Detroit, foot of Wayne Street----- | 100.00 |
| C. F. Jensen, Detroit, 791 East Grand Boulevard----- | 100.00 |
| Roger C. Butterfield, Grand Rapids, 506 Union Trust Building-- | 100.00 |
| J. D. Boland, Grand Rapids, Boland Lumber Co----- | 100.00 |
| David Wolf, Grand Rapids, City National Bank Building----- | 300.00 |
| R. D. Graham, Grand Rapids, corner Ottawa and Fountain---- | 100.00 |

Aug. 11, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Harry W. Frost, Detroit, 1048 Penobscot Building----- | 100.00 |
| F. A. Aldrich, Flint----- | 500.00 |

Aug. 13, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Albert L. Stephens, Detroit, 1820 Ford Bldg----- | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. Albert L. Stephens, Detroit, 95 Boston Bv. W----- | 100.00 |
| R. L. Stearns, Ludington----- | 100.00 |
| W. T. Culver, Ludington----- | 100.00 |
| William L. Clements, Bay City----- | 500.00 |
| Ernest B. Perry, Bay City----- | 500.00 |
| Charles R. Wells, Bay City----- | 500.00 |

Aug. 17, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Lewis H. Withey, Grand Rapids, Michigan Trust Co----- | 400.00 |
| John S. Sweeney, Detroit, Provencal Road, Grosse Pte----- | 100.00 |
| L. D. Bolton, Detroit, 2215 Dime Bank Bldg----- | 100.00 |
| H. B. Earhart, Ann Arbor, R. F. D. No. 5----- | 100.00 |
| Fredk. W. Stevens, Ann Arbor, 1245 Ferdon Road----- | 100.00 |
| James P. Graves, Saginaw, 1618 N. Mich. Ave----- | 100.00 |
| A. J. Doherty, Clare----- | 100.000 |
| W. K. Kellogg, Battle Creek----- | 500.00 |
| Claude T. Hamilton, Grand Rapids, Trust Bldg----- | 450.00 |

Aug. 18, 1920:

| | |
|--|--------|
| Gilbert W. Lee, Detroit, care of Lee & Cady----- | 250.00 |
| Sherman L. Depew, Pontiac----- | 100.00 |

Aug. 19, 1920:

| | |
|--|--------|
| Hugh Chalmers, Detroit, 279 Grand River Ave----- | 500.00 |
|--|--------|

Aug. 23, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Frank C. Root, Detroit, 2612 E. Grand Bv----- | 100.00 |
| W. W. Hazen, Three Rivers----- | 100.00 |
| William L. Clements, Bay City, Wash and 11th----- | 500.00 |
| Ernest B. Perry, Bay City, Wash and 11th----- | 500.00 |
| Charles R. Wells, Bay City, Wash & 11th----- | 500.00 |

MISSISSIPPI.

July 15, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------|--------|
| W. F. Elgin, Corinth----- | 100.00 |
|---------------------------|--------|

Aug. 12, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------|--------|
| H. S. Weston, Logtown----- | 500.00 |
|----------------------------|--------|

MISSOURI.

June 15, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| A. Ruf. Frank, St. Louis----- | 1,000.00 |
|-------------------------------|----------|

June 16, 1920:

| | |
|--|----------|
| E. F. Swinney, Kansas City, care of First Nat. Bank----- | 500.00 |
| Huston Wyatt, St. Joseph----- | 1,000.00 |

July 1, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| Paul Brown, St. Louis, Pierce Bldg----- | 1,000.00 |
| Louis L. Ott, Jefferson City, 119 W. High St----- | 100.00 |
| Sam A. Baker, Jefferson City, 210 Marshall----- | 100.00 |
| W. A. Dallmeyer, 600 E. Main St., Jefferson City----- | 100.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1235

| | |
|--|------------|
| uly 2, 1920: | |
| Mrs. L. C. Pemberton, 411 So. Pine St., Holden----- | \$100. 00 |
| uly 6, 1920: | |
| Houston Bros., Malta Bend----- | 300. 00 |
| uly 7, 1920: | |
| W. A. Layman, 6400 Plymouth Ave., St. Louis----- | 150. 00 |
| uly 9, 1920: | |
| A. Fuller, care of Stix, Baer & Fuller, St. Louis----- | 200. 00 |
| Edward Whittaker, 13 Westmoreland Place, St. Louis----- | 500. 00 |
| uly 12, 1920: | |
| M. L. Wilkinson, care of Scruggs, Vandencourt & Barney D. G. Co----- | 125. 00 |
| Edward A. More, 3144 N. Br'dway, St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| Judson S. Bemis, 601 S. 4th St., St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| Israel Reifler, 3152 Locust St., St. Louis----- | 100. 00 |
| P. D. Ball, 3003 N. Br'dway, St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| Louis A. Hoerr, 705 Olive St., St. Louis----- | 125. 00 |
| Aaron Waldheim, E. cor. 12th & Olive, St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| Theron E. Catlin, Security Bldg., St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| A. A. Fuererbacher, 159 Miller St., St. Louis----- | 100. 00 |
| uly 14, 1920: | |
| Ernest E. Chase, 102 S. 2nd St., St. Joseph----- | 125. 00 |
| Ed. Mallinckrodt, Mallinckrodt Chem. Co., St. Louis----- | 500. 00 |
| Jno. F. Queeny, 3453 Hawthorne Blvd., St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| Amedee B. Cole, St. Louis----- | 125. 00 |
| uly 15, 1920: | |
| A. L. Shapleigh, 315 Washington Ave., St. Louis----- | 500. 00 |
| Houston Fible & Co., 935 Baltimore Ave., Kansas City----- | 500. 00 |
| uly 16, 1920: | |
| Col. M. Shoenberg, Boatman's Bank, St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| H. W. Peters, 1300 Washington, St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| F. W. McRoberts, Malta Bend----- | 100. 00 |
| L. D. Murrell, Marshall----- | 100. 00 |
| S. T. Wilson & Sons, Malta Bend----- | 100. 00 |
| A. A. Speer, 120 High St., Jefferson City----- | 100. 00 |
| Hudson E. Bridge, St. Louis, 23 Westmoreland Pl----- | 250. 00 |
| Mrs. Josephine Halsell, Kansas City, 1601 W. 57th St----- | 125. 00 |
| John D. Filley, St. Louis----- | 125. 00 |
| C. R. D. Meler, St. Louis, care of Heine Safety Boiler----- | 250. 00 |
| W. K. Bixby, St. Louis, 506 Century Bldg----- | 500. 00 |
| Dwight F. Davis, St. Louis, 220 Security Bldg----- | 500. 00 |
| Clinton H. Crane, New York, N. Y., 61 Broadway (credit to Mis- souri) ----- | 500. 00 |
| uly 19, 1920: | |
| Robt. J. Flick, 1213 Harrison St., Kansas City----- | 500. 00 |
| uly 21, 1920: | |
| August Riker, Malta Bend, R. R----- | 100. 00 |
| F. W. Utlant, Malta Bend, R. R----- | 100. 00 |
| Henry Andrae, Jefferson City----- | 100. 00 |
| J. Herndon Smith, St. Louis, 509 Olive St----- | 100. 00 |
| Sol Ross, St. Louis, care of American Metal Co----- | 200. 00 |
| uly 22, 1920: | |
| Ottmar Geo. Stark, St. Louis, 4068 Flora Blvd----- | 100. 00 |
| Arthur L. Broderick, 805 N. Main St., St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| John K. Broderick, 805 N. Main St., St. Louis----- | 250. 00 |
| W. B. Dean, St. Louis, Broadway and Locust----- | 100. 00 |
| O. H. Packham, St. Louis, 4382 Westminster Pl----- | 125. 00 |
| uly 23, 1920: | |
| H. M. Pflager, St. Louis, 1632 Pierce Bldg----- | 250. 00 |
| William Volker, Kansas City, 230 Main St----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| uly 29, 1920: | |
| A. F. Adams, Kansas City, 617 Commerce Bldg----- | 250. 00 |
| H. L. Gary, Kansas City, 617 Commerce Bldg----- | 250. 00 |
| Theodore Gary, Kansas City, 617 Commerce Bldg----- | 500. 00 |
| uly 30, 1920: | |
| Miss M. A. Dickey, Kansas City, care of W. S. Dickey----- | 500. 00 |
| ug. 4, 1920: | |
| • James F. Bradley, Kansas City----- | 250. 00 |

Aug. 6, 1920:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| T. K. Nidringhaus, St. Louis----- | \$1, 000. 00 |
| T. K. Nidringhaus, St. Louis----- | 1. 000. 00 |

Aug. 11, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Joseph J. Helm, Kansas City, 1010 Commerce Bldg----- | 500. 00 |
|--|---------|

Aug. 17, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| F. A. Witte, St. Louis----- | 100. 00 |
| A. T. Goldsmith, St. Louis----- | 100. 00 |
| C. R. Scudder, St. Louis----- | 100. 00 |

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| W. I. Diffenderfer, Lebanon----- | 250. 00 |
| T. W. Remmers, St. Louis, 2121 N. 9th St----- | 100. 00 |

MONTANA.

June 24, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| C. H. Williams, Deer Lodge----- | 250. 00 |
| L. O. Evans, Butte, 849 West Galena St----- | 250. 00 |
| J. E. Corette, Butte, 915 West Galena St----- | 250. 00 |
| C. W. Goodale, Butte, 900 West Quartz St----- | 100. 00 |
| Thomas J. Chope, Butte, 609 West Grantle St----- | 100. 00 |
| Charles Swartz, Butte, Hennessy Bldg----- | 100. 00 |
| C. L. Berrien, Butte, 127 S. Excelsior St----- | 100. 00 |
| E. J. Bowman, Anaconda----- | 100. 00 |

NEBRASKA.

July 14, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Joseph Barker, Omaha, Brandis Bldg----- | 250. 00 |
| W. M. Leonard, Lincoln, 922 Terminal----- | 100. 00 |

August 9, 1920:

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| A. W. Thompson, York----- | 100. 00 |
| J. H. Millard, Omaha----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Isaac W. Carpenter, Omaha----- | 250. 00 |
| J. H. Rushton, Omaha----- | 400. 00 |
| A. B. Currie, Omaha----- | 100. 00 |
| Chas. Harding, Omaha----- | 100. 00 |

NEW MEXICO.

July 21, 1920:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| Victor Culberson, Silver City----- | 250. 00 |
|------------------------------------|---------|

June 29, 1920:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| T. D. Burns, Tierra Amarilla----- | 250. 00 |
|-----------------------------------|---------|

Aug. 11, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| Edward Sargent, Chama----- | 250. 00 |
|----------------------------|---------|

August 18, 1920:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| H. W. Kelley, East Las Vegas----- | 250. 00 |
|-----------------------------------|---------|

NEW YORK.

July 6, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Conde' Nast, 19 West 44th St., New York City----- | 200. 00 |
|---|---------|

August 17, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| F. B. Wilborg, 57 Greene St----- | 500. 00 |
|----------------------------------|---------|

NORTH CAROLINA.

July 16, 1920:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| R. D. Douglas, Greensboro----- | 100. 00 |
|--------------------------------|---------|

July 23, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| J. W. Brooks, Wilmington----- | 100. 00 |
|-------------------------------|---------|

July 28, 1920:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| N. F. Reeding, Ashboro----- | 100. 00 |
| R. H. Rigsbee, Durham----- | 100. 00 |

July 30, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| S. P. Benner, High Point, box 44----- | 100. 00 |
| R. L. Strowd, Chapel Hill----- | 100. 00 |
| H. S. Williams, Concord----- | 100. 00 |
| Mrs. John M. Morehead, Charlotte----- | 500. 00 |
| Charles A. Cannon, Concord----- | 100. 00 |
| J. E. Alexander, Winston-Salem----- | 100. 00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| Aug. 2, 1920: | |
| John W. Fries, Winston-Salem..... | \$200. 00 |
| Aug. 3, 1920: | |
| W. A. Lemly, Winston-Salem..... | 250. 00 |
| Aug. 6, 1920: | |
| Judge Wm. P. Bynum, Greensboro..... | 100. 00 |

OHIO.

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|---|------------|
| June 14, 1920: | |
| James Thompson, Toledo, 401 Prescott St..... | \$100. 00 |
| June 15, 1920: | |
| Geo. R. Prout, Springfield, 838 E. High St..... | 250. 00 |
| Chas. A. Hinsch, Cincinnati..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| June 17, 1920: | |
| Albert A. Fair, Toledo, 2840 Rockwood Place..... | 100. 00 |
| W. H. B. Ward, Warren, 316 Mahoning Ave..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Phillip Wick, Youngstown, 656 Wick Ave..... | 375. 00 |
| Arthur D. Wolfe, Columbus, Huffman-Wolfe Co..... | 250. 00 |
| June 21, 1920: | |
| Logan A. Frazier, Piqua..... | 100. 00 |
| J. L. Black, Piqua..... | 250. 00 |
| Allen C. Rundle, Piqua..... | 100. 00 |
| W. H. Mazey, Newark, Square St..... | 100. 00 |
| W. K. Leonard, Piqua..... | 125. 00 |
| C. A. Campbell, Piqua, 415 Franklin St..... | 125. 00 |
| June 22, 1920: | |
| J. D. Robinson, Toledo, 2016 Scottwood Ave..... | 250. 00 |
| W. F. Donovan, Toledo, 418 Winthrop Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| H. L. Thompson, Toledo, care of the Bostwick Braun Co..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| S. O. Richardson, jr., Toledo, 2051 Collingwood Ave..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| George W. Hartzell, Piqua..... | 200. 00 |
| J. P. Spiker, Piqua..... | 250. 00 |
| June 23, 1920: | |
| Frank Hitchcock, Boardman..... | 500. 00 |
| W. A. Thomas, Youngstown, Logan Rd..... | 500. 00 |
| June 28, 1920: | |
| E. M. Olin, Mansfield, Westinghouse Electric..... | 300. 00 |
| John H. Eisaman, Mansfield, Westinghouse Prod. Co., Electric..... | 300. 00 |
| J. E. Smith, Mansfield, Westinghouse Prod. Co., Electric..... | 300. 00 |
| T. R. Barnes, Mansfield..... | 200. 00 |
| Burton Preston, Mansfield..... | 100. 00 |
| George A. Feilbach, Toledo, care of the Hettrick Mfg. Co..... | 250. 00 |
| E. S. Nail, Mansfield..... | 450. 00 |
| W. H. G. Kegg, Mansfield..... | 450. 00 |
| J. W. Frankenberger, Mansfield..... | 450. 00 |
| C. H. Keating, Mansfield..... | 450. 00 |
| A. C. Bensen, Mansfield..... | 450. 00 |
| June 29, 1920: | |
| L. M. Flesh, Piqua..... | 500. 00 |
| C. W. Hord, Sandusky, 525 Wayne Street..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| A. A. Hall, Piqua, southwest corner Wayne and Ash Streets..... | 125. 00 |
| F. W. Simmons, Toledo, 133 St. Clair Street..... | 300. 00 |
| July 1, 1920: | |
| C. Nick Muessig, East Liverpool, Potters Savings & Loan Building..... | 100. 00 |
| E. Harry France, Toledo, Eagle Point..... | 350. 00 |
| N. R. France, Toledo, Second National Bank Building..... | 400. 00 |
| W. G. France, Toledo, 901 West Woodruff Avenue..... | 400. 00 |
| George A. France, Toledo, 2336 Scottwood Avenue..... | 350. 00 |
| O. S. Coup, Toledo..... | 250. 00 |
| D. Anderson, Toledo..... | 250. 00 |
| July 2, 1920: | |
| J. E. Knisely, Toledo..... | 100. 00 |
| E. B. Stanley, Cincinnati, Grandin Road..... | 500. 00 |
| Robert M. Burton, Cincinnati, Norwood Station..... | 500. 00 |
| Leonard S. Smith, Cincinnati, 933 Avondale Avenue..... | 500. 00 |
| J. E. Knisely, Toledo..... | 100. 00 |

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| July 7, 1920: | |
| John Craig, Toledo, 1538 Nichols Bldg..... | 250.00 |
| July 8, 1920: | |
| A. F. King, Findlay, 867 S. Main St..... | 100.00 |
| W. C. Reilly, Youngstown, 136 Woodbine Ave..... | 1,000.00 |
| John C. Deshler, Columbus, 901 Hayden Bldg..... | 500.00 |
| Robert Hixon, Toledo, 201 2nd Natl. Bk. Bldg..... | 250.00 |
| July 9, 1920: | |
| Julius F. Stone, Columbus, care of Seagrave Co..... | 500.00 |
| Beazell & Chatfield, Cincinnati, 518 Union Central Bldg..... | 125.00 |
| Mrs. W. T. Simpson, Cincinnati, 1750 Cedar Ave..... | 100.00 |
| Michael Dumlér, Cincinnati, 2103 Union Central Building..... | 100.00 |
| July 12, 1920: | |
| Harry M. Levy, Cincinnati, 248 Northern Ave..... | 250.00 |
| W. H. Albers, Cincinnati, care of Kroger Gro. & Bak. Co..... | 100.00 |
| July 13, 1920: | |
| L. D. York, Portsmouth..... | 250.00 |
| W. H. Millsbaugh, Sandusky..... | 100.00 |
| Logan A. Frazier, Piqua..... | 100.00 |
| Allen G. Rundle, Piqua..... | 100.00 |
| W. A. Gosline, jr., Toledo, 1821 Collingwood Ave..... | 250.00 |
| Edward L. Ford, Youngstown, 547 Wick Ave..... | 500.00 |
| John Tod, Youngstown, 513 Stainbaugh Bldg..... | 500.00 |
| Henry J. Adams, 118-122 W. Tiffin St., Fostoria..... | 100.00 |
| Charles Ash, 525 N. Main St., Fostoria..... | 100.00 |
| William J. Wenner, 616 W. Market, Lima..... | 500.00 |
| H. G. Wenner, Lima..... | 500.00 |
| Henry Deisel, sr., 312 S. Cole St., Lima..... | 500.00 |
| R. J. Plate, Lima..... | 500.00 |
| Mrs. John Gordon Battelle, 662 East Town Street, Columbus..... | 500.00 |
| W. A. Grieves, care of the Jeffrey Manufacturing Co, Columbus..... | 250.00 |
| George H. Thompson, 236 Fifteenth Avenue, Columbus..... | 250.00 |
| O. A. Rizer, P. O. Box 444, Columbus..... | 500.00 |
| Eugene Rosenthal, P. O. Box 444, Columbus..... | 500.00 |
| Monroe Rosenthal, P. O. Box 444, Columbus..... | 500.00 |

July 15, 1920:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| C. O. Minger, 365 Winthrop Street, Toledo | \$500. 00 |
| E. H. Close, 1513 Madison Avenue, Toledo | 200. 00 |
| Joseph O. Jones, 1328 Duncan Avenue, Cincinnati | 250. 00 |
| A. J. Walber, 2879 Ratterman Avenue, Cincinnati | 250. 00 |
| Raymond Lipe, Second National Bank Building, Toledo | 100. 00 |
| George M. Jones, Ohio Building, Toledo | 500. 00 |
| I. M. Wolverton, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| Hugo Petterson, 506 East Gamber Street, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| R. S. Goodell, 505 North Gay Street, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| C. G. Conley, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| N. L. Daney, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| Z. E. Taylor, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| B. B. Williams, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| C. H. Bishop, jr., Centerburg | 200. 00 |
| Fred H. Thomas, Mount Vernon | 100. 00 |
| John S. Storrs, Pugh Building, Cincinnati | 200. 00 |
| A. M. Dueber, 718 Tuse Street West, Canton | 500. 00 |
| D. M. Mason, 167 North Prospect, Kent | 125. 00 |
| C. G. Herbruck, Canton | 100. 00 |
| F. Herbruck, Canton | 100. 00 |
| H. M. Garlick, First National Bank, Youngstown | 500. 00 |
| Charles C. Upham, Canton | 100. 00 |
| George W. Hartzell, Piqua | 200. 00 |
| Herbert I. Channer, Un. Tr. Bldg., Cincinnati | 250. 00 |
| J. R. Poste, Seneca Hotel, Columbus | 500. 00 |
| Frank T. Simpson, 2101 Union Central Bldg., Cincinnati | 100. 00 |

July 16, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Edmund L. Brown, 1101 Mahoning Bank Bldg., Youngstown | 750. 00 |
| David T. Arrel, 124 Lincoln Ave., Youngstown | 500. 00 |
| W. A. Beecher, Price Road, Youngstown | 100. 00 |
| J. J. Brant, 150 W. Woodland Ave, Youngstown | 500. 00 |
| Lloyd Booth, 1350 Fifth Ave., Youngstown | 500. 00 |
| Paul Wick, 661 Wick Avenue, Youngstown | 500. 00 |
| A. M. McCarly, Renkert Bldg., Canton | 250. 00 |
| A. B. Notte and Allan Notte, 27 W. Jefferson St., Springfield | 100. 00 |
| G. R. Kittle, care of the Ohio Malleable Iron Co., Columbus | 250. 00 |
| J. M. Kittle, care of the Ohio Malleable Iron Co., Columbus | 250. 00 |
| George F. Alderdice, 833 Pennsyhome Ave., Youngstown | 250. 00 |
| F. L. Baumgardner, 2005 Parkwood Ave., Toledo | 500. 00 |
| Harry R. Janer, 125 15th NW., Canton | 1, 000. 00 |
| Henry Theobald, Toledo Scale Co., Toledo | 500. 00 |
| R. E. Field, care of Field, Richards & Co., Cincinnati | 100. 00 |
| J. U. Fogle, Canton | 100. 00 |
| T. A. Devilbliss, Toledo | 250. 00 |
| Frank D. Stranahan, Toledo | 500. 00 |
| Robert A. Stranahan, Toledo | 500. 00 |
| Gordon M. Mather, Toledo | 500. 00 |

July 19, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| F. M. Shipley, 526 No. Wayne, Piqua | 125. 00 |
| J. M. Beatty, 36 N. Monroe Ave., Columbus | 500. 00 |
| J. H. Frantz, box 1381, Columbus | 500. 00 |
| W. K. Leonard, Piqua | 125. 00 |
| C. A. Irwin, Canton | 500. 00 |
| George B. Storer, 2249 Glenwood Ave., Toledo | 500. 00 |
| Julius G. Lamson, 2056 Scottwood Ave., Toledo | 250. 00 |
| C. Nick Muessig, Potters Svgs. & Loan, East Liverpool | 100. 00 |
| Albro Blodgett, 2146 Parkwood Ave., Toledo | 500. 00 |
| Wm. Wilmington, 2320 Scottwood, Toledo | 100. 00 |
| M. C. Burrell, Utica | 1, 000. 00 |
| Julian A. Pollak, 927 Redway Ave., Cincinnati | 200. 00 |

July 20, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| B. G. Tremaine, National Lamp Works, Cleveland | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. G. Pollock, Rockefeller Bldg., Cleveland | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. F. Grant, 1300 Leader Bldg., News, Cleveland | 250. 00 |
| J. S. Ashley, Leader-News Bldg., Cleveland | 375. 00 |
| Don Barrick, Union Metal Mfg. Co., Canton | 150. 00 |

July 21, 1920:

| | |
|---|----------|
| T. W. Warner, 2247 Collingwood Av., Toledo..... | \$500.00 |
| Chas. H. & Carl R. Lindenberg, care of McLilley Co., Columbus.. | 250.00 |
| S. P. Bush, Buckeye Steel Castings Co., Columbus..... | 500.00 |
| T. W. Pearsall, Bellaire..... | 250.00 |
| M. T. Lathrup, 2638 Market N., Canton..... | 100.00 |
| H. W. Harter, 1543 Market Ave. N., Canton..... | 100.00 |
| H. C. Haight, 1428 N. Market Ave., Canton..... | 250.00 |
| B. T. Steiner, care of The Gillian Mfg. Co., Canton..... | 500.00 |

July 22, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| Rudolf Gaertner, East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| G. A. Treule, Railroad St., East Liverpool..... | 125.00 |
| John B. McDonald, Lincoln Ave., East Liverpool..... | 400.00 |
| W. L. Smith, East Liverpool..... | 350.00 |
| Edwin W. Knowles, East Liverpool..... | 500.00 |
| Charles C. Ashbaugh, 205 7th St., East Liverpool..... | 150.00 |
| Albert Corns, East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| Homer J. Taylor, 124 W. 5th St., East Liverpool..... | 400.00 |
| John J. Purinton, 344 W. 5th St., East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| B. M. Louthan, 504 Walnut St., East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| Thomas Robinson, 849 W. George St., East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| George C. Thompson, 2 Thompson Place, East Liverpool..... | 300.00 |
| W. E. Vodrey, E. 4th St., East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| Robert T. Hall, East Liverpool..... | 200.00 |
| Patrick McNicol, 2226 W. 5th St., East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| W. H. Phillips, P. O. Box 75, East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| T. A. McNicol, 800 Dresden NW., East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| H. N. Harker, 603 E. 3d St., East Liverpool..... | 250.00 |
| Hugh L. McNicol, East Liverpool..... | 400.00 |
| G. R. Thomas, 422 Thompson Ave., East Liverpool..... | 200.00 |
| Harry A. McNicol, 774 Dresden Ave., East Liverpool..... | 350.00 |
| Thomas H. Fisher, 900 St. George, East Liverpool..... | 200.00 |
| J. G. Croxall, East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| A. J. Strikow, East Liverpool..... | 100.00 |
| A. Pickin, East Liverpool..... | 200.00 |
| Otto Palm, jr., East Liverpool..... | 200.00 |
| William F. Wright, E. Chestnut St., Lisbon..... | 250.00 |
| H. H. Wright, E. Chestnut St., Lisbon..... | 250.00 |
| H. F. Wright, E. Chestnut St., Lisbon..... | 250.00 |
| C. F. Wright, E. Chestnut St., Lisbon..... | 250.00 |
| J. G. Moore, E. Chestnut St., Lisbon..... | 100.00 |
| W. P. Carpenter, Salem..... | 200.00 |
| J. H. Blackburn, Salem..... | 200.00 |
| R. M. Modisette, 189 Lincoln Ave., Salem..... | 200.00 |
| H. C. Nelson, Salem..... | 200.00 |
| C. C. Gibson, 215 Lincoln Ave., Salem..... | 200.00 |

July 23, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| F. W. Crawford, 99 N. Front St., Columbus..... | 500.00 |
| G. R. Lucas, care of Jeffrey Mfg. Co., Columbus..... | 250.00 |
| John G. Holters, 2531 Cook St., Cincinnati..... | 250.00 |
| W. W. Irwin, 1302 Martin St. N., Canton..... | 500.00 |
| W. C. Laiblin, care of Canton Bridge Co., Canton..... | 500.00 |
| F. O. Schoedinger, 142 N. 3rd St., Columbus..... | 500.00 |
| C. C. Upham, Diebold Safe & Lock Co., Canton..... | 500.00 |

July 26, 1920:

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|--|----------|
| W. F. Robinson, 803 Ohio Bldg., Toledo..... | 200.00 |
| Thomas Tracy, 1002 Ohio Bldg., Toledo..... | 500.00 |
| Sam Davis, 1502 Elm St., Toledo..... | 250.00 |
| J. A. Aull, Middletown..... | 1,000.00 |
| R. C. Phillips, 704 S. Main St., Middletown..... | 500.00 |
| George M. Verity, 534 S. Main St., Middletown..... | 500.00 |
| Charles R. Hook, The Highlands, Middletown..... | 250.00 |
| John Gibson, jr., 432 S. Main St., Middletown..... | 100.00 |
| J. M. Iseminger, 210 5th St., Middletown..... | 200.00 |
| Charles E. Denny, 548 S. Main St., Middletown..... | 100.00 |
| David E. Harlan, 810 S. Main St., Middletown..... | 250.00 |
| E. T. Gardner, Middletown..... | 500.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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July 26, 1920—Continued.

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| A. P. Richmond, Garfield Ave, Salem..... | \$100. 00 |
| W. H. Mullins, 249 Lincoln Ave., Salem..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Monroe Patterson, East Liverpool..... | 200. 00 |
| Frank H. Chapman, the Yost Elec. Mfg. Co., Toledo..... | 100. 00 |
| James H. Grose, Youngstown..... | 250. 00 |

July 27, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Mary C. Emery, 414 Walnut Street, Cincinnati..... | 500. 00 |
| Alfred R. Hughes, Warren..... | 100. 00 |
| A. E. Harbouer, 625 Virginia St., Toledo..... | 100. 00 |
| Geo. Warrington, Cincinnati..... | 250. 00 |
| Ed. W. Stevens, Canton..... | 150. 00 |
| H. M. Geiger, Canton..... | 200. 00 |
| Em. J. Fritz, Canton..... | 150. 00 |
| B. F. Meyers, Canton..... | 100. 00 |
| H. B. Potter, Canton..... | 100. 00 |
| J. Ray Anderson, Canton..... | 100. 00 |
| J. A. Paroz, Massillon..... | 100. 00 |
| G. E. Thomas, Canton..... | 100. 00 |
| A. G. Bean, the General Phono. Co., Elyria..... | 500. 00 |

July 28, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| W. A. Thomas, Youngstown, Logan Road..... | 500. 00 |
|---|---------|

July 29, 1920:

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|---|---------|
| Jerome Sturn, Cincinnati, 322 Walnut St..... | 100. 00 |
| G. W. Armstrong, jr., Cincinnati, 142 W. Fourth St..... | 500. 00 |
| W. B. Slisson, Columbus, 505 Commercial Bldg..... | 100. 00 |
| A. Acton Hall, Piqua, Wayne & Ash Sts..... | 125. 00 |
| J. K. Secor, Toledo, Secor & Bell..... | 500. 00 |
| J. C. Steinkamp, Elmore..... | 200. 00 |
| Dr. Nathan Tucker, Mt. Gilead..... | 100. 00 |

July 30, 1920:

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| Gordon Battelle, Columbus, 1214 Huntington Natl. Bank..... | 500. 00 |
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Aug. 2, 1920:

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|---|------------|
| Chas. H. Bosler, Dayton, 500 Belmont Ave..... | 200. 00 |
| Edward Canby, Dayton, 51 Belmont Ave..... | 150. 00 |
| A. V. Dickerson, Dayton, 1103 Conover Bldg..... | 100. 00 |
| J. C. Haswell, Dayton, Oakwood Ave..... | 500. 00 |
| J. Kirby, jr., Dayton, 435 W. 2d St..... | 500. 00 |
| W. I. Ohmer, Dayton, Oakwood Ave..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. D. Patterson, Dayton, Oakwood Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| James W. Rice, Dayton, 316 Central Ave..... | 200. 00 |
| W. P. Rice, Dayton, 56 Lexington Ave..... | 200. 00 |
| Chas. Seybold, Dayton, Harmon Ave..... | 250. 00 |
| The Klein & Heffleman Co., Canton, 416 Market Ave., N..... | 100. 00 |
| Erlanger Dry Goods Co., Canton..... | 100. 00 |
| C. T. Carlson, Canton..... | 200. 00 |
| H. B. Fawcett, Canton..... | 100. 00 |
| H. C. Milligan, Canton..... | 200. 00 |
| H. A. Tremaine, Cleveland, Union Commerce Natl. Bk. Bldg..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. K. Brownlee, Toledo, Bassett & Ontario Sts..... | 500. 00 |
| Sidney Spitzer, Toledo, 234 Spitzer Bldg..... | 500. 00 |
| C. W. Stadelman, Akron, Perkins Hill..... | 250. 00 |
| C. W. Seiberling, Akron, Merriman Road..... | 1, 000. 00 |

Aug. 3, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| G. A. Leonard, Canton, 19th St. NE..... | 100. 00 |
| C. L. LaBorteaux, Cincinnati..... | 125. 00 |
| F. M. Shipley, Piqua..... | 125. 00 |
| Roy F. York, Cleveland..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Henry Bannon, Portsmouth..... | 250. 00 |

Aug. 4, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Phillip Wick, Youngstown, 656 Wick Ave..... | 375. 00 |
| C. A. Ulsh, Toledo, care of Paragon Refg. Co..... | 100. 00 |

Aug. 6, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| W. R. Woodford, Cleveland..... | 500. 00 |
| Herman J. Kaufman, Columbus, H. C. Goodman Co..... | 500. 00 |
| Charles L. Ims, Columbus, 402 Fairwood..... | 500. 00 |
| W. D. Brickell, Columbus, Ruggery Bldg..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 6, 1920—Continued.

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| Frank J. Kaufman, Columbus, 123 E. Broad..... | \$500. 00 |
| Ed. Langenbach, Canton..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| J. G. Obermier, Canton, care of Timken Rooler B. Co..... | 100. 00 |
| G. M. Mosler, Cincinnati, 3441 Middletown Ave..... | 250. 00 |
| Geo. Mcg. Morris, Cincinnati, Court and Harriet..... | 250. 00 |
| Frank A. McGee, Cincinnati, R. R. No. 33..... | 100. 00 |
| F. A. Miller, Columbus, care of H. C. Goodman Co..... | 500. 00 |
| F. A. Miller, Columbus, care of H. C. Goodman Co..... | 500. 00 |
| W. A. Miller, Columbus, care of H. C. Goodman Co..... | 500. 00 |
| C. C. Higgins, Columbus (wholesale grocer)..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Coburn Haskell, Cleveland, 11719 Lake Shore Blvd..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 9, 1920:

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| E. L. McLain, Greenfield..... | 500. 00 |
| Chas. Mains, Greenfield, 306 S. Washington St..... | 100. 00 |
| Wm. I. Barr, Greenfield..... | 100. 00 |
| E. D. Mayhew, Palmsville..... | 100. 00 |
| George H. Beaumont, Willoughby..... | 125. 00 |

Aug. 10, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Dave Joseph, Cincinnati, 1248 Harrison Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| Maurice Joseph, Cincinnati, 1248 Harrison Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| Arthur Joseph, Cincinnati, 1248 Harrison Ave..... | 100. 00 |
| J. R. Clark, Cincinnati, Union Central Bldg..... | 250. 00 |
| Torrence Huffman, Dayton, 119 N. Perry St..... | 200. 00 |
| Wm. N. Kuhns, Dayton, 215 S. Summit St..... | 250. 00 |
| H. B. Kuhns, Dayton, 236 S. Summit St..... | 250. 00 |
| W. L. Kuhns, Dayton, 311 S. Summit St..... | 250. 00 |
| G. F. Kuhns, Dayton, 235 S. Summit St..... | 250. 00 |
| S. B. Raymond, Akron, Perkins Hill..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| O. S. Wilcox, Toledo, 210 Water Street..... | 500. 00 |
| E. E. Lerch, Columbus, the H. C. Godman Co..... | 500. 00 |
| William Brooks, Columbus, Whittier St..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 11, 1920:

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|---|---------|
| John E. Lerch, Columbus, the H. C. Godman Co..... | 500. 00 |
| J. S. Caldwell, Chillicothe, R. F. D. No. 2..... | 100. 00 |
| J. F. O'Dea, Canton, 12th St. N. E..... | 200. 00 |

Aug. 13, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Edward H. Cady, Lima, care of Guardian Trust & Sav..... | 100. 00 |
| John B. Swift, Cincinnati..... | 250. 00 |
| Stewart Shillito, Cincinnati, 250 Auburn Ave..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| Don Hooven, Hamilton, 1020 Main St..... | 125. 00 |
| Thomas Beckett, Dayton St., Hamilton..... | 250. 00 |
| Fred J. Meyers, Hamilton, 835 Dayton St..... | 100. 00 |
| Jas. K. Cullen..... | 100. 00 |
| H. L. Kutter, Hamilton, 843 Dayton St..... | 150. 00 |
| F. C. Trowbridge, Hamilton, Dayton Street..... | 150. 00 |

Aug. 16, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| J. A. Harps, Greenfield..... | 250. 00 |
| Stuart B. Sutphin, Cincinnati, 2201 Union Central..... | 100. 00 |
| J. S. Graydon, Cincinnati, 2201 Union Central..... | 300. 00 |

Aug. 17, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| J. B. Kennedy, Youngstown..... | 250. 00 |
| D. S. Troxel, Elyria..... | 100. 00 |
| Ralph H. Thatcher, Springfield..... | 100. 00 |
| F. W. Schumacher, Columbus..... | 250. 00 |

Aug. 18, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| George R. Pront, Springfield, 838 E. High St..... | 250. 00 |
| J. G. Ogden, Columbus, care of the Jeffrey Mfg. Co..... | 500. 00 |
| M. D. Jeffrey, Columbus, care of the Jeffrey Mfg. Co..... | 500. 00 |
| C. W. Miller, Columbus, care of the Jeffrey Mfg. Co..... | 500. 00 |
| J. A. Jeffrey, Columbus, care of the Jeffrey Mfg. Co..... | 500. 00 |
| Jos. F. Dierdorff, Columbus, care of the Jeffrey Mfg. Co..... | 500. 00 |
| Ralph F. Rogan, Cincinnati, Gwynne Bld..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| A. L. Garford, Elyria..... | 500. 00 |
| Alex Altfelt, Elyria, Elyria Belting & Machine Co..... | 100. 00 |
| Henry Wick, Elyria, West Avenue..... | 100. 00 |
| Col. Webb C. Hayes, Fremont, Spelgel Grove..... | 250. 00 |

Aug. 18, 1920—Continued.

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|---|------------|
| Harry Zimmerman, Fremont, 1111 Brickland | \$250. 00 |
| A. E. Slessman, Fremont, 413 Garrison St. | 250. 00 |
| Paul E. Schaaf, Fremont, Hayes Avenue | 250. 00 |
| Julius L. Goldsmith, Lisbon | 100. 00 |
| B. Goldsmith, Lisbon | 100. 00 |
| R. J. Thomson, Salem | 100. 00 |
| W. E. Wells, East Liverpool | 500. 00 |
| Thomas C. Fulton, Lancaster, 323 N. High St. | 200. 00 |
| H. H. Giesey, Lancaster, 155 E. Wheeling | 100. 00 |
| C. B. Whiley, Lancaster, E. Wheeling | 100. 00 |
| H. Furniss, Lancaster, 1019 N. Columbus | 100. 00 |
| S. S. Sealts, Lima | 100. 00 |
| S. S. Wheeler, Lima | 100. 00 |
| W. R. Ramsey, Alliance, 1400 Union Ave. | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. H. Purcell, Alliance, 145 S. Sunden Ave. | 1, 000. 00 |
| O. F. Transue, Alliance, S. Union Street | 1, 000. 00 |
| A. G. Reeves, Alliance | 1, 000. 00 |
| F. A. Holles, Alliance | 500. 00 |
| A. A. Mulac, Alliance, 2455 Ridgewood Ave. | 400. 00 |
| E. C. Bates, Alliance, 721 S. Union Avenue | 300. 00 |
| W. E. Trump, Alliance, 500 W. Cambridge St. | 300. 00 |
| R. C. Hopkins, Alliance, 203 West | 250. 00 |
| Frank Transue, Alliance | 250. 00 |
| J. L. Williams, Alliance, S. Union Avenue | 250. 00 |
| Dr. C. S. Hoover, Alliance, S. Union Avenue | 250. 00 |
| G. W. Shem, Alliance, 419 S. Union Avenue | 250. 00 |
| W. H. Ramsey, Alliance, S. Union Avenue | 200. 00 |
| H. D. Tolerton, Alliance | 200. 00 |
| H. F. Bohuker, Alliance | 100. 00 |
| A. L. Atkinson, Alliance | 200. 00 |
| W. A. Thompson, Alliance, People's Bank | 100. 00 |
| F. C. Woods, Alliance, 108 Patterson St. | 100. 00 |
| S. N. Stockon, Alliance | 100. 00 |
| F. E. Gussef, Alliance | 190. 00 |
| W. E. Dunning, Alliance, 523 E. Market St. | 200. 00 |
| F. E. Henry, jr., Alliance, 2629 Ridgewood | 200. 00 |
| W. A. Dellman, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| E. H. Birney, Massillon | 750. 00 |
| Floyd C. Snyder, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| F. W. Arnold, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| H. J. Emmerman, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| J. B. Wilson, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| H. H. Ross, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| McLain Grocery Co., Massillon | 200. 00 |
| Frank C. McLain, Massillon | 250. 00 |
| F. G. Harrison, Massillon | 200. 00 |
| F. J. Griffiths, Massillon | 500. 00 |
| K. R. Jenson, Massillon | 125. 00 |
| H. M. Nagle, Massillon | 250. 00 |
| F. F. Taggert, Massillon | 500. 00 |
| Frank C. McLain, Massillon | 250. 00 |
| A. J. Townsend, Massillon | 125. 00 |
| E. C. Merwin, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| E. H. Nelson, Massillon | 100. 00 |
| Samuel Mullock, Massillon, care of Massillon Clevel. Sign Co. | 100. 00 |

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| James A. Hunt, Massillon, care of Union National Bank | 100. 00 |
| P. L. Hunt, Massillon, care of First National Bank | 100. 00 |
| I. N. Taggert, Massillon, care of Merchants National Bank | 100. 00 |
| Wm. G. Hipp, Massillon, care of Massillon Stone & Fire Brick | 100. 00 |
| B. B. Beck, Massillon, care of Loonard Agency | 100. 00 |
| A. Powers Smith, Youngstown, 265 North Heights Avenue | 200. 00 |
| W. J. Hitchcock, Youngstown, 655 Wick Avenue | 500. 00 |
| W. J. Sampson, Youngstown, 416 Wick Avenue | 300. 00 |
| W. H. Heywood, Youngstown, 1641 Volney Road | 100. 00 |
| J. Howard Edwards, Youngstown, Edwards-Franklin Co. | 100. 00 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| E. L. Whittemore, Cleveland, 7706 Platt Ave..... | 500.00 |
| Chas. D. Gettsch, Cleveland, 16304 Clifton Blvd..... | 100.00 |
| I. J. Vlehek, Cleveland, Vlehek Tool Co..... | 100.00 |
| G. G. Wade, Cleveland, 10804 Magnolia Drive..... | 500.00 |
| W. C. Stewart, Cleveland, 809 Western Reserve Bldg..... | 100.00 |
| W. G. Kranz, Cleveland, 7706 Platt Avenue..... | 125.00 |
| Emery Thierwechter, Oak Harbor..... | 100.00 |
| Walter B. Moore, Canton, 1227 21st NW..... | 200.00 |
| R. W. Taylor, Canton, 1207 Arnold Ave. NW..... | 200.00 |
| Harry T. Bebb, Canton, 1115 Walnut Ave. NE..... | 200.00 |
| E. F. Hoeryer, Canton, 1601 Harvard Ave. NW..... | 200.00 |
| Robt. G. Gelger, Canton, 815 14th St. NW..... | 200.00 |
| J. Elmer Jones, Columbus, 1125 Lincoln Blvd..... | 500.00 |
| F. R. Huntington, Columbus, Huntington Nat. Bank..... | 500.00 |
| Frank Billings, Cleveland, 1626 Magnolia Drive..... | 500.00 |
| E. P. Jones, Elyria, 405 Park Ave..... | 200.00 |
| John P. Phillips, Chillicothe..... | 200.00 |
| George Feilbach, Toledo, care of Hettrich Mfg. Co..... | 250.00 |

Aug. 23, 1920:

| | |
|---|--------|
| C. H. Kettenring, Defiance, Defiance Machine Wks..... | 100.00 |
| F. W. Preyer, Canton..... | 100.00 |
| Elmer W. Gibbs, Canton..... | 200.00 |
| Alvin J. Gibbs, Canton..... | 200.00 |
| H. D. Pownall, Canton..... | 300.00 |
| A. W. Thomson, Cleveland, 948 Kirby Bldg..... | 200.00 |
| J. B. Zirble, Cleveland, 2576 Norfolk Rd..... | 300.00 |
| John T. Kelley, Cleveland, Leader-News Bldg..... | 250.00 |
| C. E. Richardson, Cleveland, Leader-News Bldg..... | 250.00 |
| W. P. Champney, Cleveland..... | 250.00 |
| A. T. Harvey, Cleveland, Rockefeller Bldg..... | 250.00 |
| Alex C. Brown, Cleveland, Brown Holst Co..... | 250.00 |
| H. D. Hileman, Cleveland, 929 Leader-News..... | 200.00 |
| C. E. Briggs, Cleveland, 2249 E. Overlook Rd..... | 100.00 |
| Stanley Motch, Cleveland, 17837 Lake Ave..... | 150.00 |
| G. E. Merryweather, Cleveland, 2620 E. Overlook Rd..... | 150.00 |
| E. R. Motch, Cleveland, 1578 E. 115th St..... | 150.00 |
| P. H. Biggs, Cleveland, 1235 W. 9th St..... | 100.00 |
| A. W. Osborne, Cleveland, 1240 Leader News Bldg..... | 100.00 |
| George B. Shepard, Cleveland..... | 100.00 |
| D. W. Myers, Cleveland, 706 Citizens Bldg..... | 100.00 |
| Donald McBride, Cleveland, Cleveland Akron Bag Co..... | 100.00 |
| G. D. Adams, Cleveland, E. 40th & Perkins..... | 100.00 |
| Edw. M. Williams, Cleveland, 601 Canal Rd..... | 100.00 |
| E. E. Teare, Cleveland, 1918 Carter Rd..... | 100.00 |
| J. C. McNutt, Cleveland, 2272 Woodmere Drive..... | 100.00 |
| A. C. Hord, Cleveland, 704 Hichox Bldg..... | 100.00 |
| John C. Chandler, Cleveland, Citizens Bldg..... | 100.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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Aug. 23, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| R. J. Thomas, Cleveland, Leader News Bldg----- | \$100. 00 |
| Taylor H. Boggis, Cleveland, 244 Rockefeller Bldg----- | 100. 00 |
| E. F. Corran, Cleveland, 244 Kirby Bldg----- | 100. 00 |
| George C. Hascall, Cleveland, 2275 Chestnut Hill----- | 100. 00 |
| Theodore Kruntz, Cleveland, 13826 Lake Ave ----- | 100. 00 |
| J. R. Raible, Cleveland, 12508 Flifton Blvd----- | 100. 00 |

OKLAHOMA.

June 14, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| W. G. Skelly, Tulsa, 1st Nat. Bank Bldg----- | 2, 500. 00 |
|--|------------|

June 21, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| E. B. George, Tulsa, 1005 Mayo Bldg----- | 500. 00 |
|--|---------|

July 14, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| D. D. Wertzberger, Tulsa, Mayo Bldg----- | 100. 00 |
| J. R. Cottingham, Oklahoma City, 810 Cottingham Bldg----- | 100. 00 |

July 16, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| John M. Clover, Tulsa, 1615 So. Owasso----- | 250. 00 |
| John W. Gilliland, Tulsa, 1616 So. Denver Ave----- | 500. 00 |

July 22, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| J. A. Chapman, Tulsa, 1606 So. Carson----- | 1, 250. 00 |
| Roy M. Johnson, Ardmore----- | 100. 00 |

July 27, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| J. S. Mullen, Ardmore, 1½ East Main St----- | 500. 00 |
| R. M. McFarlin, Tulsa, 1610 S. Carson Ave----- | 1, 250. 00 |
| R. M. McFarlin, P. O. box 261----- | 1, 250. 00 |

Aug. 3, 1920:

| | |
|------------------------------|---------|
| Frank L. Katch, Ardmore----- | 100. 00 |
| P. C. Dings, Ardmore----- | 500. 00 |
| E. H. Royer, Ardmore----- | 100. 00 |
| Heenan & Co, Ardmore----- | 100. 00 |
| C. L. Anderson, Ardmore----- | 500. 00 |
| Roy M. Johnson, Ardmore----- | 500. 00 |

Aug. 6, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| C. E. Foley, Eufaula----- | 125. 00 |
|---------------------------|---------|

Aug. 11, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------|---------|
| W. B. Pine, Okmulgee----- | 500. 00 |
|---------------------------|---------|

Aug. 16, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| J. J. Deanner, Okmulgee, 700 N. Morton----- | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

Aug. 17, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| J. H. Sivalls, Bartlesville----- | 100. 00 |
| Jos. A. Bartles, Dewey----- | 100. 00 |

Aug. 23, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Carl Pleasant, Tulsa, 204 Daniel Bldg----- | 125. 00 |
| John P. Cook, Okmulgee, Guar. State Bank----- | 250. 00 |

OREGON.

June 30, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| A. L. Mills, Portland, 1st Natl. Bank----- | 250. 00 |
|--|---------|

June 2, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| O. H. Fithian, Portland, 28 Fifth St. No----- | 100. 00 |
| William Albers, Portland, 615 Ry. Exchange Bldg----- | 100. 00 |

July 16, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| C. D. Bowles, Portland, box 1198----- | 100. 00 |
|---------------------------------------|---------|

July 19, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| J. R. Bowles, Portland, 1060 Westover----- | 100. 00 |
| W. B. Beebe, Portland, box 1198----- | 100. 00 |

July 28, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Jay Smith, Portland, care of Marshall-Wells Co----- | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

Aug. 3, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------|---------|
| C. F. Adams, Portland----- | 125. 00 |
|----------------------------|---------|

Aug. 6, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| John E. Etheridge, Portland, 309 Stark St----- | 125. 00 |
|--|---------|

Aug. 18, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Alfred F. Smith, Portland, 832 Salmon St----- | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| P. W. Lewis, Portland, Ames-Harris-Neville Co..... | \$125. 00 |
| E. C. Johnson, Portland..... | 100. 00 |

PENNSYLVANIA.

July 22, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| F. R. Welsh, 100-111 So. Fourth St., Philadelphia..... | 500. 00 |
|--|---------|

Aug. 4, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| John B. Steele, Greensburg, 130 Division..... | 100. 00 |
|---|---------|

SOUTH CAROLINA.

July 16, 1920:

| | |
|------------------------------|---------|
| Joe Tolbert, Ninety Six..... | 500. 00 |
|------------------------------|---------|

SOUTH DAKOTA.

July 28, 1920:

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------|
| Allen R. Fellows, Sioux Falls..... | 100. 00 |
| N. O. Mauserud, Sioux Falls..... | 100. 00 |
| John W. Wadden, Sioux Falls..... | 200. 00 |
| H. F. Brownell, Sioux Falls..... | 200. 00 |
| W. L. Baker, Sioux Falls..... | 200. 00 |

Aug. 5, 1920:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| Thomas W. Earee, Watertown..... | 100. 00 |
| D. C. Noonan, Watertown..... | 100. 00 |
| G. W. Hart, Watertown..... | 100. 00 |
| Lee Stover, Watertown..... | 100. 00 |

TENNESSEE.

Aug. 16, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| D. P. Montague, Chattanooga..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| H. Clay Evans, Chattanooga..... | 500. 00 |
| Estate of H. S. Chamberlain, Chattanooga..... | 500. 00 |
| S. L. Probasco, Chattanooga..... | 250. 00 |
| M. Chamberlain, Chattanooga..... | 250. 00 |
| Guy H. Evans, Chattanooga..... | 250. 00 |
| G. F. Meehan, Chattanooga..... | 250. 00 |
| Fred Arn, Chattanooga..... | 125. 00 |
| T. H. Lasley, Chattanooga..... | 100. 00 |
| W. M. Lasley, Chattanooga..... | 100. 00 |
| N. Thayer Montague, Chattanooga..... | 100. 00 |
| E. C. Patterson, Chattanooga..... | 100. 00 |
| R. H. Williams, Chattanooga..... | 100. 00 |
| J. F. Giles, Chattanooga..... | 200. 00 |

Aug. 18, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| Harry A. Luck, Nashville..... | 250. 00 |
| J. B. Palmer, Nashville..... | 100. 00 |
| A. L. Hayes, Nashville..... | 100. 00 |
| L. W. Brock, Nashville..... | 200. 00 |
| James E. Cornell, Nashville..... | 500. 00 |

Aug. 20, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| A. E. Potter, Nashville, 300 Brdway..... | 200. 00 |
| Frank Stahlman, Nashville, Stahlman Bld..... | 100. 00 |
| Roger Coldwell, Nashville, Union St..... | 100. 00 |
| James E. Brock, Nashville, Church St..... | 100. 00 |
| W. H. Lindsey, Nashville, 4th National Bank Bldg..... | 100. 00 |

TEXAS.

July 14, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Geo. W. Brackenridge, San Antonio, Washington Heights..... | 500. 00 |
| Ed. McCarthy, Galveston, Ed. McCarthy & Co., bankers..... | 125. 00 |

July 19, 1920:

| | |
|--|---------|
| James G. McNary, El Paso, 1st Nat. Bk..... | 500. 00 |
|--|---------|

July 27, 1920:

| | |
|---|------------|
| T. P. Lee, Houston, 1413 Carter Bldg..... | 1, 000. 00 |
| H. F. MacGreagor, 704½ Main St., Houston..... | 500. 00 |
| R. E. Paine, Houston, Houston Packing Co..... | 500. 00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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July 27, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| J. M. Rockwell, Houston, Mason Bldg----- | \$100. 00 |
| E. K. Dillingham, Houston, 406 So. Sac. Bldg----- | 100. 00 |
| G. L. Noble, Houston, Box 1805----- | 250. 00 |
| Aug. 3, 1920: | |
| W. A. Hawkins, El Paso----- | 250. 00 |
| Aug. 17, 1920: | |
| J. G. McGrady, El Paso----- | 150. 00 |

UTAH.

| | |
|---|---------|
| July 2, 1920: | |
| Maroni Smith, 1205 E. 3rd So. St., Salt Lake City----- | 300. 00 |
| July 7, 1920: | |
| David Smith, 1257 E. 1 South, Salt Lake City----- | 500. 00 |
| July 16, 1920: | |
| Ernest R. Woolley, 618 Newhouse Bldg., Salt Lake City----- | 500. 00 |
| July 23, 1920: | |
| J. P. Gardner and C. F. Adams, Kearns Bldg., Salt Lake City---- | 100. 00 |

VIRGINIA.

| | |
|--|------------|
| June 24, 1920: | |
| B. B. Bowman, Edinburg----- | 100. 00 |
| A. B. Cover, Elkton----- | 100. 00 |
| July 13, 1920: | |
| Otto Wells, 509-12 Dickson Bldg., Norfolk----- | 125. 00 |
| William Sloane, R. F. D. 1, Norfolk----- | 500. 00 |
| July 16, 1920: | |
| W. M. Whaley, Citizens Bank Bldg., Norfolk----- | 100. 00 |
| July 31, 1920: | |
| Charles E. Brockus, Date (business address, 24 Broad St., New York City)----- | 2, 000. 00 |
| W. C. Kent (business address, 1727 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. H. Knode (business address, 1727 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| R. Wentz (business address, 1727 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Daniel B. Wentz (business address, 1727 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Clyde B. Crusan (business address, 1727 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| L. F. Lentz (business address, 1727 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| Harrie B. Price, jr. (business address, 1727 Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.)----- | 1, 000. 00 |

WASHINGTON.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Aug. 17, 1920: | |
| Mrs. Alice E. Fansler, Seattle, Seattle Ice Cream Co----- | \$100. 00 |
| G. W. Fischer, Seattle, Fischer Bros. Co----- | 100. 00 |
| Charles H. Frye, Seattle, 9th So. & Walker----- | 500. 00 |
| Robert Gillespie, Seattle, Mill & Mine Supply Co----- | 100. 00 |
| H. P. Grant, Seattle, Seattle Auto Co----- | 200. 00 |
| J. H. Haines, Seattle, Admiral Line----- | 100. 00 |
| Geo. B. Hall, Seattle, 2600 L. C. Smith Bldg----- | 100. 00 |
| E. H. Hamil, Seattle, Mutual Life Bldg----- | 100. 00 |
| D. W. Hartzell, Seattle, Northwest Trading Co----- | 100. 00 |
| J. T. Heffernan, Seattle, Heffernan Eng. Work----- | 500. 00 |
| E. G. Hoffman, Seattle, Hoffman Motor Car Co----- | 100. 00 |
| G. C. Lemley, Seattle, Ballou & Wright----- | 100. 00 |
| Thomas C. McHugh, Seattle, Deep Sea Salmon Co----- | 350. 00 |
| F. H. Madden, Seattle, Point Warde Pck. Co----- | 200. 00 |
| Henry Pickard, Seattle, Guardian Tr. & Sav. Bk----- | 100. 00 |
| Ernest Schoenwald, Seattle, Petersburg Pack. Co----- | 100. 00 |
| J. A. Swalwell, Seattle, Union Natl. Bank----- | 100. 00 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| C. S. Weston, Richwood | 100.00 |
| J. W. Oakford, Penna. Bldg., Phila., Pa. (credit to W. Va.) | 100.00 |
| C. D. Howard, Cowen | 100.00 |
| Daniel Howard, Clarksburg | 100.00 |
| Wm. McKell, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| E. Burg, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| Charles Ash, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| W. R. Ballard, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| O. F. McCoy, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| E. B. Rocks, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| C. P. Callaway, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| R. L. Hughes, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| George Lafferty, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| Thomas Nichol, Glen Jean | 100.00 |
| Alex McNabb, Macdonald | 100.00 |
| S. A. Scott, Macdonald | 100.00 |
| George Love, Fayetteville | 100.00 |
| Earl Grey, Fayetteville | 100.00 |
| C. W. Dillon, Fayetteville | 100.00 |
| H. F. West, Pax | 100.00 |
| C. A. Conley, Gauley Bridge | 100.00 |
| J. M. McVey, Thurmond | 100.00 |
| J. S. Lewis, Oak Hill | 100.00 |
| July 7, 1920: | |
| J. C. Brady, Wheeling | 150.00 |
| J. D. Merriman, Wheeling | 100.00 |
| Melvin G. Sperry, Clarksburg | 100.00 |
| Haymond Maxwell, Clarksburg | 100.00 |
| Clyde M. Crist, Clarksburg | 100.00 |
| Lucien Hoge, jr., Clarksburg | 100.00 |
| J. Edgar Long, Clarksburg | 100.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------|
| July 15, 1920: | | |
| Isaac M. Scott, Wheeling----- | | \$250. 00 |
| July 16, 1920: | | |
| E. T. Weir, Weirton----- | | 500. 00 |
| July 20, 1920: | | |
| B. W. Peterson, Wheeling----- | | 250. 00 |
| H. W. McLure, Wheeling----- | | 100. 00 |
| J. J. Holloway, Wheeling----- | | 250. 00 |
| David B. Crawford, Parkersburg----- | | 500. 00 |
| John M. Crawford, Parkersburg----- | | 250. 00 |
| Howard Hazlet, Wheeling----- | | 100. 00 |
| Alex Glass, Wheeling----- | } | 1, 000. 00 |
| E. C. Ewing, Wheeling----- | | |
| A. C. Whitaker, Wheeling----- | | |
| W. H. Abbott, Wheeling----- | | |
| Andrew Glass, Wheeling----- | | |
| N. P. Whitaker, Wheeling----- | | |
| July 22, 1920: | | |
| W. F. Hite, Huntington----- | | 250. 00 |
| July 27, 1920: | | |
| H. C. Ogden, Wheeling----- | | 100. 00 |
| W. E. Wells, Newell----- | | 500. 00 |
| Aug. 3, 1920: | | |
| C. J. Pearson, St. Albans----- | | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 6, 1920: | | |
| Paul N. Lange, Fairmont----- | | 100. 00 |
| Aug. 12, 1920: | | |
| C. R. Hubbard, Wheeling----- | | 100. 00 |

WISCONSIN.

| | | |
|--|--|------------|
| June 14, 1920: | | |
| H. S. Hartman, Racine----- | | 100. 00 |
| S. Arthur Loeb, Racine, Elks Club----- | | 100. 00 |
| Clarence Wright, Racine----- | | 100. 00 |
| June 16, 1920: | | |
| Warren J. Davis, Racine, J. I. Case T. M. Co----- | | 100. 00 |
| June 17, 1920: | | |
| C. B. Clark, Neenah, 617 East Wisconsin Avenue----- | | 150. 00 |
| F. J. Sensenbrenner, Neenah, 402 East Wisconsin Avenue----- | | 150. 00 |
| S. F. Shattuck, Neenah, 324 East Wisconsin Avenue----- | | 150. 00 |
| June 24, 1920: | | |
| F. J. Osius, Racine----- | | 250. 00 |
| June 28, 1920: | | |
| E. C. Mason, Milwaukee, 220 Broadway----- | | 250. 00 |
| W. H. O'Connell, Milwaukee, 220 Broadway----- | | 250. 00 |
| June 29, 1920: | | |
| Chas. F. Pfister, Milwaukee, 1210 First National Bank Building-- | | 2, 000. 00 |
| C. R. Manville, Milwaukee, 201 Clybourn Street----- | | 1, 000. 00 |
| Louis Kuehn, Milwaukee, 303 Martin Street----- | | 100. 00 |
| June 30, 1920: | | |
| Louis Kuhn, 215 Broadway, Milwaukee----- | | 500. 00 |
| Wm. F. Stark, Milwaukee, 215 Broadway----- | | 250. 00 |
| Walter Stern, Milwaukee, Cherry & Comm----- | | 100. 00 |
| Theo. Trecker, West Allis, 585 Hi. Mt. Boulevard----- | | 1, 000. 00 |
| July 1, 1920: | | |
| C. C. Allen, Kenosha, 550 Durkee Avenue----- | | 1, 000. 00 |
| July 6, 1920: | | |
| W. D. Van Dyke, Milwaukee, 210 Wisconsin Street----- | | 100. 00 |
| F. F. Adams, Milwaukee, 921 Railway Exchange Building----- | | 100. 00 |
| Fred Doepke, Milwaukee, 54 South Bay Street----- | | 100. 00 |
| J. O. Moen, Rhinelander----- | | 150. 00 |
| July 12, 1920: | | |
| D. W. Bergstrom, Neenah, 418 Church Street----- | | 100. 00 |
| July 16, 1920: | | |
| W. M. Gilbert, Neenah, 718 Forest Avenue----- | | 100. 00 |
| T. M. Gilbert, Neenah, 324 Ninth Street----- | | 100. 00 |

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|--|----------|
| George A. Whiting, Neenan, 423 Forest Ave..... | 250.00 |
| George F. Gilkey, Oshkosh, 199 Church St..... | 100.00 |
| Edgar P. Sawyer, Oshkosh, 123 Main St..... | 300.00 |
| Aug. 12, 1920: | |
| Mr. Albright, Milwaukee, % R. H. Hackney..... | 250.00 |
| P. E. Thomas, Milwaukee, West Allis..... | 150.00 |
| R. H. Hackney, Milwaukee, Pressed Steel Tank Co..... | 500.00 |
| W. H. Upmeyer, Milwaukee, 3324 Wells Street..... | 100.00 |
| L. W. Bunde, Milwaukee, 101 Grand Avenue..... | 100.00 |
| Albert R. Taylor, Milwaukee, 564 Summit Avenue..... | 100.00 |
| A. K. Taylor, Milwaukee, 305 Prospect Avenue..... | 100.00 |
| L. G. Bournique, Milwaukee, 130 Prospect Avenue..... | 100.00 |
| F. F. Lewis, Janesville..... | 100.00 |
| Aug. 13, 1920: | |
| J. M. Hixon, La Crosse, 306 Main..... | 1,000.00 |
| D. C. Coleman, La Crosse, 126 S. 15th..... | 250.00 |
| Henry Gund, La Crosse, 1304 Cass..... | 100.00 |
| Charles A. Paeschke, Milwaukee, 179 18th St..... | 100.00 |
| F. J. Frey, Milwaukee, 512 Bradford Ave..... | 100.00 |
| Aug. 20, 1920: | |
| W. E. Pollock, Oshkosh..... | |
| F. E. Waite, Oshkosh..... | |
| O. T. Waite, Oshkosh..... | |
| D. C. Burkstoft, Oshkosh, 405 Washington..... | |
| Charles A. Krause, Milwaukee, 613 Kenwood Ave..... | |
| Henry Harnischfeger, Milwaukee, 3416 Grand Ave..... | |
| Aug. 23, 1920: | |
| Frank Weyenberg, Milwaukee..... | 500.00 |
| MISCELLANEOUS. | |
| June 16, 1920: | |
| D. R. Williams, Manila..... | 250.00 |
| Fred C. Fisher, Manila..... | 150.00 |
| G. W. Parsons, Manila..... | 375.00 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

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July 16, 1920—Continued.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Frank P. Thornton, Manila | \$375. 00 |
| Geo. A. Malcolm, Manila | 100. 00 |
| Maj. J. C. McCoy, Manila | 250. 00 |
| E. C. McCullough, Manila | 500. 00 |
| G. F. Herman, Manila | 100. 00 |
| F. C. Cadwallader, Manila | 250. 00 |
| N. T. Hasham, Manila | 150. 00 |
| D. Fletcher, Manila | 150. 00 |
| Bernard Schlisinger, Manila | 100. 00 |
| Capt. John R. Schultz, Manila | 125. 00 |
| I. Beck, Manila | 125. 00 |
| Julian Wolfson, Manila | 225. 00 |
| Carlos Young, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Geo. Brown, Manila | 250. 00 |
| John W. Haussermann, Manila | 250. 00 |
| A. W. Beam, Manila | 250. 00 |
| W. R. MacFarlane, Manila | 375. 00 |
| Capt. Chas. H. Sleeper, Manila | 500. 00 |
| Chas. E. Tenney, Manila | 100. 00 |
| J. P. Heilbronn, Manila | 100. 00 |
| R. W. Ketchum, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Fred Leas, Manila | 500. 00 |
| Fred N. Berry, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Milton E. Springer, Manila | 200. 00 |
| Walter E. Olsen, Manila | 500. 00 |
| Gen. Thomas L. Hartigan, Manila | 750. 00 |
| R. J. Harrison, Manila | 100. 00 |
| Harold M. Pitt, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Thomas J. Wolf, Manila | 250. 00 |
| J. L. Samuels | 250. 00 |
| Louise P. Brown, Manila | 250. 00 |
| C. M. Cotterman, Manila | 200. 00 |
| W. S. Hausheer, Manila | 250. 00 |
| S. M. Berger, Manila | 100. 00 |
| Theodore Diehl, Manila | 250. 00 |
| A. T. Simmie, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Thomas J. Burns, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Judge A. S. Crossfield, Manila | 250. 00 |
| H. B. McCoy, Manila | 1, 000. 00 |
| A. L. Ammen, Manila | 500. 00 |
| R. E. Humphreys, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Alfred Ehrman, San Francisco, Calif | 1, 000. 00 |
| Galen L. Stone, New York City | 250. 00 |
| M. F. Lowenstein, New York City | 250. 00 |
| E. B. Bruce, New York City | 250. 00 |
| J. M. Switzer, New York City | 250. 00 |
| Herbert Hellis, Yonkers, N. Y | 1, 500. 00 |
| Bryce Le Juene, New Brighton, N. Y | 1, 000. 00 |
| H. B. Pond, Manila | 250. 00 |
| Dean C. Worcester, Manila | 250. 00 |
| E. H. Hartman, New York City | 250. 00 |
| W. H. Taylor, Manila | 250. 00 |

CALIFORNIA.

Aug. 24, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| Frank G. Noyes, Napa | 100. 00 |
| Marco H. Hellman, Los Angeles, 217 H. W. Hellman Bldg | 1, 000. 00 |
| Wm. Loftus, Los Angeles, 508 L. A. Investment Bldg | 100. 00 |
| S. J. Chapman, Los Angeles, 454 S. Alexandria Ave | 100. 00 |
| Moses N. Avery, Los Angeles, Prs. Guarantee Tr. & Sv. Bk | 100. 00 |
| J. G. Bullock, Los Angeles, 627 S. Ardmore Ave | 200. 00 |
| F. N. Braun, Los Angeles, 715 Marsh-Strong Bldg | 500. 00 |
| W. W. Johnson, Oakland, Union Cons. Co | 500. 00 |
| John P. Maxwell, Oakland, 14th & Washington | 100. 00 |
| N. S. Dodge, Emeryville, Park Ave. and Watt | 250. 00 |
| R. R. Bellingall, Oakland, 1816 12th St | 125. 00 |
| Lew Hing, Oakland, 1816 12th St | 250. 00 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| H. F. Deneen, Cleveland, 1001 Hazel Drive..... | 100 |
| F. W. Burch, Cleveland, 11120 Euclid Ave..... | 100 |
| Charles C. Bolton, Cleveland, 10701 East Blvd..... | 500 |
| C. F. Brush, Cleveland, 3725 Euclid Ave..... | 500 |
| Charles L. F. Welber, Cleveland, 408 Guardian Bldg..... | 250 |
| R. C. Norton, Cleveland, 68 Weade Bldg..... | 125 |
| Harris Creech, Cleveland, 322 Euclid Ave..... | 100 |
| Orlando Hall, Cleveland, Hickox Bldg..... | 100 |
| Sam U. Emerson, Cleveland, 2098 E. 93rd St..... | 100 |
| John H. Hord, Cleveland, 1929 E. 75th St..... | 100 |
| E. P. Lenihan, Cleveland, 1019 Kirby Bldg..... | 100 |
| Charles T. Reed, Cleveland, St. Clair Ave..... | 100 |
| Henry G. Oppmann, Cleveland, 13330 Detroit Ave..... | 100 |
| A. H. Seibing, Cleveland, 2000 W. 25th..... | 100 |
| D. T. Perry, Cleveland, 1317 Illum. Bldg..... | 100 |
| J. R. Blakeson, Cleveland, 3830 Lakeview Ave..... | 100 |

MISSOURI.

Aug. 24, 1920:

| | |
|---|-----|
| F. M. Baker, Malta Bend..... | 100 |
| Victor Rokowsky, Joplin, 202 Maffett..... | 100 |
| David Rohn, Malta Bend..... | 100 |

MONTANA.

Aug. 24, 1920:

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| B. D. Phillips, Malta..... | 250 |
|----------------------------|-----|

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Aug. 24, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|
| C. E. Grey, Rapid City..... | \$100 |
| W. G. Buell, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| J. B. Henry, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| J. H. Mathias, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| Charles A. Nystram, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| G. E. Lamoi, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| Elton W. Stanley, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| Ethon Allen, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| A. S. Haug, Rapid City..... | 100 |
| A. C. Hunt, Rapid City..... | 100 |

ALABAMA.

Aug. 25, 1920:

| | |
|--|-----|
| R. I. Ingalls, Birmingham, D & 7th Ave..... | 150 |
| Leo K. Steiner, Birmingham, 2101 1st Ave..... | 100 |
| Harold R. Sanson, Birmingham, 1411 Amer. Trust Bldg..... | 100 |
| Thomas H. Lee, Birmingham, Birmingham Land Co..... | 100 |

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.

1253

ILLINOIS (DOWN STATE).

Aug. 25, 1920:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| W. S. Lumley, Woodstock----- | \$100. 00 |
| George A. Barr, Joliet----- | 150. 00 |
| A. E. Montgomery, Moline----- | 100. 00 |
| B. B. Taylor, Catlin----- | 100. 00 |

LOUISIANA.

Aug. 25, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| L. H. Burns, New Orleans, 912 Cara 1 Bk. Bld----- | 500. 00 |
|---|---------|

MICHIGAN.

Aug. 25, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Richard L. Owen, Ypsilanti, 714 Forest Ave----- | 100. 00 |
| Joseph Walsh, Port Huron, 1331 Military St----- | 100. 00 |
| C. C. Peck, Port Huron, c/o U. S. Sav. Bank----- | 100. 00 |
| Almon S. Jones, Battle Creek, 54 Fremont St----- | 100. 00 |
| G. R. Burt, Battle Creek, 192 Maple St----- | 200. 00 |
| D. Graff, Kalamazoo----- | 125. 00 |
| Frank F. Sommers, Saginaw, 900 N. Mich. Ave----- | 100. 00 |
| M. N. Brady, Ionia----- | 100. 00 |
| K. R. Smith, Ionia----- | 290. 00 |
| W. L. Saunders, Cadillac----- | 500. 00 |
| R. W. Judson, Detroit, c/o Continental Motors Corp----- | 100. 00 |
| C. C. Jenks, Detroit, c/o Cenks & Muir Mfg. Co----- | 200. 00 |

TENNESSEE.

Aug. 25, 1920:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Harry Batchelor, Nashville, N. 8th Ave----- | 200. 00 |
|---|---------|

CALIFORNIA.

August 26, 1920:

| | |
|--|------------|
| C. B. Kinney, 933 Third St., Napa----- | 250. 00 |
| F. W. Williams, Napa----- | 150. 00 |
| Chas. H. Wood, 414 14th St., Oakland----- | 100. 00 |
| Geo. W. Hatch, 2nd & Franklin, Oakland----- | 100. 00 |
| H. W. Force, 5th & Parker Sts., Berkeley----- | 100. 00 |
| S. M. Seeligson, 4th & Camella, Berkeley----- | 100. 00 |
| C. L. Tilden, 1031 San Antonio Ave., Alameda----- | 100. 00 |
| F. W. Van Sicklen, Central Ave. & Lafayette, Alameda----- | 100. 00 |
| W. C. Kennedy, Baker Iron Works, Los Angeles----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| W. W. Beckett, Pacific Mutual Bldg., Los Angeles----- | 100. 00 |
| L. Schiff, 434 Lorraine Blvd., Los Angeles----- | 100. 00 |
| L. D. Sale, 331 S. Ardmore Ave., Los Angeles----- | 100. 00 |
| Chester W. Brown, Union Oil Bldg., Los Angeles----- | 200. 00 |
| Arthur Lette, Broadway Dept. Store, Los Angeles----- | 1, 000. 00 |
| E. S. Rowley, 636 Union Oil Bldg., Los Angeles----- | 100. 00 |
| Malcolm McNaughten, Broadway Dept. Store, Los Angeles----- | 100. 00 |
| F. J. Belcher----- | 100. 00 |
| A. S. Bridges, 815 Timken Bldg., San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| C. C. Benjamin, San Diego Hotel, San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| A. J. Cohn, Associated Fisheries, San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| A. J. Cohn, foot Crosby St., San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| A. G. Gassen, 332 Post Office, San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| D. F. Garretteon, First National Bank, San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| Percy H. Goodwin, 1202 4th St., San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| U. S. Grant, U. S. Grant Hotel, San Diego----- | 200. 00 |
| Chas. S. Hardy, 5th & G St., San Diego----- | 500. 00 |
| E. J. Henning, 1st Natl. Bank Bldg., San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| C. W. McCabe, 501 West Broadway, San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| F. B. Naylor, 314 West Broadway, San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| San Diego Hotel, Broadway, San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| C. O. & H. S. Richards, 110 9th St., San Diego----- | 100. 00 |
| J. W. Sefton, San Diego Savings Bank----- | 100. 00 |
| Swing for Congress Club, Glenn A. Tucker, secretary, 201 Arcoe Bldg----- | 100. 00 |

UPHAM'S EXHIBIT 4.

Republican National Committee contributions June 14 to Aug. 26, 1920.

| | To national committee. | To States. | Total |
|---------------------------|------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Alabama..... | \$824.15 | \$1,464.15 | \$2,288.30 |
| Arizona..... | 942.56 | 1,434.94 | 2,377.50 |
| Arkansas..... | 7,768.79 | 10,245.67 | 18,014.46 |
| California..... | 13,822.45 | 24,072.80 | 37,895.25 |
| Colorado..... | 10,125.55 | 13,475.35 | 23,600.90 |
| Connecticut..... | 851.82 | 876.82 | 1,728.64 |
| Delaware..... | 5,000.00 | | 5,000.00 |
| District of Columbia..... | 8,200.00 | | 8,200.00 |
| Florida..... | 1,474.22 | 1,118.78 | 2,593.00 |
| Georgia..... | 1,242.15 | 716.35 | 1,958.50 |
| Idaho..... | 1,267.54 | 1,515.04 | 2,782.58 |
| Illinois..... | 31,005.31 | 31,621.81 | 62,627.12 |
| Indiana..... | 2,202.88 | 11,150.20 | 13,353.08 |
| Iowa..... | 6,746.30 | 16,503.05 | 23,249.35 |
| Kansas..... | 6,591.62 | 9,708.13 | 16,299.75 |
| Kentucky..... | 12,781.25 | 17,900.00 | 30,681.25 |
| Louisiana..... | 5,298.47 | 1,135.03 | 6,433.50 |
| Maine..... | 9,818.99 | 1,841.01 | 11,660.00 |
| Maryland..... | 118.05 | 5,983.05 | 6,101.10 |
| Massachusetts..... | 21,817.38 | 9,054.62 | 30,872.00 |
| Michigan..... | 21,175.96 | 32,057.14 | 53,233.10 |
| Minnesota..... | 299.90 | 1,324.20 | 1,624.10 |
| Mississippi..... | 879.00 | | 879.00 |
| Missouri..... | 1,795.97 | 22,354.95 | 24,150.92 |
| Montana..... | 2,754.50 | 1,140.00 | 3,894.50 |
| Nebraska..... | 1,358.53 | 2,130.97 | 3,489.50 |
| Nevada..... | 900.86 | 900.86 | 1,801.72 |
| New Hampshire..... | 1,686.82 | 1,686.82 | 3,373.64 |
| New Jersey..... | 25,586.07 | 1,626.43 | 27,212.50 |
| New Mexico..... | 931.77 | 2,011.77 | 2,943.54 |
| New York..... | 164,971.06 | 60,320.94 | 225,292.00 |
| North Carolina..... | 3,995.90 | 7,863.82 | 11,859.72 |
| Ohio..... | 128,534.98 | 61,837.27 | 190,372.25 |
| Oklahoma..... | 8,525.04 | 5,152.46 | 13,677.50 |
| Oregon..... | 988.37 | 1,563.13 | 2,551.50 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 68,768.00 | 350.00 | 69,118.00 |
| Rhode Island..... | 25,957.50 | | 25,957.50 |
| South Carolina..... | 563.50 | | 563.50 |
| South Dakota..... | 2,991.22 | 1,405.78 | 4,397.00 |
| Tennessee..... | 2,682.69 | 3,709.06 | 6,391.75 |
| Texas..... | 709.20 | 3,885.20 | 4,594.40 |
| Utah..... | 4,898.41 | 6,733.41 | 11,631.82 |
| Vermont..... | 4,123.50 | | 4,123.50 |
| Virginia..... | 9,015.00 | 3,040.00 | 12,055.00 |
| Washington..... | 7,570.80 | 2,429.20 | 10,000.00 |
| West Virginia..... | 10,900.72 | 1,166.78 | 12,067.50 |
| Wisconsin..... | 14,310.91 | 14,634.59 | 28,945.50 |
| Hawaii..... | 19,198.26 | | 19,198.26 |
| Philippine Islands..... | 19,060.50 | | 19,060.50 |
| | 618,013.54 | 399,241.78 | 1,017,255.32 |

The CHAIRMAN. And we will put in the record the Republican national committee budget adopted July 1, 1920, as Upham Exhibit 5.

(Upham's Exhibit 5 is attached hereto:)

UPHAM EXHIBIT 5.

Republican national committee budget adopted July 1, 1920.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Speakers' bureau: Including salaries and expenses incident to publicity connection, particular meetings, traveling, and other expenses of speakers..... | \$255,100.00 |
| Headquarters expense: Washington, New York, Boston, Chicago, Denver, and San Francisco, including administration, typists, mailing department, telephone, telegraph, furniture and fixtures, supplies, postage, envelopes, traveling expenses..... | 750,874.20 |

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Rents: All headquarters----- | \$45, 643. 00 |
| Publicity: Including news service to Republican papers, pamphlets, booklets, textbooks, shipping expense, lithographs, campaign buttons, bill boards, advertisements in papers----- | 1, 346, 500. 00 |
| General expense: Including all bureaus, such as bureau of clubs, shipping department and distribution, freight, express, etc.; including treasurer's office in Chicago and salaries, all traveling and other expenses incident to raising of money Chicago; also including same expense eastern treasurer's office New York, and other general expense----- | 680, 920. 00 |
| Total ----- | 3, 079, 037. 20 |

Mr. UPHAM. You understand about these red figures on Exhibit No. 4?

The CHAIRMAN. You have explained that.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is clear in the record.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. But the minutes of this proceeding ought to show which ones of those figures are in the red, so that it will be intelligible to the reader.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Now, Mr. Upham, in the speech of Gov. Cox which was presented and placed in the record yesterday, the speech that was made at Pittsburgh, there are some statements made in regard to quotas and bulletin statements—a quota something over \$8,000,000 from certain cities of the United States. Tell us about that.

Mr. UPHAM. The first time that I ever saw that list was when it was printed in the newspapers after his speech. I have never seen such a list, nor was a list ever made up by me or any one connected with me that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any such list as presented in that speech made by you in your office?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or anybody with your knowledge?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or with your consent?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see any such list?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear of such list?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Until his speech?

Mr. UPHAM. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have certain bulletins, have you not, that were issued in your office?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have all copies of all of the bulletins.

Senator REED. Are you leaving this end of it now?

The CHAIRMAN. You mean this particular thing?

Senator REED. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Then before you go into the theme I have some more questions to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I was going to complete what I had to ask, and then let anybody take him up. That is all right. I will let it go at that.

Mr. UPHAM. There is a copy of every bulletin. [Mr. Upham handed six copies of the Official Bulletin to the chairman.]

The CHAIRMAN. I am nearly through, Senator Reed.

Senator REED. All right.

Senator POMERENE. We had better have specific statements from these bulletins. Get the dates of each of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you present to the committee all of the bulletins issued from your office, do you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. I heard you ask Chairman Hays for them yesterday, so I brought them.

The CHAIRMAN. Bulletin No. 1, of July 17, 1920; Bulletin No. 2, of July 27, 1920; Bulletin No. 3, of August 5, 1920; Bulletin No. 4, of August 10, 1920; Bulletin No. 5, of August 16, 1920; Bulletin No. 6, of August 25, 1920. Those are all, are they?

Mr. UPHAM. Those are all.

(The six bulletins produced by Mr. Upham were marked "Upham's Exhibits Nos. 6 to 11," inclusive, and are attached hereto.)

UPHAM EXHIBIT 6.

No. 1.

JULY 17, 1920.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

[Treasurer's office, Republican national committee. Fred W. Upham, treasurer, 355 Conway Building, Chicago; 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.]

This bulletin is official.

One something like it will reach you often enough until further notice.

It is not the kind of a bulletin that wants to make a bow, or anything like that. It will not have any efficiency experts, or philosophers, or poets, or punsters on its staff.

Also, there are no supernatural halos of glass-office glory here at headquarters that will attempt to reflect themselves herein.

Nobody here is going to get cute or smart. We did not hit on this as an ingenious way to spend a vacation, or just to give the mail man a little more to tote around.

Nobody is going to have anything to do with this bulletin who has not had actual experience in digging up money in the field.

Your name is on the mailing list because this bulletin is to be an official medium of transmitting to you information, suggestions, and instructions from the National Treasurer and his immediate assistants.

If you don't read it you may not miss any delectable diction, but you may miss something that those in charge think is a part of your job to help elect Harding President of the United States.

Read it and file it. Don't file it to read later.

FROM MR. UPHAM.

It is a pleasure to say a word to the representatives of the treasurer's office, in this, the first issue of our bulletin.

First of all, I want to assure you of a very deep and personal interest in your efforts—not merely in the activities of the field force as a whole, but in what each one is doing in his particular territory.

I have tried to keep in touch with your separate problems and your individual progress, so that the decisions reached in this office might be intelligent, and thus of the greatest help to you. And now that Harding and Coolidge are our nominees, I hope to keep in even closer touch with you.

By the way, what I have just said suggests a suggestion: While no specific set of rules for raising funds for public purposes can be rigidly applied to all communities, we have found that serious delays in getting results have been due to claims made here and there that "this town is different." While we may have to agree that all towns are different, we shall probably have to operate on the theory that they are all very much alike.

It also occurs to me that our job from now until Senator Harding's election involves just a few of the simplest principles of salesmanship:

Knowledge of our goods.

Faith in our goods.

Energy and tact in presenting our goods.

Pride in the dignity of constructive work.

Fortunately for us, the history of the Republican Party, the present platform, and Harding and Coolidge, are the goods. We can know them easily, we can have faith in them readily, and they inspire energy and discretion in our efforts for them, and there can be no doubt as to the dignity of our work, for we are writing a large page in the book of our country's history.

Very truly, yours,

FRED W. UPHAM.

JULY 15, 1920.

NO CHILD'S PLAY.

It is no "child's play" that the ways and means organization is attending to. \$25,000 a day must come in to headquarters to enable us to finish our work by September 1.

Let each man in the field resolve each day that by finesse, by industry, and by his own inherent force in diplomacy, he will make his results an important part of that \$25,000.

AS TO PLEDGES.

Every field worker is supposed to know the routine relative to securing and forwarding subscriptions, but mistakes still occur, therefore every field worker is reminded—

(1) That a certain prescribed form of subscription card is now in existence. It must measure exactly 3 by 5 inches. A copy is printed herewith:

Subscription obtained by—

Name _____

Address _____

\$ _____ 1920

For the use of the Republican national committee, for the 1920 campaign and in consideration of the subscriptions of others, I promise to pay to Fred W. Upham, treasurer, 111 West Washington Street, Chicago, _____ dollars payable as follows: Cash herewith, or one-half herewith and one-half on or before September 1, 1920.

Name _____

Street address _____

City _____ State _____

(2) That these pledge cards printed in the States should bear on the back the following details:

This pledge card must be filled out in ink.

Anonymous contributions are not permitted by law to be received.

No contributions from corporations or national banks can be accepted.

The name and address of the one who secures this pledge must be given.

It is necessary that a signed pledge card accompany the subscription, whether or not the donation is paid in cash.

(3) In accordance with the above, whether the subscription cards in any State are printed as above or not, please remember that cards must be filled out in ink; no corporation subscription is acceptable; a card must accompany every donation; the card must be countersigned by the person who secured the subscription. State or city directors have already been furnished with the necessary blanks for forwarding subscriptions. Those who are assigned subordinate territory in a State (county chairman, etc.), should forward the subscriptions and accompanying money to the State or city director. The treas-

urer's office does not wish to receive cards and money except from State or city directors.

NOTE.—Extract from public document, No. 274, "An act providing for publicity of contributions made for the purpose of influencing elections at which Representatives in Congress are elected."

SEC. 4. That whoever, acting under the authority or in behalf of such political committee, whether as a member thereof or otherwise, receives any contribution, payment, loan, gift, advance, deposit, or promise of money or its equivalent, shall, on demand, and in any event within five days after the receipt of such contributions, payment, loan, gift, advance, deposit, or promise, render to the treasurer of such political committee a detailed account of the same, together with the name and address from whom received, and said treasurer shall forthwith enter the same in a ledger or record to be kept by him for that purpose.

For this reason all funds collected must be made payable to Fred W. Upham, treasurer, and sent to him for deposit. State and city chairmen should retain in their office a carbon copy of these reports as submitted each week.

Each man in the field working for the ways and means committee must regard his work as an essential part of the whole great victory we are seeking.

FROM MR. BLAIR.

Our field men are hereby advised of a few essential details.

Fund-raising efforts for 41 States will be directed from headquarters at 355 Conway Building, Chicago.

The "regional" lines as they have existed have been discarded, and all staff representatives in the field will deal directly with the treasurer's office at Chicago.

The treasurer's staff at headquarters is made up as follows:

Fred W. Upham, treasurer.

Harry M. Blair, assistant to treasurer.

Edwin L. Quarles, assistant to Mr. Blair.

C. W. Lee, director eastern division.

Henry E. Owen, director central division.

Chas. A. McKeand, director western division.

E. G. Fitzgerald, office manager.

Each field man will correspond by letter or telegram with his respective director relative to all matters from the State in which the worker is located.

For the present our efforts will be directed primarily toward producing the quotas of the larger cities. This does not mean that present State and county organizations will be disturbed or retarded in their activities. It is simply an effort to concentrate upon the sources which would naturally be expected to produce money most quickly, and in comparatively large amounts.

We can not too strongly stress the importance of striking immediately for the major portion of our campaign fund. Before we realize it we will be well into the summer, thus encountering the many difficulties which are always met in work of this sort at that season of the year. We need the money now, and with a definite platform under us, and two strong candidates behind us, we should take up our respective jobs with all possible vigor, transmitting to the voluntary workers with whom we are associated, and to the business interests of their communities, all the enthusiasm of a patriotic inspiration.

Very sincerely, yours,

HARRY M. BLAIR.

JULY 15, 1920.

LEE'S CALL TO ACTION.

Every director in the field continually hears the statement that "this State or city differs materially from any other State or city. Now, you can be successful in Podunk, because they need your services, but there is something peculiar about our local conditions."

This is the year and season when no such excuses should be countenanced. All of us know from the past campaign performances that wherever the true fundamentals of campaigning are strictly adhered to success surely follows.

This is a Republican year, we are appealing to the business men of the Nation for an educational fund to elect business administrators for a business administration.

No one is too important but that his services can, and should be, commandeered for the best interests of the Republican Party.

You are selling a national business administration to business men. You are not soliciting alms, but you are giving business men the privilege of subscribing to the national fund.

Disregard wherever possible local political conditions. Your appeal is to the business men not to the politicians as such.

The present plan of campaign is of an intensive character. It means being on the job every minute in order to secure success prior to September 1.

C. W. LEE.

OWEN'S INDIRECT SUMMONS.

Mr. George M. Verity, of Middletown, Ohio, is the president of the American Rolling Mills Co. Mr. Verity, on account of his large and exhaustive business interests, could reasonably be excused from adding other duties to his present burdens and responsibilities. In accepting the chairmanship of the ways and means committee for his county, he exemplifies the fine and strikingly patriotic spirit of many business men similarly situated, who are devoting time and energy to the work of the ways and means department of the Republican national committee.

Mr. Verity's letter, which follows, may be effective reading for present and prospective chairman of the various subdivisions of the ways and means organization.

HENRY E. OWEN.

" JULY 8, 1920.

" DEAR MR. PARRISH: I have accepted the Butler County chairmanship of the ways and means committee of the Republican national committee simply because I have felt it a call to duty at an extremely critical time in the affairs of the Nation. Otherwise, I could not have taken any time for the raising of funds in our county.

" Mr. Fred W. Upham, treasurer of the Republican national committee, has asked Butler County to raise a quota of \$15 000, as our share of the expense of the coming campaign, and it would seem that the amount fixed is very fair and reasonable. I am sure that Butler County will not have to be asked twice to meet such a patriotic call.

" This is the most important period in the history of our country. The policies inaugurated by our next administration will undoubtedly affect the life and progress of the Nation for many years to come.

" The United States has come to be the greatest nation of liberty-loving prosperous people on earth, during a period in which a Republican administration of Republican policies has been largely dominant. We have had eight years of Democratic rule, and of the greatest war in all history; we stand to-day discredited because one man assumed domination of our national affairs and would not practice that democracy at home in the handling of our national responsibilities which he was recommending to all the rest of the world.

" Our national life is nearer chaos to-day than ever before, and it will require strong hands and brave hearts to bring us back to the life that the Constitution of the United States provided for us. Everything that we have and are and hope to be is certainly at stake, and it is up to all loyal Republicans to put their shoulders to the wheel and insure a Republican victory next November of such magnitude as will give our chosen representatives the backing of a united citizenship.

" Our chosen standard bearers, Senator Warren G. Harding and Gov. Calvin Coolidge, are men of large abilities and of sterling character who have never wavered in their support of those fundamental principles of individual freedom and opportunity for which the Republican party has always stood.

" Their Americanism and their patriotism is unquestionable. They are conservative and they are soundly progressive and I feel that we can be assured

that they will surround themselves with strong and capable associates and that they will work with those associates in a manner that will give us a sound, patriotic, and progressive business administration.

"It would be worth while for the Republicans of Butler County to be the first to provide their quota of the sinews of war.

"Yours, very sincerely,

"GEO. M. VERITY."

MAJ. M'KEAND'S MESSAGE.

The time has come to drive; no more weather reports!

To change the figure, don't be like a Corticelli kitten, tangled up in a lot of fine spun excuses. Break through; tear through; but get through anyhow, or somehow.

Since the inception of this work in November, preconvention campaigns of candidates, State primaries, national committeeman fights, State conventions, county organizations, and various and sundry other local hinderances have been thrown in the road of our progress.

You will now face State primaries and bitter factional differences on State tickets.

Your mission is to batter down these obstacles and proceed with the raising of funds in your assigned territory.

It is necessary to do this or else you would not be on the job. This is the time for the counting of noses and a call to stand by the guns on national issues.

Whether "Bill Somebody," who is running for a State or county office, desires you to hold off your campaign for 30 days because of certain local questions, should not retard you. Regardless of his or someone else's victory in that community, a Republican victory must be assured—the march to the White House is started.

Each day brings us closer to the election.

CHAS. A. McKEAND.

FOUR DEFINITE POINTS.

The producing forces of America (and upon production and its related activities our prosperity, rural and urban, depends) may feel positive of our main factors in Republican management under Harding and Coolidge.

First. Harding will surround himself with the best advisors he can find and will be large-minded enough to take advice.

Second. He will regard constitutional limitations and will not override Congress. He is not a self-centered man.

Third. Progressive in his attitude toward labor and capital, Mr. Harding will be found opposed to the continuation of any extreme conditions of control or restraint arising out of the war.

Fourth. Standing on the Republican platform, he is pledged to bring the wasteful Government performances in Washington to an end. This means a gradual reduction of taxation to normal levels.

In view of the above facts, it is a form of insurance on the part of the producing forces if they contribute to the Republican national committee and thus aid it in bringing victory in November.

ANSWERS TO OBJECTORS.

"I don't want anything to do with politics. Politics are rotten." The answer to that is that if politics are rotten their rottenness is due to the neglect of politics by those who can think clearest in each community. As a Republic, we are governed by those whom we choose to represent us. If now we take no part in choosing we must not complain at the result.

"I have no time for politics."

Politics is only the science of government. That is all it is. Without government even a few people can not live together harmoniously, much less can a hundred million. Thinking men who neglect the science of government do not

thereby do away with government. Its power and its influence multiply more and more repressively, the more that thinking people neglect the business of government. The truth is that the business man particularly not only should take time for politics but must find time for politics, just as he does for business and recreation. Work and play, participation in government, are the three sides of a man's life in a free country.

"Who gets the money?" "How will the money be spent?" None of it will be spent improperly. Some of it will go back into the congressional and senatorial campaigns and the necessary organization of the various State central committees, for printed matter, halls, and the functions of clubs. The whole expenditure has been carefully budgeted and (in accordance with that budget) all expenditures will be made and made public.

"I am going to put this off until after my summer vacation." That is exactly what no business man ought to think of doing. He expects the Republican national committee to be on the alert all day of every day. The Republican national committee is taking up and carrying on duties that he ought to perform in reaching the public mind, consequently before he closes his office door for his vacation it should be his duty and his pleasure to contribute, so that those who are carrying on the work may do so without a moment's let up.

THE GENERAL ARGUMENT.

The Republican national committee asks for money from Republican voters in order that it may have sufficient means to approach millions of voters in the United States, both men and women, with statements as to the importance of the coming election. One letter to one million people would cost \$20,000 for postage alone.

To give an idea of the number of voters that must be approached it is merely necessary to mention that practically three-fifths of the entire population of the United States has reached the thinking age.

It is impossible for any one man or business concern to reach out and approach all these millions. It is impossible for any one man to meet these millions, to talk with them and to argue relative to the future of our Nation. Yet the men in the United States, as a rule, desire to work out their duties of citizenship in the direction of persuading voters.

The Republican national committee is therefore the clearing house of all such efforts and desires. It is organized in every State to reach every State and to approach every voter. It will have neither vacation nor any thought of rest until after November. Contributions are the equivalent of an insurance on the part of business men and others that the duties they would like to perform will be performed by this great, highly organized committee.

The money subscribed will go in the direction of pictures, posters, bill boards, newspaper articles, newspaper and magazine advertising, a speaker's bureau, movies, phonograph records, and a thousand and one other methods for reaching the mind of the public. To carry through any such program the committee needs an ample campaign fund.

This is being raised from the voters as their pledge of loyalty to the party and as their recognition of the benefits which will come to them through the continuance of society as it is now organized. From no man is all asked, but from the contributions of the many, small though they be in amount, the funds required by the committee will be raised.

TO FIELD MEN.

Give headquarters your opinions as to what you would like to see in the Official Bulletin. Send in material used by you so that we may consider it for wider publication. It should be understood by those on the mailing list that the Official Bulletin will often be substituted for letters of instruction, etc., from headquarters

UPHAM EXHIBIT 7.

No. 2.

JULY 27, 1929

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

[Treasurer's office, Republican national committee. Fred W. Upham, treasurer, 355 Con-
way Building, Chicago; 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.]

TELEGRAM FROM MR. UPHAM.

MARION, OHIO, July 22, 1929.

EDITOR OFFICIAL BULLETIN,

365 Conkey Building, Chicago, Ill.

Our candidate, by his fearless, forcible presentation of the issues confronting our people in his speech of acceptance, has placed the campaign on an even higher plane.

I most heartily congratulate our ways and means chairman and committee-men everywhere. Their task has been immeasurably lightened. It is no longer a duty but a pleasure to provide the ways and means to elect Warren G. Harding President of the United States.

Seventy-five of Ohio's ways and means chairmen met to-day in conference assembled, and as a special tribute to Ohio's favorite son unanimously pledged to produce Ohio's quota before August 15.

I appeal to our ways and means workers in every State to emulate Ohio's example and raise their quotas at once.

FRED. W. UPHAM.

FROM MANY FOR ALL.

The Republican national committee is organizing its support on a nation-wide basis. Those who desire a Republican victory are asked to support that desire with contributions; for the committee can not rise any higher nor go any further than the public opinion and support which it receives from the party in every county of the Union. It tries to get each county to realize that the preservation of our national heritage is not the responsibility of large controllers of wealth in remote States, but is everybody's responsibility in part, and that is why the present committee asks every county of the United States to help it in its work.

TO CITY DIRECTORS.

Remember that we are counting upon the city directors to produce the quickest results in the largest amounts.

In cities, particularly those of manufacturing eminence, are those whose interests have been most seriously affected during the past seven years by lavish and wasteful governmental expenditures and who are therefore most interested in seeing the Government brought back into constitutional sanity.

Business men and manufacturers are the ones whose activities develop cities: they are two of the safeguards of the Republic at this moment, when we are given an opportunity to change party control.

Therefore each city director, in accordance with the plans already delivered to him from headquarters, must hasten the matter of getting in touch with the greatest business leader of each city and through him into touch with a group that shall form the city committee and then through the city committee into touch with the leading business men in all lines. This effort should lead up to a public meeting, if considered wise by local leaders. The public meeting can be held in a private house, or a shady garden, or wherever is most convenient or comfortable on a hot day.

The advantage of a public meeting is this: That if a man wishes to talk with 20 business men and calls upon them individually he has to work out his argument 20 times over; whereas, by utilizing the influence of his city committee, he can bring together 20, 30, 50, 100, 200 of the leading business men to make the argument and appeal once in the hearing of all. There will be more than the same effect that an argument would have delivered to each separately, for a group in harmony helps to sway the thought of each in the group.

The city director has only one responsibility before him—to produce results from the city to which he is assigned. Let none of us be delayed or disturbed by the speed or slowness of any other city. The city director that produces his quota most promptly will find the name of his city in the honor roll of "Quotas complete" in the Official Bulletin.

1. Get your city chairman.
2. Get your volunteer campaign organization.
3. Call your general public meeting for the best date.
4. Notify headquarters immediately as to the date selected and whether a speaker will be needed.

SLEMP ON TAXATION (AN INTERVIEW).

Personally, I believe that one of the acts of the incoming Republican national administration will be the reduction of taxes.

This can and undoubtedly should be done at as early a date as possible. The fiscal situation of the Government justifies it and this has been brought about by the action of the Republican Congress just closed.

I give the situation in separate years.

1. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, the ordinary revenues of the Government were about equal to the expenses; perhaps a slight increase of revenue over expenditures. During the fiscal year just ended the Government received about \$1,000,000,000 from the sale of Government securities, being the last deferred payment on the Victory notes which were received on September 1, 1919. But this money instead of being used to pay ordinary running expenses of the Government was used to retire other Government securities; so during the fiscal year just closed, we retired about \$1,000,000,000 of Government securities, to that extent reducing our indebtedness. We were enabled to do this because the Republican Congress during its first session created a saving of \$939,000,000.

2. The operations of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, should show an excess of revenue over expenditures of about \$1,500,000,000. This amount is about the saving the Republican Congress made over the Democratic. * * * This \$1,500,000,000 excess thus saved will and ought to be applied upon the floating indebtedness, treasury certificates, etc., reducing their amount to something like \$1,000,000,000, which amount the Treasury Department can easily carry at all times.

3. For the next year, June 30, 1922, there should be an excess of revenue of from \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 if the present taxation laws remain on the statute books and business remains approximately as it is now. We would therefore have this enormous sum to apply upon our national indebtedness or we can reduce taxes and string out the payment of our war indebtedness for a longer period than the application of this amount would justify.

Therefore, I favor reduction of taxes, and I favor an extra session of Congress to enact the legislation looked for to accomplish this end.

C. BASCOM SLEMP,

Representative, Ninth Congressional District of Virginia.

TO FIELD MEN.

This Official Bulletin is to be read. It is as much a part of your office routine to know what is in the Bulletin as it is for you to communicate with headquarters.

FIELD NOTES.

The initial meeting of the campaign executive committee of Lynn, Mass., resulted in their securing one-third of the quota. The campaign is to be concluded within a week.

New Hampshire has developed a splendid financial organization.

Just think of "busting" into the solid South! Arkansas, Louisiana, and Georgia have completed their quotas. This is better work than in some of the Northern Republican States.

C. W. LEE
Divisional Director

CALL ON COMMON SENSE.

Coming in on the 8.29 this morning, I heard a fellow passenger comment on politics and lament the fact that good citizens apparently had no rights.

The ways and means organization plays an important part in this present Republican campaign, because we create the machinery which secures finances for this undertaking, but more than that we revive interest in politics among business men.

In every community where we are raising a substantial fund for the national committee's budget, we must reach the solid citizens.

Men and women must be brought together at luncheons, dinners, or meetings of some sort, and told of the plans of the national committee. As citizens first, and Republicans second, they must support the party in this campaign. Each individual has by right of the Constitution and the principles upon which rest American institutions, a duty to perform in connection with his citizenship.

We not only pay taxes, conduct our business for the best interests of the communities and obey the laws, but we must exercise our rights of suffrage and see that clean clear-minded people are placed in responsible positions as leaders and as doers.

The method we are using in scouring the sinews of war for the party will be a tremendous force in bringing people to the polls on November 2. It is a start in the right direction. It is erasing the mystery of politics.

It is a call on common sense.

CHAS. M. McKEAND, Divisional Director.

JULY 22, 1920.

REACHING THE MILLIONS.

For the Republican national committee there will not be a moment of freedom from responsibility between now and election. Its work in reaching and educating the public mind is a means of protecting our institutions from further disarrangement and from the social revolution which is threatened by those who hold our institutions in light esteem. It involves contact by word of mouth or by printed matter with the millions of men and women of the United States.

RAISING VICTORY FUND.

There is no valid argument possible for any real Republican to make (except absolute poverty) that will justify his withholding from the Republican national committee the financial support it needs. The committee may have plenty of plans, myriads of good ideas to work out, but without money for printing, postage, speaking, advertising, and general detail all these ideas are of no value.

Our men in the field are the foundation stone of Republican victory, and the more successfully each impresses upon the business men in each State and city that money is an absolute necessity in our campaign the more definitely does each bring Republican victory near.

NO SECRECY NEEDED.

A recent declaration was made by Gov. Cox, of Ohio, in favor of campaign fund publicity. Incident to that declaration came a reply from Mr. Upham which appeared in the papers of the Nation July 22. He came forward with a vigorous and definite denial of Gov. Cox's charge that the Republicans are raising a campaign fund that would "stagger the Nation's conscience."

"When you consider what the relative value of a dollar is now compared to what it was before the war, the fund raised by the Republican Party this year will be much less than any since McKinley's election," Mr. Upham said.

"Senator Harding has requested that a \$1,000 limit be placed upon contributions. We have secured many more individual \$1,000 subscriptions than ever before for the national campaign fund. We have organized for this purpose in every State, including the solid South. Each State is asked to raise its equitable share based on its ability to give.

"This means that the largest centers will not be permitted to do more than their share. Heretofore both parties have depended mostly on New York. This time, although all the money could be raised in the same old way, New Mexico, for example, will be on par with New York.

"If the war taught us nothing else, it taught us that the masses are willing to contribute to any good cause, and a campaign to elect Senator Harding President is a mighty good cause."

QUOTATION FROM M'KEAND.

A letter came back to headquarters from one who had pledged money weeks ago and from whom the second payment was due. In that letter he excused his failure to remit by referring to the factional Republican fights in his State. There follows in part what Maj. McKeand said:

"Apparently you have overlooked the fact that regardless of any political differences that might exist in the State of ——— we must have a Republican victory this fall nationally, and it is for the purpose of making this victory possible that you were solicited in the first place.

"You, as a business man, perhaps are not affected so much in ——— by ——— differences of political opinion, but you are affected in your business from a national standpoint, because of mismanagement of governmental affairs, which can only be changed, we believe, by the placing in Washington of a Republican administration."

The above is in line with Maj. McKeand's message in No. 1 of the Bulletin, in which he said, "Break through; tear through; but get through anyhow, or somehow."

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

It is very wise for all field men to read word for word the speech of acceptance delivered by Senator Harding at Marion of July 22.

This speech in its entirety is the best sort of assurance for business men and producers, who are interested in the restoration of normal conditions in our Government. It is an argument for sobriety in Government and the maintenance of correct balance between the three branches of our Government and between the Government and the public that elects it.

It is difficult to select any portions that are more important than others. We do, however, print a few extracts that pertain definitely to business:

"TO RESTORE POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

"Our first committal is the restoration of representative, popular government, under the Constitution, through the agency of the Republican Party. Our vision includes more than a Chief Executive. We believe in a Cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose councils the Vice President, second official of the Republic, shall be asked to participate.

"The same vision includes a cordial understanding and coordinated activities with a House of Congress, fresh from the people, voicing the convictions which members brings from direct contact with the electorate, and cordial cooperation along with the restored functions of the Senate, fit to be the greatest deliberative body of the world. Its members are the designated sentinels on the towers of constitutional government.

"GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OPPOSED.

"The importance of the railway rehabilitation is so obvious that reference seems uncalled for. We are so confident that much of the present-day insuffi-

clency and inefficiency of transportation are due to the withering hand of Government operation that we emphasize anew our opposition to Government ownership. We want to expedite the reparation, and make sure the mistake is not repeated.

"I hope for that concord of purpose, not forced but inspired by the common weal, which will give a regulated public service the fullest guaranty of continuity. I am thinking of the railroads. In modern life they are the very base of all our activities and interchanges.

" PROMISE TO HALT WASTE.

"We promise that relief which will attend the halting of waste and extravagance, and the renewal of the practice of public economy, not alone because it will relieve tax burdens, but because it will be an example to stimulate thrift and economy in private life.

"We will attempt intelligent and courageous deflation, and strike at Government borrowing, which enlarges the evil, and we will attack high cost of government with every energy and facility which attend Republican capacity.

" THE REAL FREEDOM.

"Men have a right to question our system in fullest freedom, but they must always remember that the rights of freedom impose the obligations which maintain it. Our policy is not of repression, but we make appeal to-day to American intelligence and patriotism, when the Republic is menaced from within, just as we trusted American patriotism when our rights were threatened from without.

"He who threatens destruction to the Government by force or flaunts his contempt for lawful authority ceases to be a loyal citizen and forfeits his rights to the freedom of the Republic.

" TO THE HAMILTON CLUB.

"We do not give enough attention to our politics, for good government ought to be the first business of every citizen. And I think we do not pay enough attention to party. In the country we have had too much of the rule of the individual and not enough of the rule of the great masses."

MR. HAYS SAYS:

To-day we need more attention to politics, because it tends toward efficient national administration. The Republican Party has proven itself to be the greatest party for constructive administration since the Civil War. It must be the party of the future.

All progress, whether economic or political, is the result of a doctrine of mutual service, and if any man expects the service of good government and sane, constructive legislation from his part it is only fair that he, in turn, render sane service to his party.

We could raise the Republican fund in less than 24 hours if we chose to do it in the old way—by accepting very large subscriptions from a very small number of subscribers—but we are not going to do it that way. It is time for a new deal in politics. The Republican Party is going to fight out in the open, cards all on the table, face up, so that every earnest American citizen can know just what we are doing every minute.

We will all go up or we will all go down together.

If we all go up together, we will continue to enjoy our rights as citizens as heretofore, and we will go on developing into a stronger, better Nation, leaving a rich political heritage to our children and our children's children.

If we all go down together, we will be overcome by the "isms" that are assailing our Government to-day. We shall cease to be a Nation and lose our constitutional right of property ownership, our right to work to the full measure of our ability, our right to equal unhampered opportunity, and our right to enjoy the fruits of our labor.

TO SAVE THE NATION.

The bolshevik idea is being deliberately pushed under the notice of laboring men with the thought that out of their discontent will come a social revolution. Some of the socialist talk is almost as wild as that of the bolsheviks. As long as there is a shred of private ownership in force no one person, or no one group of persons, can override society. If we agree to the sequestration of capital and the distribution of private property, the whole world becomes a scrambling heap, in which each man's rights to what he has endure only as long as he can prevent some one else from taking away that which he has.

The Republican national committee has a vast plan for bringing the whole public mind in the next few months to a realization of where we are headed if the poison of the Russian idea gets hold of our body politic. Our extremists have drifted far in that direction in the past four years and it is only a tremendous summons to stop and think that will preserve that form of Government which now for more than 100 years has proved a refuge for the world. We can not allow those who take refuge with us to burn down our protection from over our heads.

It is from the above point of view that the campaign now on becomes vitally important to every thinking man, and it is necessary for men of all variations of conviction within the Republican Party to take a view of the problem broader than the State and far above all minor divisions of opinion that may exist among them. It transcends all minor State differences, antagonisms, and divisions. We are in the presence of a purpose that will destroy us unless we rally to those things which have brought our great country up to where it is.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND.

In a recent letter to a worker in Ohio, Henry E. Owen, divisional director, covers certain points that will interest every man in the field. A quotation from this letter follows:

"It has been intimated to me that some of the Cincinnati citizens whom you hope to interview have shown inclination to be apprehensive about the size of the fund of moneys we are endeavoring to raise in Cincinnati; also that they have expressed great concern about the manner in which the campaign fund is to be used.

"Permit me to advise you that the national congressional and State campaign budgets have all been carefully estimated. When compared with the requirements, the limited purchasing power of money, campaign funds of other years, all who are conversant with such matters are agreed that the requirements for the funds of this year are both economical and conservative. The fund raised in 1916 was in excess of \$4,000,000; this year's minimum requirements are \$3,000,000 for the presidential campaign; \$500,000 for the congressional committee and \$200,000 for the senatorial committee; this makes a minimum total of \$3,700,000.

"A budget has been prepared of the expenditures for the presidential campaign on strictly business lines. For publicity about \$1,500,000 has been appropriated. This covers news service, pamphlet, street car, billboard, and newspaper advertising, lithographs, campaign buttons, and movies. The general organization expenses will be about as much more, which takes care of headquarters in New York, Chicago, Washington, Denver, and San Francisco. The largest item of department expense will be the speakers' bureau, and there will be departments covering the colored, labor, foreign, women's, soldiers', and other bureaus."

NOTES FOR FIELD MEN.

Raising money for the Republican national committee is not a subject for which any apology need be made. In fact, instead of apology being in the minds of any of our field workers there should be a feeling of positive determination to bring the rank and file of the Republican Party to understand that if government is worth having at all government is worthy of investment of both time and money by each voter.

Avoid if possible getting into any discussion of small amounts. In the present phase of the campaign it is better to get a subscriber for \$100 and up than it is to get a subscription for \$1 and up. As much time is spent on securing \$1 as is spent in securing large amounts, and the large amounts roll up the total more quickly than the small amounts. A positive assurance of the total being reached is what headquarters wants from the men in the field right now in the quickest possible way.

UPHAM EXHIBIT 8.

No. 3.

AUGUST 5, 1920.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

[Treasurer's office, Republican national committee. Fred W. Upham, treasurer, 355 Conway Building, Chicago; 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.]

SENATOR HARDING'S MESSAGE

MARION, OHIO, *July 29, 1920.*

MY DEAR MR. UPHAM: Allow me to express through the Official Bulletin of the treasurer's office, my gratitude for the enthusiasm shown by all associated with your office in raising our national campaign fund for 1920.

The fund, as a whole, is very small—not so much as 5 cents per capita, yet by means of it we shall approach the mind of the United States through various forms of printing, publicity, and personal solicitation.

Through the fine work of your organization we are nearing that form of national patriotism which expresses itself in support from every county in every State. The great body of voters are being shown by your organization that "the restoration of representative popular government" affects every one's relation to his own as well as the Nation's affairs.

It is not a stretch of imaginative words to declare that good government by our great historic party means a return to normal conditions, a gradual reduction of excessive taxation, and a sound basis for less expensive living.

Therefore I want all members of your organization to feel that their efforts are essential to our success in planning for national enlightenment and are all deeply appreciated by me.

WARREN G. HARDING.

SENATOR HARDING FOR ME.

The visit paid to Senator and Mrs. Harding by members of the Chicago ways and means committee on July 29 was a visit that I should like to see duplicated for every man and women in the United States. However, that is impossible: for no public leader in the history of the United States has ever been personally met by all the people of the United States. Some of us must take our leaders on faith.

The reason for wishing such a contact for Senator Harding is that we all of us felt so strongly the simplicity and sincerity of the man and of Mrs. Harding during our informal call. There is not a particle of "put-on" about him. He is as comfortable as an old shoe. He acts like a man who in his little community and then in his larger responsibilities has grown with perfect naturalness from the lesser to the greater.

When we were leaving, the Senator insisted upon walking with our party more than a mile to the depot; we just rambled and chatted as naturally as if we were a few business men meeting accidentally. There was some delay in the arrival of our train. In the meantime another train drew in parallel to our own track, and so the Senator and our party were on a platform between two trains. Some of the people on the second train recognized our leader and got off to wish him well, among them a father with a rusty-headed, freckle-faced boy. The father and son came up behind the Senator, but the moment that the Senator turned he held out his hand to the boy and said, "Hello, Red!" It was instantaneous good fellowship, and the boy went away looking as pleased as a real American boy would.

This is just an illustration of the readiness of mind and simplicity of heart which impressed us all in relation to both Mrs. Harding and the Senator. Mrs.

Harding possesses all of the sweet dignity that will make her an ornament to the White House. The White House can confer on her nothing more than she already has in the way of preparation for its responsibilities.

Our great Republic needs to return to Republican principles. Now, gentlemen in the field, this man Harding with the strength that comes from a typically good American home, is the type of man the United States needs. You can help put him where the country needs him. There has been in recent years too much "I" in the White House. Harding believes in the average citizen, and believes that the affairs of average citizens at home should be first attended to by our Government. Your ways and means men and women are making it possible for the average citizen to help. Help the home-coming! Senator Harding for me!

FRED W. UPHAM, *Treasurer.*

AUGUST, 3, 1920

TO TREASURER'S REPRESENTATIVES IN THE FIELD.

"This one thing." There are just 28 days left in which to finish. The month of August is the month of completions.

On the 1st of September all fund raising for the Republican national committee along lines so far laid down must be completed. Nothing else but completion will be regarded as success on the part of treasurer's representatives in the field.

At headquarters, though we all have had experience in raising funds (every one of us), it is not possible for us at this date to teach the men in the field how to secure results other than by repeating to them this thought: "Republican voters must render a service of money and time to their party to bring government back to normal." Our treasurer's representatives have been selected because they were believed to be "result getters." Only results count. Results are absolutely necessary in order that the Republican national committee may perfect and put into operation its great plans for reaching the public through the eye and through the ear.

We count on each man to regard himself as the pivotal man. We count on a spirit of cooperation between those who have mutual responsibilities in any community. We count on all to pull together and thus put it across. The date of fate is September 1—four weeks. Let us all work as if nothing but fund raising laws of any importance.

HARRY M. BLAIR.

AUGUST 3, 1920.

REPORTING CONFERENCES.

It has been decided as a matter of policy that whenever any man connected with the staff or treasurer's department discusses matters of policy or plans with members of our staff or volunteer workers the result of such a conference should be made a matter of a report for our files. In the future the report of such important conferences should be sent promptly to this office and in this way we can keep thoroughly in touch with the situation at all times.

SPEEDING UP.

The business men of Oakland, Calif., organized on August 2 to raise the quota of that city in record time.

Under the inspiration of a speech of Gov. Stevens, of California, the business men of Los Angeles organized on the 3d of August.

August 4 the Harding-Coolidge Club of San Francisco swung in behind the efforts of the ways and means men of that city so as to put San Francisco where it belongs as a leader in genuine support of the Republican Party.

Fifty leaders, commercial and otherwise, of the city of Boston and vicinity had their first conference on August 3. Senator Weeks inspired them with an understanding of the situation, and they agreed to produce.

The following cities in Tennessee are all organized for the production of their quotas: Chattanooga, Nashville, Memphis, Knoxville.

Speaking of the South reminds me that Mr. Upham's call last week to emulate the example of Ohio in completing the quota for the ways and means committee brought a night letter from North Carolina, in which David H. Blair, chairman of the ways and means committee for that State, said: "Why not urge the rest of the United States to emulate example of Arkansas, Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina, which have all gone over the top? North Carolina went over on the 27th of July and the end is not yet."

C. W. LEE, *Divisional Director.*

THE DATE INEVITABLE.

The date of the national election is set by law.

On November 2 the citizens of the United States of voting age go to the polls to vote their belief on questions of national importance. They cast their ballot for those men whom they believe can most successfully direct the affairs of State.

On the national committee rests the responsibility of placing before the voters the strength of our platform and the worthiness of our candidates. Our organization provides the ways and means which make this possible. Regardless of whether it is hot and men, mentally and physically, dread campaigning, our job must be done.

What if a certain faction is in the saddle or some of the key men are out of town, the national election comes on November 2 just the same?

Complete performance now in every city in every State is absolutely necessary.

Promises have been made and remade; it is time we have full performance. Let's nail the promises to the wall.

CHAS. A. McKEAND, *Divisional Director.*

This Official Bulletin is to be read. It is as much a part of your office routine to know what is in the Bulletin as it is for you to communicate with headquarters.

STRONG CABINET ASSURED.

Here is a quotation from an article by United States Senator Arthur Capper, former governor of Kansas. This was written just after visiting Mr. Harding at his home in Marion, Ohio:

"Knowing Senator Harding as I do, I do not hesitate to say that as President he will bring to the thorny and knotty task of national reconstruction a very sincere devotion to public service and to his official duties a most conscientious attention to every important detail. More than that, he will also make use of the strength and brains of others to the end that the greatest good may be brought to our common country. If Senator Harding is elected President, there is this one thing you can confidently bank on: Autocratic rule at Washington, one-man government of the United States, will cease instantly on the 4th day of March, 1921; a representative popular government will be restored; the voice of the majority, as expressed in Congress, will be heard again.

"If Harding enters the White House as President, it will not be to attempt the rôle of a czar. The members of his Cabinet will not be rubber-stamp satellites nor clerks taking orders. Harding will assemble around him the foremost thinkers and leaders of the country. These will be his official advisers. He is the sort of man to listen to what they have to say and also to profit by the best of their experience and counsel."

SOUND ARGUMENT.

There has been so much said in the public press regarding party funds that J. H. Mitchell, State ways and means director for Indiana, has issued a circular letter for use through the State. It goes right to the point of rightness. Two paragraphs are quoted from his letter:

"If it is desirable that on November 2 no voter in America shall lack the necessary information for an intelligent and independent decision, then it is essential and a patriotic duty for every citizen to magnify the educational value of a political campaign and to cooperate, without reserve of time or money, with those in whose hands these campaigns are intrusted for direction. Money contributed to a political campaign fund is an investment in government of the kind the contributor wants, and what a man really wants is worth paying for.

"A presidential campaign is the Nation's popular school of instruction, in which the great issues of our political life are taught and the American conscience awakened. It is the function of a well-organized campaign to bring the party ideas of government before every voter, for personal indorsement. Each party is charged with the responsibility of getting the party's principles and platform before the American people. This will be the supreme task to which all political leaders are committed for the next few months. If the issues to be determined in November have to do with the welfare of every citizen, then on true American should say, 'I have no interest in politics,' for there is absolutely no other known way of getting these issues before the voter, than that provided for in a national political campaign. Without the quadrennial campaign, as we know it, there could be no intelligent voting and the 'rule of the many' would become 'the rule of the few.' Democracy in America is safe only so long as every voter casts a ballot, which represents intelligent choice."

BUTTONS AND LITERATURE.

Any of the ways and means men who want buttons, lithographs, or Republican literature, should apply to Ralph V. Sollitt, Republican national committee, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City.

A SELLING TALK.

Here is a portion of a "selling talk" which has been made by G. W. Williams, one of our field directors in New England:

"The rank and file of citizens have condemned the practice of the leading political parties receiving large contributions from the so-called 'Interests' in the past. This condemnation has reached such a point that there is little doubt but what we will, in the near future, see laws passed forbidding the practice. The leaders of the Republican Party, selected to lead us to victory this year, have shown their wisdom by safeguarding the party's interests in having the finances of the present campaign conducted on such an open and clean method that they will welcome investigation. Not only this but they go down on record as the party that did not need to have special laws passed to make impossible the accepting of contributions in large amounts from the 'Interests.' We who welcome a clean and open method of conducting the affairs of the Republican Party should then be more than willing to meet our share of the expense.

VACATIONISTS.

Many a good man whose interest in the party is great and who wishes to contribute is at the present moment away from his home on vacation. Some of our campaign men report that vacationists hinder them completing their quotas.

Here is what should be done. The local committee should send strong telegrams to these absentees. These telegrams should be signed by the leading business men of the community from which the telegram is sent and should convey this idea: regardless of whether the man addressed is away from home or not, the campaign for the election of a Republican President is under way and he is asked to telegraph his authority for an adequate contribution.

Absence is no excuse—this is a fund for the national campaign committee, contributed from every State and each Republican's support is necessary.

TWENTY MILLION REASONS.

In the United States there are more than 20,000,000 reasons why property rights should be maintained. in the face of all the agitation which Russianized people are directing against society as it is organized here. These reasons represent the 20,000,000 reasoners who on May 4 of this year were carrying deposit accounts in our national banks alone. On that date there were, to be exact, 20,380,350 deposit accounts actually in existence in national banks. This is an increase of 165 per cent over the total of 10 years ago. These deposit accounts—people's property rights—are valued at \$13,533,908,000.

If those who own property, represented in either goods, lands, or money, will realize that the possession of property is the capitalistic system against which agitators are directing their attacks, they will unite against such attacks; for the success of such attacks would ruin even those who mistakenly call themselves "the proletariat."

DO YOU WANT THESE MEN TO SPEND YOUR MONEY?

Consider for a moment what the election of a Democratic President would mean to this country. Inevitably it would mean a Democratic Congress.

All the important legislation—constructive legislation so sorely needed—would be formulated and directed largely by men coming from one section of the country only.

The committees of the Senate and House, as made up under a Democratic administration, would have as their heads the present ranking Democratic members.

SENATE.

Oklahoma: Banking and Currency would be directed by a senator from Oklahoma.

Florida—Commerce by a senator from Florida.

North Carolina: Finance by a senator from North Carolina.

Georgia: Education and Labor by a senator from Georgia.

South Carolina: Interstate Commerce by a senator from South Carolina.

Texas: Judiciary by a senator from Texas.

Virginia: Naval Affairs by a senator from Virginia.

Kentucky: Post Office and Post Roads by a senator from Kentucky.

North Carolina: Rules by a senator from North Carolina.

HOUSE.

Tennessee: Appropriation by a Representative from Tennessee.

South Carolina: Agriculture by a Representative from South Carolina.

Alabama: Claims by a Representative from Alabama.

Virginia: Foreign Affairs by a Representative from Virginia.

Tennessee: Interstate and Foreign Commerce by a Representative from Tennessee.

North Carolina: Judiciary by a Representative from North Carolina.

Texas: Merchant Marine and Fisheries by a Representative from Texas.

Alabama: Military Affairs by a Representative from Alabama.

Tennessee: Naval Affairs by a Representative from Tennessee.

Tennessee: Post Office and Post Roads by a Representative from Tennessee.

Florida: Public Buildings and Grounds by a Representative from Florida.

North Carolina: Rivers and Harbors by a Representative from North Carolina.

North Carolina: Rules by a Representative from North Carolina.

North Carolina: Ways and Means by a Representative from North Carolina.

(Copies of the above printed on cardboard can be secured from Howard P. Ingels, Republican national committee, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City.)

THE POCKETBOOK NERVE.

Every thinking farmer and business man is interested in a return of the United States to constitutional statesmanship; for wasteful government touches every man's pocketbook.

S. J. Snook, of Paducah, Ken., in a recent letter relative to the quota from his State says:

"I have never known the people as eager to contribute to a cause, and I consider it a splendid omen."

TO COUNTY CHAIRMEN.

Some county chairmen are slow in turning over pledges and collections to State chairmen, or to the State director. This is a mistake.

Every county chairman is requested to forward money and pledges with the least possible delay; for the commitments of the Republican campaign committee relative to the work of the next few weeks are already very large and every contribution from every small center in the United States is most important.

Some hold back in order to send in their full quota at one time and thus make a good showing. Each State office keeps a record of the amount coming from each place and consequently there is no danger of being overlooked when the quota is reached.

It will be an evidence of party loyalty and party wisdom for each county in each State to do its share in working for a Republican victory this fall. The urgency of the matter is that the Republican national committee desires to have no responsibility for raising funds after September 1, but wants to give his whole time then to the great task of clearing up the public mind relative to the purpose of extremists to destroy our form of government and supersede it with revolutionary doctrines. The red flag and "Old Glory" can not live together. The Republican Party is against destroying the house that we have lived in, the house that our fathers built, and it wants the support of the people so as to bring the whole subject squarely before the millions in America prior to the November vote.

Those of us who believe in the destiny of the United States as affected by good party service are called upon at this moment to rally all our forces to protect the Nation. The call therefore is insistent for every Republican, not only to serve the party in some form of devotion, but also to be affirmative in his daily contact with his fellow citizens, declaring that the Nation's benefit depends at this time upon the triumph of Harding and Coolidge.

SCOPE OF BULLETIN.

All field men and the various volunteers who constitute the way and means force in the field are asked to understand that the Official Bulletin is not a paper prepared for general circulation.

It is prepared more particularly for those who are interested in raising funds from others, and contains, in its various items and articles, such material as will be helpful and suggestive to those who want to approach the public mind for money.

Our readers are requested not to make this publication public. It is in a sense confidential and exclusive.

This statement is necessary because the demands for the Bulletin are coming in such quantities that we fear some of our field men think the Bulletin is a campaign document for general distribution.

UPHAM EXHIBIT 9.

No. 4.

AUGUST 10, 1920.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

[Treasurer's office, Republican national committee. Fred W. Upham, treasurer; James G. Blaine, jr., eastern treasurer, 355 Conway Building, Chicago; 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.]

NEW EASTERN TREASURER.

Treasurer Upham has just returned from New York, where he succeeded in getting the acceptance of James G. Blaine, jr., of Providence, R. I., to serve as eastern treasurer.

This selection was confirmed by the finance committee of the Republican national committee and Mr. Blaine duly elected. He has already assumed charge of the finances of the New York office of the national committee.

Mr. Blaine is the grandson of James G. Blaine, "the Plumed Knight," who was the Republican candidate for President in 1884. He was in charge of a very important branch of the Red Cross work during the war. Mr. Blaine is vice president of the Liberty National Bank, of New York.

SOME REASONS WHY.

When men say to you, Mr. Chairman or Mr. Campaign Director, "Why do you ask our county or our State for money? Heretofore we have always received from, not given to, the national committee, your answer should be: "This is a new deal in financing the Republican Party. In former campaigns its principal financial support has come from well-to-do individuals in a comparatively few large cities and industrial centers."

The Republican Party, through 60 years of achievement, has brought to you in its administration of national affairs, the best Government in the world.

You, Mr. Citizen, have accepted this Government—of the people, by the people, for the people—as a matter of course, just as you have accepted the morning sunrise. True, you have sometimes voted—when you have remembered to register—and have taken it for granted that you have thereby performed your full duty of citizenship.

As for furnishing the necessary ways and means—it has probably never occurred to you that you owed any part to the general welfare. You have exercised your inalienable privilege of an American citizen to stand aloof and "let George do it"—then "kick" about the way the Georges did it. You have allowed your party leaders and managers to accept the "manna from heaven"—never questioning the source from which it came, nor your own consequent condition if it were withheld.

Probably never again will political parties be financed by the few for the benefit of the many. Senator Harding, Chairman Hays, Treasurer Upham, and every member of the Republican national committee are united behind this popular finance program.

When men ask: "What is this campaign fund for?" the answer is: "To provide sufficient revenue to carry on a legitimate national educational campaign to elect the Republican presidential ticket and insure the return of a Republican Congress." Also, "Where is this money spent?"—throughout the States for educational publicity, speakers, and other legitimate campaign activities. Therefore, Mr. Inquiring Citizen, you are simply contributing to your own campaign fund.

This in brief, Mr. Chairman or Mr. Director, is our answer to the questions you are most frequently asked.

HARRY M. BLAIR.

August 7, 1920.

AN ACTUAL INCIDENT.

Among the letters that came to the treasurer's office on August 6 was one from a headquarters man assigned to executive duties for an entire State. It contained with other matters, an actual story of how certain beneficiaries of the United States were aroused from their apathy. It is included in the Official Bulletin just as it was written, without changing a word except that the name of the Greek donor is suppressed, and the name of the writer is not mentioned. It would not be fair to draw especial attention to the community or to the State.

"Here is an interesting bit of news which might be worth while: Yesterday I visited a certain county, where the quota to be raised is \$3,000. The local chairman is a retired manufacturer who has made lots of money. His activities previous to yesterday consisted in sending in about eight subscriptions of \$10 each from men whose rating in Dun and Bradstreet is above the \$100,000 mark.

"After a general conversation with the local chairman, during which he repeatedly stated that nothing more could be done—that the local citizens were not interested in contributing to the campaign fund, and that any further effort would do more harm than good—I excused myself from his office on the plea that I wanted to return to the hotel to see if there were any telegrams for me.

Instead of going to the hotel I sought out the proprietor of an ice cream parlor by the name of Nick F——, a Greek who has been in this country for 20 years. After purchasing a refreshing drink, I asked him to sit down and tell me just what America meant to him. He related a most interesting story of his experiences in this country since 1900, and told me of his having received a letter from his 75-year-old father, who still lives in Athens, imploring Nick to come home so that he could see him once more before he died. He then showed me his passports which he had secured. He is planning to return to Athens in September, not only to visit the old father but to bring him back to this glorious country.

"Of course this was all very interesting and when he got through I asked him, 'Mr. F—— do you realize that the privileges which you enjoy as a citizen of this country carry with them certain responsibilities—that with each right there is a duty that must be discharged, and that I am bringing to you an opportunity which will not only enable you to discharge this responsibility, but will also make you a more loyal American citizen?'

"I then unfolded to him the story of the campaign fund and in a few minutes I had his check for \$50. He turned to me and said, 'Will you please write down for me on a card the date of the election and the address of Senator Harding?' I did so and asked him what he intended to do with it. He said, 'Well, if on election day Senator Harding is elected President, I am going to cable him congratulations from Athens, Greece.'

"Needless to say, this Greek is infinitely a better citizen to-day than he was yesterday morning. I took his check back to the office of the county chairman, laid it in front of him and said, 'Doesn't this make some of you local, native-born Americans look sick? To think that your citizenship you value at only \$10, and here is the proprietor of an ice cream parlor—a Greek—who gives to the limit of his ability—\$50—and then reminds me that his citizenship is worth infinitely more than the mere \$50 contribution.'

"Of course, the result was as I had anticipated. The local chairman called in four or five of the \$10 contributors. One contributor increased his contribution to \$500; another his to \$100. While I was with them, they prepared a list of 50 local men who are to be called in for an organization meeting within a few days to wind up the campaign for funds."

CONTRIBUTORS' SERVICES.

It is possible for all our men in the field to broaden their influence in any community by reminding each contributor that as he has now given to the Republican party for reasons satisfactory to himself, he is therefore in a state of conviction that will help him influence others to do the same thing. Such an effort on the part of the contributor will come with perfect propriety, for just as he has been invited to trust our great historic party with the responsibilities of government, so can he invite others.

CAN DO LIKE KELLEY DID.

Columbus—Ohio, of course—is the first city to send in its entire quota in actual cash. In fact, the amount transmitted by Columbus to the national treasurer is almost double what it was asked to contribute.

Then, too, the end is not yet, for it is probable the sum of \$150,000 for the State and national treasury will stand to the credit of Columbus before the 1st day of September. The original estimate of \$65,000 was thought to be the fair proportion to be asked of cities of the size, class, and character in which Columbus was grouped.

Evidently the judgment of the estimators did not reckon with the personal element involved, because the big, fair-minded men who head the Columbus

committee had vision and saw a big opportunity and were not to be restricted in their endeavor by the limitation of proposed maximum quotas; hence, the goal was voluntarily set at \$150,000.

Now for the supposed reasons for such pronounced enterprise and magnanimity:

Reason one: Ohio is the home of the Republican presidential candidate.

Reason two: Columbus is the capital city of the State of Ohio.

Reason three: Local pride provided its own incentive.

The fact is that when the major portion of Columbus money was procured the State presidential preferential primaries had not been held. Hence, Senator Harding was not then the presidential candidate. This is how it was done: Two busy business men—plus Kelley, gave two hours a day for ten consecutive days in interviewing and soliciting, and they turned the trick.

Each State director, each city director can do like Kelley did—get the right men to see the right people; do it quickly and systematically. Will he? Yes, he will.

HENRY E. OWEN, *Divisional Director.*

YOUNG MEN.

In various large cities, special attention has been given by our organizers to the matter of interesting young men in the simpler features of the financial approach. In Milwaukee, Wis., for instance, the smaller prospects have been assigned to a group of young men who are "first voters." In Chicago more than 100 young men are in the great committee of solicitation.

This tendency to draft the young men is one that is altogether good; for by inducting them into an understanding of the creditable financing of a party, and calling upon them to be ready with their arguments for the party and its program, is preparing these young men to be permanently interested in politics—the science of government.

RIPPING TAXPAYERS' POCKETS.

The following figures and facts are boiled down from a speech by Hon. Edward E. Denison, of Illinois, before the House of Representatives in Congress last session. Each is the sort of fact that will aid every worker for finances to talk in favor of "back to normal":

"1. The Treasury Department reports that it paid out between April 6, 1917, and February 29, 1920, on warrants of the various executive departments, the sum of \$36,918,000,000. When from this amount is taken the normal cost of conducting the Government (eighty-three and one-third million dollars a month) the war cost to date has been approximately \$34,000,000,000.

"2. So far as made, reports of chairmen of investigating committees show that of the \$18,000,000,000 expended by the War Department alone practically \$9,000,000,000 has been wasted, lost, or spent on projects that were foolish, are wholly useless now, and were totally ineffective in prosecuting the war.

"3. There was spent at Charleston, Norfolk, Boston, and other places \$150,000,000 for port terminals from which no ship during the war ever sailed.

"4. A port terminal was begun in a bog and swamp 10 miles up the river from Charleston and after \$20,000,000 had been spent in construction it was found that ships could not reach the terminal until the river had been dredged for the purpose.

"5. For nitrate plants \$120,000,000 was spent in a visionary scheme and not a pound of nitrate was produced. Practically \$10,000,000 of this sum was sunk at Muscle Shoals, Ala., and the War Department now asks additional millions to turn the abortive nitrate plants into fertilizer producers about the feasibility of which experts differ.

"6. For powder plants \$160,000,000 was spent and not a pound was made in them. The one at Nitro, W. Va., cost \$70,000,000 and was sold recently for \$8,000,000 with the prospect that the Government will never get very much of the \$8,000,000.

"7. There was \$1,000,000,000 spent for shells and only 17,000 American shells were fired by the American forces in the war. We fired very often as many as

500,000 in a single barrage on a single morning; we had to buy or beg them from our allies.

"8. We spent \$1,051,000,000 preparing to manufacture aeroplanes; we did not produce one fighting machine. We did make a purely bombing plane—a few of them. All we made and sent to the front in France were 213 observation planes and they were dangerous and defective.

"9. For tanks we spent \$100,000,000. The first American tank did not reach France until after the armistice had been signed and the war was over.

"10. There was \$117,000,000 expended for the manufacture of gas. There never was a pound of gas fired on the battle front in American shells.

"11. Guns cost us (to make in this country) \$478,000,000. We only succeeded in getting 48 of the 4.7-inch guns and 24 of the 8-inch howitzers—a total of 72 American guns—to where our boys in battle could use them."

SATURDAY TELEGRAMS.

Massachusetts: Metropolitan Boston wills to contribute more than 250 per cent of its original quota. One district in Massachusetts has set its mark at financing the national Republican committee for one day, which more than doubles its original intention. Eighty per cent of the increased figure has been raised in three days. Many prominent men representing all vocations have become interested in Massachusetts' just share in financing the national campaign.—H. C. Whithill, Boston, August 7.

Florida: Many counties in Florida organizing. Dade and Palm Beach Counties very strongly lined up. Key West shows much interest, also Fort Pierce and Jacksonville. Eastern coast strong. Intensive organization of the whole State planned.—C. L. Bluhm, Eau Gallie, August 7.

Arizona: When the thermometer registers at least 110 in the shade every day, men usually refuse campaign work, but committees soliciting for the ways and means campaign are at work daily in Phoenix, Tucson, Douglas, and Yuma. Considering conditions they are showing remarkable results in securing subscriptions. Many large contributors absent on vacations. Phoenix raised one-third of its quota in a week. Tucson expects to report oversubscription Tuesday night, 10th. The Nogales committees start Monday night.—Albert Weigel, Yuma, August 7.

TELEGRAMS TO FIELD MEN.

Notwithstanding summer heat, vacations, and other reasons common to large cities, the Chicago campaign director and volunteer committee are effecting a wonderful organization for an intensive campaign during the week of August 18.

Daily preliminary luncheon meetings are remarkably well attended and are indicative of real enthusiasm in response to our intensive campaign procedure.

To-day's luncheon attended by 85 out of a possible 100 captains and lieutenants in the last of the three divisions of team workers.

HENRY E. OWEN, *Divisional Director*.

AUGUST 5, 1920.

WORDS AND DEEDS.

A Maine business man said the following in regard to contributing to the national fund: "This is our obligation and we should meet it." He made good with a thousand-dollar check.

A Tennessee worker in a recent letter said, "This is a popular campaign for a popular cause." That State has accepted its quota with pride as an integral part of the Republican Party.

One of our diplomatic men, sent to see a man who held a grievance, reported by letter, "Has tendered his own subscription for \$500, and presented along with it \$500 more in subscriptions which he closed yesterday with his own hand. Diplomacy has a cash value. Dollar diplomacy."

MR. HAYS'S LIMIT.

Senator Harding's ready acquiescence in the definite policy of Chairman Hays, of the Republican national committee, neither to solicit nor to accept campaign contributions of more than \$1,000 is not only good politics but good citizenship. There was a time when the old system of holding up every rich man and every prosperous corporation for as much as the traffic would bear was taken as a matter of course; but even in those days we were vaguely conscious that every large check which found its way into a party war chest was nothing more or less than an unsecured loan which would subsequently have to be repaid by some one of the countless means that are within the power of the political victor.

Every financial obligation incurred before election by a successful political party is a direct lien upon the country. Settlement in some form is scarcely to be evaded; and in the end it is always the great mass of taxpayers who, knowingly or unknowingly, foot the bill.

Whichever party shall triumph at the November elections, our estimate of its probable future performance will be in inverse ratio to the sum total of its outstanding liabilities. The less it has to consider its financial obligations to those who made its success possible the more freely and single heartedly it can address itself to the great administrative and legislative tasks that will devolve upon it.—Saturday Evening Post, Aug. 7, 1920.

PASSING THE HAT.

In his efforts to limit campaign contributions to \$1,000 Chairman Hays has something bigger and better in view than to establish a safeguard against corruption and to protect candidates from being under obligation.

As a man with some experience in politics, he is aware of how little influence is exerted by the large giver, and he appreciates the sound and patriotic motives which lead rich men to subscribe. He knows that a large contributor commonly possesses an ordinance of self-denial; that he loses some of the influence he would otherwise enjoy; that the candidate and the party tend to lean backward in proving that it kept itself free. Moreover, Mr. Hays is informed as to the entirely legitimate purposes for which the large campaign fund goes. It may be taken for granted that Mr. Hays agrees with Chairman White on the point that the loud outcries of the Hearsts and the Borahs are chiefly buncombe.

But Chairman Hays wants very much to restore the interest of the Republican rank and file in the party. And he is a good enough psychologist to understand that if a person can be induced to give even a few cents to a cause it is then likely to become his own. If it were the practice to give to political parties as it is to other organizations there would be much less complaint of bossism. If a million persons could be induced to realize that a party is their party, a new and purifying vitality would be introduced into politics.

Maybe Mr. Hays will not succeed. The habit of voters to assume that a few would pay the bills incurred in advocating a political cause is deep seated and not easy to eradicate. But Mr. Hays has achieved much and his experiment has already justified itself. A passing of the hat should be the order of business of every political gathering as of every religious one.—[New York Tribune, Aug. 1, 1920.]

FLASHES FROM THE FIELD.

One small section of Massachusetts has agreed to pay the expenses of the Republican national committee for one day.

Sioux Falls, S. Dak., had an enthusiastic meeting August 4, and promises its quota by August 15.

Boston, Mass., had 90 per cent attendance at an organization meeting on August 4. This is an excellent record for a hot day. Real interest was aroused.

Chicago ways and means organization challenges San Francisco Harding-Coolidge Club (Harding-Coolidge Club raising San Francisco's quota) to a

larger proportionate return and a more speedy completion of campaign—challenge accepted.

Portsmouth, Ohio, raised its quota at one meeting.

Flint, Mich., business men decided to make their campaign short and snappy and finish by August 15.

State of Maine—never known to subscribe to national campaign funds before—enthusiastically raising its proportionate part of the national budget.

Florida Republicans say they wish to help pay the freight for a return of good Republican days. Campaign proceeding rapidly in that State.

Arizona has organized in the principal cities and promises full quota by August 15.

Sioux City, Iowa, reports full quota.

Kenosha, Wis., has raised its full quota. Other Wisconsin counties organizing now.

Grand Rapids, Mich., committee of large business men working enthusiastically to bring the campaign to a speedy conclusion.

San Antonio, Tex., reported its full quota August 10.

"GIVE TILL IT HURTS."

Grown-ups may learn something from little Johnnie. On the morning of his birthday this notice was found pasted on the door of his room: "Remember my birthday; give till it hurts."—[Oregon Journal.]

'NUFF SAID.

If enough of us get busy enough with enough people it will be easy enough to raise enough money.

UPHAM EXHIBIT 10.

No. 5.

AUGUST 16, 1920.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

[Treasurer's office, Republican national committee. Fred W. Upham, treasurer; James G. Blaine, jr., eastern treasurer, 855 Conway Building, Chicago; 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.]

NEW INSTRUCTIONS.

During the earlier part of the work done by the treasurer's office every representative of the treasurer's office was warned against any attempt to secure local publicity. This was essential at a time when our campaign was developing.

Now, however, the more local publicity that every field man can secure for the campaign the better, with one exception—that the names and amounts subscribed by donors should not be made public locally. Topics for publicity are:

(a) Meetings for original organization with stories of meetings showing the leading men interested.

(b) The formation of committees with the actual membership of those serving.

(c) Totals brought in by committees.

(d) Completion of campaign.

(e) Arguments for such a method of raising money as contrasted with the earlier systems of past years.

(f) General arguments for Republican victory.

Any publicity which reflects personally on our opponents is bad publicity. We are in a campaign to raise a fund in a businesslike way among the producing forces of the United States, and for that fund or its method of raising no apology is due.

Our opponents, however, for reasons of their own, continually exaggerate the total which we are seeking and are busy creating an impression of an enormous "slush fund."

Less money will be raised for this campaign than in any since the days of McKinley, when you take into consideration that a dollar now will buy less than one-half what it did four years ago. It is because of the wild statements of our opponents that this authority is now given to the men in the field to aim for correct publicity; since it is possible by means of the small amounts sought in each community to show that the campaign of general subscription, as originally initiated by Will H. Hays and carried through by the treasurer's office, is actually approaching completion along the lines laid down.

FRED W. UPHAM.

Harding for nationalism and normality—Cox for internationalism and world intrigues.

WOMAN'S NEW WORK.

For the first time in history the women in the Republican Party have been asked to share a great national responsibility by taking their places as officers and members of the ways and means organization rapidly being built up throughout the country to raise funds to elect a Republican President, a Republican Senate, and a Republican Congress.

Usually women have been in the position of seeking the privilege in or working with a political organization. This time the opportunity came to them unsought, and therefore should be accepted by them in such a way as to prove their stability and earnestness of purpose.

Thirty-four States already have women as vice chairmen of the State ways and means committee. Each of these vice chairmen has been allotted a quota, and unless all signs fail some of them will more than reach their goal; but they can do so only if they receive the enthusiastic, whole-hearted, and sympathetic support of Republican women in each State. It is especially important to push the work this year, when 12,000,000 women at last are looking forward to casting their first ballot for President, because it is bringing to their attention the necessity of accepting party obligations and responsibilities as well as party privileges. Every contribution to the Republican national committee is made to the cause of sound government and true Americanism, and women will not be found wanting in their support of these two great principles.

Mrs. JOHN T. PRATT,
Vice Chairman National Ways and Means Committee.

A TENNESSEE BANNER.

Tennessee notifies the treasurer's office of their claim that Mrs. Mary Giles Howard is the first woman in any Southern State to contribute \$1,000 to the campaign fund. There is more to the story: Mrs. Howard is vice chairman of the Tennessee ways and means committee, which means that she is making a double contribution. The history of efforts for the public good shows that many contribute neither service nor money; that some contribute one and thereby excuse themselves from the other, but the title of "Good and faithful servant" is for those who, like Mrs. Howard, give both.

STEP ON IT.

There are two comforting thoughts that come to all of us representing the treasurer's office in connection with the speech of the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, delivered in Chicago Wednesday evening, in which he makes the ridiculous computation that the Republican campaign budget will reach \$30,000,000.

First, we don't need anything like \$30,000,000 to elect Harding and Coolidge. Second, Treasurer Upham has "let us off easier" on our money-raising job than Mr. Roosevelt did.

But—we do need a reasonable campaign fund, and we need it now; and my advice to the men in the field is something like this:

Harding and Coolidge have the confidence of the people; but, boys, get the money.

The platform is sound enough to hold the weight of the Nation; but, boys, get the money.

It takes time to organize, but we haven't any more time left; boys, get the money.

The weather is hot; the men are on vacations; meetings are hard to get; but, boys, get the money.

There are hills to climb, but if you want to make a hill at the same speed you've been running where the road was level, you've got to use more power. Give her the gas. Step on it.

HARRY M. BLAIR.

ARGUMENT FOR FUNDS.

1. Years ago there was a great tendency on the part of both great parties to raise their campaign funds from large corporations, which contributed to both sides in order to show no favoritism. Also, as was said in the Saturday Evening Post, August 7: "In those days we were vaguely conscious that every large check which found its way into a party war chest was nothing more nor less than an unsecured loan, which would subsequently have to be repaid by some one of the countless means that are within the power of the political victor."

2. Under the new vision of public duty, of which Mr. Will H. Hays is the embodiment, it is basic that every Republican blessed by the growth, the glory, and the prosperity of the United States through the activities of the Republican Party since 1860 owes it to himself, to his party, and to his Nation that in some way he should contribute to the campaign needs of his political organization. Consequently the treasurer's office has been so organized as to raise from each State, according to a prearranged quota, such an amount as will bring up the total campaign fund to an average of 5 cents per capita for the population of the United States.

3. The quotas being assigned to various States in certain defined amounts, it follows that the success which will count for the Republican Party in the campaign of 1920 is to be based upon each State and subdivision's completion of its quota as quickly as possible, without thought of whether others are falling back or whether others have completed their work.

4. Under such a system of assigned quotas the greatest industrial cities should bear a larger share of the burden than residential cities or communities.

It of course stands to reason that in raising such a fund it is impossible to reach every human being in the United States, and therefore there has been first organized among the business and producing forces a method of approach that shall result in contributions of \$1,000 downward.

6. No one is asked to contribute more than \$1,000, but in every big city and, as far as possible, in each county there is a committee of leaders who, with the utmost possible dispatch, set themselves to raise their quota of the general fund.

7. The whole matter is, therefore, applying the test of good citizenship to a certain number of men and women in every county of the United States, under the fairest, finest, most inspiring financial method ever worked out in political history. Every unit of our Republic is honored by being asked to contribute and honors itself by contributing promptly.

THOUSANDS FOR THE ASKING.

This tells a bit of the old story from a slightly different angle. You know it only too well—"This city is different from every other city, etc., etc." To be specific, this was told verbatim to one of our field representatives: "This county presents a problem. It would be useless to go into blank county for the purpose of a general county organization, due to the fact that the county is

chiefly concerned with its fight against socialism. This county is the second largest socialistic stronghold in the State." Not being daunted by any such specter, Mr. Special Representative picked out the live wire of the community and commenced operations. This local leader, according to his own statement, had been waiting for somebody to tell him what to do and how to do it, for he was eager to assist in raising funds for the Republican national committee. His first inspiration was that he himself should give the maximum amount of a subscription, \$1,000, and accordingly he proceeded immediately to make out his check for the amount. Then he laid aside the affairs incident to his private business to thus allow himself full freedom to carry out his self-imposed task of raising the balance of \$6,000, the amount of the quota assigned to his home county. This he promised to do completely and thoroughly, without any assistance from the national ways and means committee representatives.

The point; the lesson? It's the old story of "Acres of diamonds." In your own city, in your own county, in your own State, are all the latent possibilities as discovered in the isolated county, in the rural State, in which originated the incident in this little story.

HENRY E. OWEN.

THE CHICAGO CAMPAIGN.

Chairman Will H. Hays was the headliner at a meeting of more than 200 volunteer workers in the Chicago financial campaign (Union League Club, Thursday, Aug 12.), and brought his hearers to their feet many times with his pointed and brilliant remarks. He made the victory of Harding and Coolidge seem more than ever a national necessity.

This meeting was the largest so far held in the Chicago campaign and bristled with enthusiasm, although the day was one of the hottest of the year, and in spite of the fact that some of those present were the busiest men in Chicago.

Chairman Hays's principal point was that, in addition to the raising of a national campaign fund, the work which the volunteers were engaged in promised a higher degree of "peace patriotism." He was very complimentary in his remarks as to the personnel of the Chicago organization.

Chicago's campaign is to be conducted by four full-time divisions and a fifth reserve division, which will swing into action for the last three days of the public movement functioning as a mop-up battalion.

Those present at Thursday's meeting were principally captains and lieutenants from Divisions C and D. The general executive committee and team captains of the senior divisions, A and B, also were present.

Reports were received from Chairman George A. Paddock and Chairman Robert McCormick Adams, of Divisions C and D, respectively, and it early developed that there is to be an intense and enthusiastic rivalry between these two representative groups of younger men.

Another interesting feature of the meeting was an address by Mrs. John T. Pratt, vice chairman of the national ways and means committee.

Organization work will continue at full speed during the ensuing days and weeks in Chicago. Before another issue of the Bulletin every division and team is expected to be complete. The following schedule of meetings for the week ending August 21 is an intimation, at least, of the pressure being applied to the Chicago campaign:

Monday—Meeting of Division C chairman and captains.

Tuesday—Meeting of Division B chairman and captains. Meeting of Division E chairman and captains.

Wednesday—General meeting of entire volunteer organization which will probably total on that day 400 men.

Thursday—Meeting of Division D chairman and captains.

Friday—Meeting of Division E vice chairmen and ward captains.

INSPIRING GROUP MEETINGS.

A business man of experience who has been addressing a number of the group meetings brought together by our men in the field, has reported to headquarters that the men who attend such meetings are generally quite alert

relative to the need of a changed party control, but that they wish information as to why they themselves should participate in the effort to change that party control.

The result, therefore, of these group meetings, in various parts of the United States under the influence of the treasurer's office, is that the men are becoming permeated with the thought of a Republican victory through their own local efforts. This is propaganda of the best kind, for it is bringing party affairs close to the "man in the street."

The gentleman referred to above in none of his speeches has denounced the Democratic Party. He finds that the old-fashioned way of calling names and using up strings of words which hold the opposing party up to ridicule has no place in the mind of the business men whom it has been his privilege to meet.

He has furnished to headquarters an outline of what he usually presents to such groups of men, and it is included here merely as a suggestion for those of our men in the field who are themselves faced by the necessity of addressing a group on the political situation of the moment:

1. The business man's place in politics:
 - (a) For performance of his duty to the Nation.
 - (b) For his own protection against dangerous attacks on our Constitution.
2. The existence of two political parties as national safeguards.
3. The value of campaigns.
 - (a) For the education of the public mind.
 - (b) For the victory of the party.
4. Close-ups:
 - (a) Of Harding.
 - (b) Of Coolidge.
 - (c) Of Wilson's principles abroad and at home and of waste in expenditures.
 - (d) Of the Bolshevik danger.
5. Explanation of business men's interests in restoring normal conditions.
6. The experience of the Republican Party since 1860 as a guaranty of safer government for the next four years.
7. The need of funds for nation-wide publicity.
8. The call to service in raising funds.

Our Government depends on the governed, instead of ruling them from above. The permanency of such a representative government is worthy of the best of men's efforts.

The American people shall not draw a blank check for the world's quarreling nations to fill in to our damage.

FLASHES FROM THE FIELD.

Ohio.—Stark County has completed quota. Cleveland, wire from director as follows: "Every indication Cleveland will do full share. Important influential leaders are definitely pledged to task. Perfecting organization for campaign week September 16. Cincinnati business men have underwritten quota to be delivered by September 1. Steubenville has nearly completed its quota. Toledo with committee of leading business men actively soliciting to complete quota by August 15.

Massachusetts.—The little city of Fitchburg, Mass., together with surrounding industrial territory, has produced in the past two weeks, through the general subscription plan, \$31,000. Western Massachusetts counties are in the midst of an intensive campaign. Metropolitan Boston is being very thoroughly organized under the direction of Chairman Chas. F. Weed, through financial campaign with popular features. Campaign will be concluded by August 15.

Coast.—In the Pacific States, Regional Chairman Albert Lindley has just been making a trip around the circle and he reports most flattering conditions. At luncheon in Seattle on Tuesday, where he was the guest of honor, \$10,000 was subscribed at the table and the balance of the State's quota will be in the hands of Treasurer Upham prior to September 1.

Maine.—The Pine Tree State has made a record of which she can be truly proud. In the past practically no subscriptions to the national committee fund were ever received from this State. Starting July 18, the first organization of the State ways and means committee was perfected and on August 15 the quota had been oversubscribed \$5,000.

Tennessee.—Chattanooga oversubscribed its quota this week and the balance of the Tennessee cities, through small groups of business men who are determined that a business administration is essential for the future welfare of the country, are being carefully canvassed.

Wisconsin.—This State has every day since adjournment of convention recorded itself on the cash register at headquarters with substantial sums. Milwaukee organization moving forward with big men behind it.

Indiana.—Twelfth Congressional district with large quotas assigned. Campaign large subscriptions practically completed. Full district quota will be reported by August 25.

Michigan.—Campaign in Pontiac, Saginaw, Alma, Bay City, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, Grand Rapids, and Grand Haven started during past week. Forty counties in Michigan now campaigning.

Colorado.—C. C. Hamlin, State chairman, reports northern counties in Colorado have practically raised their quotas. He guarantees the State quota by September 1.

California.—Southern California is swinging along in splendid shape and will produce its quota prior to September 1. The Harding and Coolidge Club, recently organized in San Francisco, has guaranteed \$100,000 to the fund.

Florida.—Subscriptions have been coming in to Treasurer Upham's office from all parts of Florida, showing a deep interest in the Republican campaign.

Arizona.—A number of influential Democratic business men in Arizona have during the week subscribed to the Republican fund.

New Hampshire.—Money being sent every day to Eastern Treasurer. Chairman hopes to complete entire State's quota by this week.

Alabama.—Campaign has started in Birmingham with key business men actively at work.

Arizona.—Tucson and Phoenix are driving complete campaign this week.

Illinois.—Will and Boone Counties have practically completed quotas.

South Dakota.—Mitchell has completed quota.

"He judged that the task to which the Almighty had appointed him was not to put the whole world right, but to keep his own country safe." [Oliver's "Alexander Hamilton."]

A representative government endures only so long as all groups of society express through it their convictions on public questions.

If enough of us get busy enough with enough people it will be easy enough to raise enough money.

UPHAM EXHIBIT 11.

No. 6.

AUGUST 25, 1920.

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

[Treasurer's office, Republican national committee. Fred W. Upham, treasurer, 353 Conway Building, Chicago; James G. Blaine, jr., eastern treasurer, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.]

THE MARATHON (TO THE MEN IN THE FIELD).

This is the last mile of the Marathon. Of course all the men who entered under the patronage of Upham will finish, but who'll finish first? A let down in the last mile means a fall down. The records of the race will be permanent—more permanent for the runner than for anybody else. Personal pride is sensitive.

A decrying cry from some whangdoodle in a bush alongside the road, a diverting hiss from the grass, a stumbling stone cast in the way by forces leagued against us—all these you will have to anticipate.

It's mind over muscle. Look straight to the finish, think straight to the finish, and you'll finish. From the boxes in the grandstand at the goal will come neither accusing cries nor loud laudations. In the heart of each runner will rest his reward and in the soul of a restless nation.

The goal is at the end of the last mile.

KNOWLEDGE IS SALESMANSHIP.

What we know depends upon nothing so much as upon what we read. The nearer we approach the presidential election, the more conscious of their suffrage rights will the voters become, and in choosing their course the more intense will be their discussion of the merits of candidates and platforms.

The point is that it is more important now than at any other stage of our campaign for funds, that representatives of the treasurer's office be thoroughly posted as to the contents of the party platform and the speeches of acceptance made by the candidates. Also the utterances of the candidates and party leaders as quoted in the daily papers and in other publications should be read and analyzed for equipment with which to deal with views opposing the success of the Republican program.

This advice is given not because the field representatives of the treasurer's office are sent out primarily as political missionaries, but because they should be ready to meet intelligently and quickly all expressions of sentiment unfavorable to our interests.

News articles and editorials in our important daily newspapers, special articles in other periodicals, and reviews of such matter are primarily the source of information and conviction, and the more extensively our representatives read in this field the better they will be equipped as salesmen of political truth.

Knowledge is salesmanship.

HARRY M. BLAIR.

SURE!

The following is an extract from a letter received at headquarters from one of our State ways and means chairmen:

"For myself, I think this ways and means committee is undoubtedly doing the greatest missionary stunt ever pulled off in America. It is different from the old line of stuff; it is new; the people like it when it is explained properly."

LINCOLN.

"Hopeful, moderate, steadfast, he never for an instant forgot that he was the pilot and not the ship."

INSTANTANEOUS EXPOSURES.

Let Cox crow now; the ax falls November 2.

Who's who in America is more important now than what's what in Europe.

The elephant and the donkey agree about one thing: No two birds were ever as much interested in each other as the American eagle and the Ohio stork.

If this country is worth calling home, it's worth keeping in order, and every vote for Harding is a new broom for the job.

The ammunition of to-day's patriotism is ballots, not bullets.

The reason a lot of Republicans haven't gotten receipts for subscriptions to the campaign fund is that they haven't subscribed yet.

On the theory that charity begins at home, let's start in next March and for four years pay Senator Harding's rent in Washington.

The time is short and so are we.

You and the rest of us can do it. The rest of us can't.

HARDING HIGH SPOTS.

Elsewhere in this issue the men in the field are advised to read where they will be likely to profit. We have just finished rereading Senator Harding's speech of acceptance and beg to submit the following quotations from it as ways and means campaign material:

"Let me be understood clearly from the very beginning. I believe in party sponsorship in government. I believe in party government as distinguished from personal government, individual, dictatorial, autocratic, or what not. In a citizenship of more than a hundred millions it is impossible to reach agreement upon all questions. Parties are formed by those who reach a consensus of opinion. It was the intent of the founding fathers to give to this Republic a dependable and enduring popular government, representative in form, and it was designed to make political parties, not only the preserving sponsors but the effective agencies through which hopes and aspirations and convictions and conscience may be translated into public performance.

"The Republicans of the Senate halted the barter of independent American eminence and influence which it was proposed to exchange for an obscure and unequal place in the merged government of the world. Our party means to hold the heritage of American nationality unimpaired and unsundered.

"Heeding this call and knowing as I do the disposition of Congress, I promise you formal and effective peace so quickly as a Republican Congress can pass its declaration for a Republican executive to sign. Then we may turn to our readjustment at home and proceed deliberately and reflectively to that hoped-for world relationship which shall satisfy both conscience and aspirations and still hold us free from menacing involvement.

"I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the Republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission.

"A Republican administration will be committed to renewed regard for agriculture, and seek the participation of farmers in curing the ills justly complained of, and aim to place the American farm where it ought to be—highly ranked in American activities and fully sharing the highest good fortunes of American life.

"I believe this Government should make its Liberty and Victory bonds worth all that its patriotic citizens paid in purchasing them."

 TRANSFORMED PATRIOTISM.

As an illustration of the kind of service needed from prominent business men in their own localities, it is encouraging to note that Mr. Charles Piez, chairman of the executive committee of the Chicago ways and means campaign, has established an office at the Chicago campaign headquarters.

When shipping conditions during the war were at their worst, Mr. Piez answered the Government's call to serve in connection with the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and by those who kept in touch with the activities of the man behind the man behind the gun, Mr. Piez will be remembered as one of the conspicuously outstanding influences during those days of stress.

Immediately upon his selection as chairman of the executive committee of the Chicago campaign, the whip began to crack. Mr. Piez's straight thinking, keen analytical ability and inspiring energy have already gone far in the promise of a plus quota result in Chicago. His direct, scintillating remarks have easily been among the high spots of Chicago conference meetings, at which Chairman Hays and other foremost leaders have spoken.

Mr. Piez's unselfish decision to devote his personal attention daily to the supervision of the Chicago campaign is a case of continued, transformed patriotism.

The same spirit is shown by the following men prominent in Chicago's business activities, for whom office facilities have been provided at local headquarters:

Ivan O. Ackley, vice chairman of executive committee, commanding Divisions C, D, and E; Harry H. Merrick, chairman, Division A; Elmer Stevens, chair-

man, Division B; George A. Paddock, chairman, Division C; Robert McCormick Adams, chairman, Division D; Robert W. Dunn, chairman, Division E; Edward J. Green, chairman, Division F.

AS TO SLOGANS.

Political slogans these days are somewhat of an epidemic. Newspapers are offering prizes for the best submitted by their readers, and the managements of the two major parties are of course taking the matter seriously enough to put into service epigrammatic, or otherwise clever, sentences calculated to convey serious thought and at the same time to catch the popular mind.

The other day in the office of the editor of the Bulletin, two members of headquarters' staff collaborated on a slogan with the following result: It has been printed before, but we take the liberty of drawing a map of it here, even though it may not be put to any particular use. This slogan is, "To restore for all the safeguards of government."

The restoration of the Republican party for the administration of national affairs, a change of administration at Washington, is probably the one big popular thought in Republican circles. The next thought is that this will affect all the people—capital, labor, and that great average class between these two. To safeguard the interests of industry, commerce, agriculture, and society by stabilizing conditions through the proper application of governmental prerogatives is the hope of all those who will carry a Republican ballot to the polls in November.

DOWN TO BUSINESS.

Cary Fritsche, our campaign director in Michigan, sends in some good stories from that State. Here is one of them contained in a letter of August 20 to Divisional Director Henry E. Owen:

"On Wednesday night a meeting of 100 citizens of Ionia County was held in Ionia, Mich. An address was made by Congressman J. W. Fordney. John D. Owen, our field representative, then explained the plan for raising the campaign fund through popular subscription. Immediately following his talk Mr. Martin N. Brady got up and said, 'Gentlemen, we who are present will have to pay this money if it is raised, so why waste your time or mine by postponing action? Let's raise it here to-night. I can't give as much as some present, but hereby pledge \$100, which is the limit of my ability.' Immediately another citizen got up and said, 'I'll give \$250.' Within 20 minutes time the entire quota of \$3,000 was pledged."

FLASHES FROM THE FIELD.

Arizona—The source of supply of the enormous Republican campaign slush fund is indicated by a wire from Campaign Director Weigel of Arizona, stating that he has received a subscription \$10 from a cousin of Jimmie Cox.

Florida—Our Florida quota has been raised and our field representatives have been withdrawn.

California—Regional Chairman Albert Lindley of San Francisco, visited headquarters this week. Mr. Lindley has just completed a trip over the western mountain and coast States and reports that this territory gives assurance of satisfactory returns.

Illinois—In addition to progress in preparing for Chicago's big intensive drive, the rest of the State shows encouraging activities. Actual money results are being reported daily from county and smaller city organizations.

Iowa—Progress in Iowa is enlivened by the zeal with which State Chairman McNider is personally going after \$1,000 subscriptions.

Maine—To repeat, Maine has oversubscribed by \$5,000, the quota assigned her, and our activities there have ceased.

Massachusetts—The intensive campaign for metropolitan Boston continues to produce. The Worcester campaign is under way.

Michigan—Detroit headquarters wires: "Our train arriving Marion, Saturday, September 11th, 4 p. m. central standard time, leaving Marion 6.30 p. m. for Detroit. Expect at least 300 to go including Dodge Bros. band of 60 pieces."

A number of the smaller cities of Michigan are now in the midst of determined efforts to produce.

Montana rings up a substantial contribution.

Ohio—That man, John Kelley, keeps on sending in money from Ohio. We haven't time to add it up right now.

South Dakota—That things have been busy in South Dakota is indicated by the fact that they have approximately completed their quota.

Tennessee—Real money in satisfactory amounts has been received from a number of the larger cities of Tennessee.

Texas—The full quota for Texas has been raised and our representatives have been withdrawn.

Wisconsin—Lunch conference of business leaders of Milwaukee planned for Wednesday, the 25th, will be addressed by Charles W. Folds, of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Who gets up these bulletins?

Mr. UPHAM. They are gotten up by—I think the man's name is Quarles who prepares the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are these bulletins sent to?

Mr. UPHAM. They are sent to all the—I think to the national committeemen and the State chairmen and the finance department in each State—that is, the finance chairmen, men or women—and to any list that they furnish us with, of workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they secret?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they secret bulletins?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, isn't there something in one of these bulletins used by Gov. Cox to the effect of not to make public names of contributors?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; locally.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. UPHAM. Locally.

The CHAIRMAN. Locally?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. In one city, for instance, they took the list of the contributors in that city and gave it to the press, and a lot of people objected to seeing their names in print.

The CHAIRMAN. What bulletin is that contained in?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know, but there is one bulletin that has that; it is August the 10th.

The CHAIRMAN. August the 10th?

Mr. UPHAM. Mr. Hays says the 16th. That would mean not to give them to the press, because there was objection by these people.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was the bulletin of August 16 sent around generally?

Mr. UPHAM. The same as the others.

The CHAIRMAN. The same as the others?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; there was no difference in its distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the bulletin in which the articles by Mr. Blair on "Get the money" occurs?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know. You have it there. I don't know the date.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. But I am trying to find that caution as to publicity that is here.

Mr. HAYS. That is the bulletin of August 16, the first column that I read yesterday. August 16, first column.

The CHAIRMAN. "During the earlier part of the work done by the treasurer's office," quoting from this bulletin, "every representative of the treasurer's office was warned against any attempt to secure local publicity. This was essential at a time when our campaign was developing. Now, however, the more local publicity that every field man can secure for the campaign, the better, with one exception, that the names and amount subscribed by donors should not be made public locally."

Mr. UPHAM. That is, given to the press.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the matter you understand that Governor Cox referred to?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; not to be given to the press. But he didn't give it all.

The CHAIRMAN. But he didn't give the entire instruction?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

The CHAIRMAN. "Any publicity that reflects personally upon our opponents is bad publicity." Do you remember that statement?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't write them.

The CHAIRMAN. It is signed by you.

Mr. UPHAM. Oh, is this statement signed by me?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know that I wrote that. I am not sure until I look at it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it like some Congressmen's speeches?

Mr. UPHAM. This is a salesman's bulletin.

The CHAIRMAN. A salesman's bulletin?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Presented to you, I suppose——

Mr. UPHAM. It might be what we used to call "bull."

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose the article was prepared and presented to you, and it looked good, and you signed it?

Mr. UPHAM. That is probably the fact. I don't think I wrote it. Will you read the last paragraph of my article?

The CHAIRMAN. I will read all of your article, so that you can be familiar with what you have written.

We are in a campaign to raise a fund in a businesslike way among the producing forces of the United States and for that fund or its method of raising no apology is due.

Our opponents, however, for reasons of their own, continually exaggerate the total which we are seeking and are busy creating an impression of an enormous "slush fund."

Less money will be raised for this campaign than in any since the days of McKinley, when you take into consideration that a dollar now will buy less than one-half what it did four years ago. It is because of the wild statements of our opponents that this authority is now given to the men in the field to aim for correct publicity; since it is possible by means of the small amounts sought in each community to show that the campaign of general subscription as originally initiated by Will H. Hays and carried through by the treasurer's office is actually approaching completion along the lines laid down.

Did Mr. Hays write that article?

Mr. UPHAM. I know about that article. That article was taken from an interview that I gave to the Ohio State Journal in Columbus when I was there. A reporter came to me and I gave him that interview.

Senator REED. Is that the article that contains the statement about the local subscriptions?

Mr. UPHAM. I think my man made it up from my interview. He thought it was too good not to print.

The CHAIRMAN. What I was getting at is this: Were these secret instructions to the business men of the country to raise money from the business interests?

Mr. UPHAM. Were there such instructions, did you say?

The CHAIRMAN. Were these intended as such instructions?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there any such instructions?

Mr. UPHAM. No. No, sir.

Senator REED. What did you mean by "funds from producing interests of the country"?

Mr. HAYS. Producing forces.

Senator REED. No; he said producing interests.

Mr. HAYS. Producing forces.

The CHAIRMAN. He said producing forces. Well, the agricultural forces are as much producing forces as any other forces.

Mr. UPHAM. And when you look at our list of candidates and subscriptions you will see how they are producing for this.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any attempt, Mr. Upham, being made to raise money among what might be termed the special interests of the country who desire special legislation in Congress?

Mr. UPHAM. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any attempt being made to raise money among those who benefit particularly by a protectice tariff?

Mr. UPHAM. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you attempting to raise any large sums from banking interests in the country?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any effort being made to conduct a campaign so as to control the Federal reserve banks, as has been referred to?

Mr. UPHAM. I have not heard of any such.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any effort to raise money from interests who desire to put down labor disputes with the bayonet, as has been charged?

Mr. UPHAM. None whatever.

Senator REED. Have you inquired the price of bayonets?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; they are very cheap.

Senator EDGE. Has any one agreed at all, Mr. Upham, to your knowledge, to underwrite any additional sum of any character beyond that which is directly contributed?

Mr. UPHAM. Not a dollar, to my knowledge.

Senator EDGE. Have you any knowledge of any underwriting?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; absolutely not.

Senator EDGE. Or any promise to underwrite deficits, or anything of that kind?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir, I don't know of any.

Senator EDGE. Well, you would know, wouldn't you, as treasurer of the committee?

Mr. UPHAM. I should think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been charged with trying to raise money from the profiteers so as to continue the success of the profiteers. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not. I know what the law——.

The CHAIRMAN. It would be pretty hard to raise money without hitting a profiteer somewhere, I suppose. You have seen these charges that have been made, that have been placed in this record?

Mr. UPHAM. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. That millions had been contributed, for instance, to the campaign fund of the Republican Party with sinister intent. Do you know of any such thing?

Mr. UPHAM. I know of \$800,000 that has been contributed.

The CHAIRMAN. Again: "Checks books are ready and open, and hundreds of thousands—yes, millions—have gone into the Republican treasury to buy an underhold on the Government."

Mr. UPHAM. It must be some other treasurer that I have not heard of.

The CHAIRMAN. "They are raising millions and millions of dollars in a campaign fund." I suppose you are anxious——.

Mr. UPHAM. I made a statement under oath of what we are doing.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in business how many years in Chicago?

Mr. UPHAM. I came here in 1894, in December.

The CHAIRMAN. 1894?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever held any executive office, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. UPHAM. I was first an alderman; then I was a member of the Cook County board of review for 14 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any real attempt being made by the Republican national committee or other Republican committees to corrupt the electorate?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Upham, in the collection of this money with your limitation of \$1,000 for the contributors, has there been any attempt to give a larger amount under fictitious names, or the names of employees or others to cover up a larger subscription than \$1,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Not to my knowledge in a single instance. Not one.

Senator SPENCER. Has there been any attempt to provide for such a course, or has there been an attempt to stop such a course?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely not that I know of. No one has tried it.

Senator SPENCER. Have you detected any effort in looking over the accounts?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. In other words, the plan to limit to \$1,000 is the sincere, honest purpose of the committee as far as they can carry it out?

Mr. UPHAM. It is.

Senator SPENCER. Could you tell me, Mr. Upham, with any degree of accuracy, what proportion of the money had been raised from

New York? It has been charged that a very large proportion has been raised there.

Mr. UPHAM. It shows there; your statement there shows how much there is from New York.

Senator SPENCER. That would be \$225,000, I see, in your statement.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir, up to Thursday.

Senator SPENCER. That would be about 20 per cent of the amount that has actually been raised?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any information as to the number of contributors from the State of New York, as compared, for example, with the States of Kansas or Missouri?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, our records show it. You can see the statement of the number of pledgers; that shows the number of subscriptions from any State.

Senator SPENCER. Yes, it does. Now what are the number of pledgers from New York?

Mr. UPHAM. These are only unpaid pledges.

Senator SPENCER. These are only unpaid pledges?

Mr. UPHAM. Eighty-one unpaid pledges.

Senator SPENCER. From New York?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator SPENCER. How many from Missouri or from Kansas?

Mr. UPHAM. Missouri, there are 31; from Kansas, 205.

Senator SPENCER. There would be nothing there to indicate the relative proportion of contributors or subscriptions from those three States, would there?

Mr. UPHAM. That is, the number of subscribers; no.

Senator SPENCER. That is all.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Upham, just to recapitulate for a moment. Your balance sheet shows that you have collected, in round figures, about a million dollars in two and a fraction months; that is correct, isn't it? And with pledges of \$291,000 yet to be collected?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. You have approximately two months remaining to secure the amount of your budgets, which would require, in other words, in round figures, another \$2,000,000.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. Can you give us any idea of how these collections are coming in, understanding, as I do, that your method of collection, your only method of collection, is through this organization you have described, or that your chairman has described—how your collections are coming in now?

Mr. UPHAM. The collections yesterday, I saw by the statement on my desk this morning, were a little over \$15,000.

Senator EDGE. A little over \$15,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. The day before I think they were \$26,000. That is, country-wide.

Senator EDGE. On the basis of striking an average of \$20,000 in 60 days, unless the average is increased, you would receive approximately a million and a quarter, wouldn't you?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; but a great many people are away from home at this time.

Senator EDGE. You expect to reach the full amount of your budget don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. We do, yes; that is our job.

Senator EDGE. I would like to get another thing cleared up. I have read in the press several times in connection with these charges a statement made, I think on Friday, and again on Saturday, if I am not mistaken, by Gov. Cox, that the budget as prepared, and as submitted and sworn to by the chairman of \$3,000,000, showed a difference between that figure and a figure that you had spoken of, or made public mention of in some way, of approximately \$8,000,000.

Mr. UPHAM. I never made the——

Senator EDGE. Just a moment. And without further explanation the suggestion is made, naturally, that that would show a difference of \$5,000,000 between the budget of the chairman and an approximate figure that you are alleged to have referred to. Now, won't you explain to this committee if you made any such statement, or just what the \$8,000,000 did embody, what it referred to?

Mr. UPHAM. I never made—I saw an alleged interview in a New York paper, perhaps that is what you referred to. I made no statement as to any amount.

Senator REED. Let us get that a little plainer. I would like to see that interview, and know what interview it referred to.

Senator EDGE. I didn't hear your answer, Mr. Upham.

Mr. UPHAM. I saw an interview in a New York paper; that is, a statement as coming from me, that the \$15,000,000 that Gov. Cox talked about would more than double anything we had ever expected to raise. That is the statement that I saw. I have never made such a statement. From that this reporter evidently gathered, or did, that half of 15 was 7, and that we had desired to raise \$7,000,000.

Senator REED. What paper was that in?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know.

Senator EDGE. When you made that suggestion, were you referring to half as a budget, or as a sum to raise, or as a quota?

Mr. UPHAM. I was not interviewed on it.

Senator EDGE. Well, then, it is incorrect as presented by it?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely. Absolutely there is nothing to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pomerene?

Senator POMERENE. Senator Reed.

Senator REED. Have you made any requests or arrangements with the chairman of the State committee, or the national committeemen from States, as to the amount of money their States are expected to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. In discussing with the State chairman the amount he thought would be necessary for the State, we have always figured that in connection with what we thought the State ought to do, and then put the figure about double what they thought they would get.

Senator REED. Yes. Let us get at it in another way. Give us the list of the States where you have made arrangements for the funds to be collected by one common source, to wit, the representatives of the national committee and the State organization.

Mr. UPHAM. I can do that.

Senator REED. I wish you would do that now.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I haven't such a list prepared. I can prepare it at my office.

Senator REED. How long will it take to prepare it?

Mr. UPHAM. I think it could be done inside of an hour.

Senator REED. Would you remember many of them now as we go along, without waiting to get the list at this moment?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Could you remember the amounts that have been assigned to each State to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. You asked for any particular State?

Senator REED. First, I ask if you could give me a complete list of the States with which the arrangement has been made for a joint collection of funds.

Mr. UPHAM. No; that I would have to figure out.

Senator REED. Well, can you give me any considerable number of States from memory?

Mr. UPHAM. Why, New York State.

Senator REED. Well, can you give me any considerable number?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't remember; I would have to look that up.

Senator REED. You would have to look that up?

Mr. UPHAM. In Illinois, as I remember it, it was——

Senator REED. I don't want to chop it up, Mr. Upham. If you will be able to give me a considerable number I will be willing to have it, but if you have to take up time, digging it out of your memory, it will only complicate the matter.

Mr. UPHAM. The figures are available. I can get them.

Senator REED. Have you in your office data from which you can ascertain and present here the amount that has been assigned to each State to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, the amount discussed originally: yes.

Senator REED. Well, as a matter of fact, is it not true that in preparing to raise this campaign fund you figured out and allocated to the different—you distributed the amounts to be raised among the different States in proportion to what you thought they could raise, or ought to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, our quota was based on our hope that 50 per cent of it might be realized.

Senator REED. Very well. That is not my question. Did you prepare some sort of statement or estimate as to the amount of money you were going to ask each State to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. I did.

Senator REED. Where is that statement?

Mr. UPHAM. In my office.

Senator REED. I would like to have it. How long would it take you to get it, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. I could get it within an hour.

Senator REED. Right away?

Mr. UPHAM. Within an hour.

Senator REED. I want to say to the committee that I want to pursue this line of examination at length.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you not send and get that statement?

Senator REED. I don't want to take up anything else until I am through with that.

Mr. UPHAM. I could get it during the recess.

Senator REED. I would like to have that statement. I would like to have the papers showing the items making up each of these aggregate sums which have been set aside, for instance, for advertising, or publicity, so much, and for speakers, so much, and so on. I want to get the items making up that list. I want your billboard——

Mr. UPHAM. Do you mean to say that you want me to bring in here all the vouchers, and all the expenses?

Senator REED. I didn't say that.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, what do you mean? I haven't got the vouchers separate.

Senator REED. I didn't say that. Just notice my question.

Mr. UPHAM. I didn't understand your question.

The CHAIRMAN. You had better write down what Senator Reed wants.

Senator REED. It is quite different. You have in your estimates here or expenses allocated your moneys to different purposes, have you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. One of them is speakers' bureau. Now, I assume that when the speakers' bureau made up its total and submitted it that that total was arrived at by giving items—so much for traveling, so much for hotels, so much for halls, etc. Now I want to get at those items. I don't care who did it. I want those papers. I want to examine you from them, and if you haven't got them I want the committee to bring them.

Mr. UPHAM. I am not the right man to examine on them. I don't know anything about them.

Senator REED. You may be the very proper man to ask about that. I want to be the final judge about that. We have asked for these papers and documents, gentlemen, and we want them, and I can not proceed with this witness without them; that is, in an orderly fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Upham, you take down what Senator Reed asks for, will you?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; I understand perfectly what he wants.

The CHAIRMAN. And if you have them yourself bring them here, and if you have not can you not tell us who can get them or bring them to us?

Mr. HAYS. May I interrupt. He asked me about this. Senator Reed first wants you to get from your office the original, or probably a year-and-a-half-ago-suggested, quota by States.

Mr. UPHAM. That we can get.

Mr. HAYS. Yes; you can get that.

Mr. UPHAM. I can get that.

Mr. HAYS. Now, the other thing he wants is items covered by the budget in detail.

Senator REED. Just let me say what I want.

The CHAIRMAN. Write down what he says, and let us be done with it.

Mr. HAYS. He wants items covered by the budget in detail.

Senator REED. I want every paper, book, or document that shows an allocation to different States or cities of moneys expected to be requested, or which were requested by the national committee, or any of its officers or agents. That is the first thing I want.

I want a complete statement of the States with which arrangements have been made for a joint collection of funds, and the amount of funds which has been assigned to each State to be raised, and that to include communities or cities, if the cities or communities are in any way segregated from the States in making up the estimates.

I want the items which constitute the basis for the aggregate that has been allocated to any particular purpose, as, for instance, to speakers' bureaus or to advertisements. I want your contract for billboard advertising.

I want to know the amount of money that has been set aside for advertising in foreign newspapers, either directly with the newspapers or through any advertising agency.

I want accurate information as to the speakers who are being paid, or who are to be paid, and the sums to be paid each of them.

Those are the things I want before I start.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to examine him on any other question?

Senator REED. Not now, because it would simply break in on the course of my examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pomerene.

Senator POMERENE. Why not now. I will have some later. I will have some letters that I want to inquire about later.

Senator REED. I will ask you one question. You have been borrowing money. Who did you borrow it from?

Mr. UPHAM. Liberty National Bank of New York, \$125,000; First National Bank of Boston, \$50,000; Continental and Commercial National Bank of Chicago, \$50,000; State National Bank of New York, \$75,000; Crocker National Bank of San Francisco, \$25,000; Fred W. Upham, \$10,000; Walter S. Dickey, \$25,000.

Senator REED. Who signed the notes?

Mr. UPHAM. I did, as treasurer of the national committee.

Senator REED. Anybody else?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. So that the only real security back of these notes is the committee obligation, if it is good. It is not your personal obligation? And did the committee meet and authorize you to do this?

Mr. UPHAM. It did.

Senator REED. By vote?

Mr. UPHAM. The finance committee; yes.

Senator REED. The finance committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Authorized me to make loans.

Senator REED. The finance committee is composed of how many people?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know.

Senator REED. The national committee did not meet and authorize it, did they?

Mr. UPHAM. There was a resolution authorizing me to borrow.

Senator REED. Well, was it passed by the national committee, or by the finance committee?

Mr. UPHAM. By the—I don't know whether it was the executive committee or the finance; the executive committee.

Senator REED. The executive committee. Now, how many men are there on the executive committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Chairman Hays can tell you better than I can on that, because I don't know.

Senator REED. But you did not sign as the chairman or the treasurer of the executive committee; you signed it as the treasurer of the national committee, didn't you?

Mr. UPHAM. But I was authorized to do so by the national committee.

Senator REED. Now, by the national committee, do you mean, or were you authorized to do it by the finance committee?

Mr. UPHAM. By the officers of the finance committee.

Senator REED. By the officers of the finance committee; you know the officers of the finance committee have no power to create an obligation upon a member to pay a loan, don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, the executive committee of any business institution that I have ever been connected with has the say so, and the executive committee had the say so in this instance. When I make a loan, a bank loan from a bank in Chicago, for my company, and my executive committee authorized it——

Senator REED. Oh, yes.

Mr. UPHAM (continuing). The bank is satisfied that I have the right to do it.

Senator REED. That is a corporation you are dealing with.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And you have got by-laws and minutes and statute laws giving authority to the corporate officers. But what I am trying to get at is this, whether this is in fact an obligation of the national committee in such a sense that the members of the national committee can be sued and the money collected, and I take it from you that there was no resolution passed by the national committee, but that some of the officers of the national committee told you to go and get the money?

Mr. UPHAM. That is, the executive committee. There was a committee vote on it.

Senator REED. Yes. Now the executive committee is composed of what? Who are the members?

Mr. UPHAM. The chairman can give you the names of them. I don't know the names.

Senator REED. Who are they, Mr. Hays?

Mr. HAYS. About twenty-one men and women.

Senator REED. Are they all members of the national committee?

Mr. HAYS. No, the women are not, you know, but the majority are.

Senator REED. So that you had this authority from what you called an executive committee, which is composed partly of members of the national committee, and partly of those outside of the national committee, and then the obligation is signed by Mr. Upham as treasurer of the national committee.

You don't think that makes a legal obligation of the committee, do you, or the individual members?

Mr. UPHAM. I am not a——

Senator REED. Well, perhaps it is immaterial. I don't want to ask you further.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham, will you be here at 2 o'clock?

Mr. UPHAM. Any time you tell me to.

The CHAIRMAN. Be here at 2 o'clock with this information.

Mr. UPHAM. Any time you tell me to.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee is not adjourning at this time. It is going ahead with another witness. If you want to pass out, you may pass out. Dr. Fess.

TESTIMONY OF HON. S. D. FESS.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name to the reporter.

Mr. FESS. S. D. Fess.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fess, you are a Member of Congress from the State of Ohio?

Mr. FESS. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. And chairman of the Republican congressional committee?

Mr. FESS. National Republican congressional committee.

The CHAIRMAN. National Republican congressional committee. I don't know that there is very much you can add, but there are a few things we want to ask you about. You have heard the testimony as to the amount of money allocated to the congressional committee by the national committee.

Mr. FESS. I did. Yes; I heard that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct, is it—\$500,000?

Mr. FESS. \$400,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$400,000?

Mr. FESS. To be used for the campaign; \$100,000 to be paid in \$50,000 payments, in two payments, as a hold over for emergencies that might come after this election.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let us get that. \$500,000 is right?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But \$400,000 to be used?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And \$100,000 to be hold over?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Held over until after the election, is that it?

Mr. FESS. Yes; our committee is a perpetual committee, always working, because there are emergency cases arising and special elections.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members are there in the congressional committee?

Mr. FESS. There are 36 of them. It is one member from each State, that has either a Republican Member in Congress or a Republican Member in the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the general purpose and function of your committee?

Mr. FESS. Our committee is specifically for the purpose of publicity matters and educational and organizational lines, to take care of elections in special districts where during an interim, say between this election and the next one, there might be a vacancy occurring by death. Our committee, consequently, must have some funds to bridge over emergencies that might arise in that way. Our committee supports a pretty large organization, with headquarters in Washington. We have an executive secretary, and a force of stenographers. Also

a fairly good equipment in automatic typewriters, and that force is working all the time along publicity lines.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people have you employed?

Mr. FESS. Seven or eight.

The CHAIRMAN. Seven or eight?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of these typewriters, electric typewriters, have you?

Mr. FESS. We have 16. No; 12 is all we have.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your office in Washington?

Mr. FESS. On the seventh floor of the Riggs Building.

The CHAIRMAN. How many rooms have you?

Mr. FESS. Nine.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the expenses of that office?

Mr. FESS. Something like \$400 a month.

The CHAIRMAN. \$400 a month?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that include the rent?

Mr. FESS. Yes. Oh, if you mean overhead expenses, it is much more than that. The rent is \$400.

The CHAIRMAN. The rent is more than that?

Mr. FESS. Yes; the rent will amount to \$400 a month. The overhead expenses, the books will show that. I haven't those details.

The CHAIRMAN. You have your headquarters in a building where you rent the rooms and carry on your work there?

Mr. FESS. Yes; we have control of that part of the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee?

Mr. FESS. I think until recently they were in the Woodward Building. I think they are now in the Munsey Building. I am not sure about the Democratic headquarters, though. They used to be in the Woodward Building.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know about that. Can you give us an idea of the expense of maintaining your organization, doctor?

Mr. FESS. Our books are here, and the executive secretary will, if you want him, come.

The CHAIRMAN. He is here with the books, is he?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is your executive secretary?

Mr. FESS. Mr. McCarl, of Nebraska.

The CHAIRMAN. He is more familiar with that than you are?

Mr. FESS. Much more.

The CHAIRMAN. Can not you give us in a general way the cost of carrying on the work?

Mr. FESS. I have a statement here, a statement since August 26, if that would be of help.

The CHAIRMAN. Since when?

Mr. FESS. August 26, when that committee reorganized, when I was elected chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. August 26 of this year?

Mr. FESS. Of this year; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This year?

Mr. FESS. I mean October 16 of last year is when the committee was reorganized, and it runs up to August 26.

The CHAIRMAN. And this shows your work and expenses up to that time?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us the aggregates.

Mr. FESS. October 16 of last year our treasurer reported a balance of \$39,270. We closed the campaign of 1918 with something like \$80,000 of a balance in the treasury. Collections up to August 26 in the sums of \$100 and over, \$51,300; and in sums of less than \$100 each, \$27,228; making a total of something like \$78,000.

The CHAIRMAN. How many contributors were there?

Mr. FESS. The actual number is 1,975.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in addition to that you have borrowed \$200,000 from the national committee?

Mr. FESS. The committee ought to understand that up to this year we have always maintained our separate collection agencies as a separate committee; we have never had any difficulty in collecting money. But having a congressional collection agency and a senatorial collection agency and the national collection agency and the State collection agency was rather interrupting, and the national committee thought it wise, and I joined them in it, that if an agreement could be made by which all of those could be unified in one agency that it would be much better; not only better in results in collections, but less interrupting to the contributor; and my committee was anxious to join in that uniform movement. Consequently I was asked to make a budget; and acting upon what we did two years ago, with the additional expenses, I placed the amount that would be necessary this year at \$400,000. It was something like \$280,000 two years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do I understand you that that money is raised by the national committee, or raised by your committee?

Mr. FESS. Our machinery is used for the raising of money, but always in consultation with the national committee in order to prevent interruptions. Senator, our method of collections was by letter. I have a copy of the form of letter that I sent out.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you produce one of those for the record?

Mr. FESS. Well, we sent usually three letters—one letter stating the case from our standpoint, a follow-up letter within three or four weeks if we did not have a response, and then the third letter, which was a direct invitation for an amount of contribution. We always left it with the contributor what he wanted to give.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you give us the letters?

Mr. FESS. I will be very glad to submit them. Here are the three form letters. And the national committee said that our sending these letters to men, numbering between 30,000 and 40,000, which we have card indexed in our office, would work this interruption, that a man would send us \$250—by the way, our average collections were a little less than \$40 to each man.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your largest sum that has been contributed?

Mr. FESS. I think there is one sum of \$5,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that from?

Mr. FESS. Well, the books will show. I don't know just who.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know?

Mr. FESS. No; there are two of them of \$2,500; I don't remember who they are.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know who they are?

Mr. FESS. All of them, outside of three or four, are less than a thousand dollars. The average is about \$40. And when we would send a letter begging money to some particular man, he might give \$50, and then when the national committee would make its solicitation he would say, "Why, I have given money. I gave it to a national committee." And it was an interruption in raising funds, and that is why I agreed and the committee was unanimous that we would unify this collection agency. Just this year. That agreement was only for this year.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get your list?

Mr. FESS. We got our list usually from Members of Congress. For instance, I would ask a Member in Ohio to give me a list of men that he would think are interested in Republican success, to the extent that they might make a contribution, and then we would send letters to those people, and we have had a very good list.

The CHAIRMAN. We heard from Mr. Flood yesterday of the millions of speeches that were being sent out, congressional speeches, by the Democratic Congressional Committee under franks. Do you follow that same policy?

Mr. FESS. Yes; our publicity item is a big one—quite a large one. If Senator Reed makes a speech that we like we will order it printed.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you sending out Senator Reed's speeches?

Mr. FESS. Oh, I have sent some of them out that I thought were good ones, quite a number.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, is there any expense involved in sending out these speeches if they are sent out under franks?

Mr. FESS. Well, some of them are not. Unless the speech is—unless it is given as it was written or delivered; what I mean is this, that there might be a portion of the speech we would not want to send out.

The CHAIRMAN. And you would cut that out, would you?

Mr. FESS. We would cut that out. You might think that is unfair, but that is politics.

The CHAIRMAN. I think if you cut it all out it might be a good thing with most of them.

Mr. FESS. No; I think not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. How many million speeches is the Congressional Committee sending out, of Congressmen?

Mr. FESS. Oh, I couldn't tell you. A very large amount.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if a Congressman makes a speech, then you send these speeches into his district?

Mr. FESS. We never send a speech into any district without the candidate for Congress being consulted.

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, you consult him, and then you take hold and cut out such parts of the speeches as you want to, and send the rest out?

Mr. FESS. Well, Senator, that statement will probably be misinterpreted. It is not often that we expurgate a speech. Once in a while there is something damaging in the speech that if you send that out with all the balance of it, it nullifies everything you do.

Senator REED. Well, when you send mine out I want you to send them all out.

Mr. FESS. I will respect your wishes, Senator. And more than that, your speech shall never be sent out under your frank.

The CHAIRMAN. How many millions of these speeches are sent out in a campaign such as this?

Mr. FESS. I couldn't give you the number, but a very large amount.

The CHAIRMAN. By both parties?

Mr. FESS. Oh yes. Why, that is a common practice.

The CHAIRMAN. I know it is a common practice.

Mr. FESS. Senator Pomerene made an address touching industrial questions, the labor situation, that we thought was just as good as could be produced, and I recommended that that speech be sent out.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been sending out Senator Pomerene's speeches too?

Senator POMERENE. Did you expurgate mine too?

Mr. FESS. No, I think not.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I haven't any apology to make for it.

Mr. FESS. No, it was a good one.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all, Doctor. Any questions?

Senator EDGE. I want to clear one matter. You spoke of the question of rent. The testimony yesterday of Mr. Flood—perhaps you didn't hear it?

Mr. FESS. No, I wasn't here.

Senator EDGE. In answer to the question of the Chairman Mr. Flood said:

We expect to spend a good deal in printing if the national committee will furnish us the money, and we expect the national committee to take care of any speakers' expenses that we have to incur. Of course, we do that by conference with them. The running expenses of the committee itself will not be over \$20,000 for the campaign, I mean, any clerical force, etc. We don't pay any rent.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your office?

Mr. FLOOD. In the House Office Building.

The CHAIRMAN. It is carried on from the House Office Building?

Mr. FLOOD. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Then you were apparently mistaken in your thought that you have given in the record, that they are in the Munsey Building, I think you said?

Mr. FESS. Well, if the Senator meant the Democratic Congressional Committee, I don't know where they are.

Senator EDGE. That is the question that was asked you.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Well, I don't know where they are. I haven't any idea.

The CHAIRMAN. They seem to be in the House Office Building.

Mr. FESS. Well, I suppose they would be permitted that, although I think that would be rather an unwise operation. We would not do that.

Senator REED. The question I wanted to ask was this: When you agreed with the National Committee that you would cease collecting campaign funds you only had a moderate amount of money in your treasury?

Mr. FESS. Yes, we had, I think, about \$54,000.

Senator REED. You have no other resources, of course, and the agreement is that the moneys this year are to be collected through the agency of the National Committee, your committee assisting?

Mr. FESS. Our committee's machinery will work as heretofore.

Senator REED. But you don't get any money? It all goes to the national committee?

Mr. FESS. We collect the money and credit it upon the loan that they give us.

Senator REED. Exactly. The only way that you can pay these loans that have been made to you, is by paying them out of the moneys that are to be collected and turned over to the national committee.

Mr. FESS. Assuredly.

Senator REED. So what the national committee has really done is this: It has agreed with you to help them collect money, and it has in the meantime advanced to you \$200,000, and has agreed to advance \$200,000 more, and the moneys that will ultimately defray that will be the moneys that are collected by the joint agency of the national committee and your committee?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Senator REED. So it is not a loan at all?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Senator REED. It is an advance.

Mr. FESS. We treat it as a loan.

Senator REED. You treat it as a loan, but as a matter of fact it is an advance, and you have no resources to meet it with, except these resources that go to the national committee?

Mr. FESS. That is the fact.

Senator REED. Why is it that so many committees are using this subterfuge of loan when it is not a loan at all? Do you know? I don't think it is wicked, I am just inquiring why they use that term "loan."

Mr. FESS. I think, Senator, that it is a loan, because they did not have the money, they borrowed the money.

Senator REED. Well, they borrowed the money, and they loaned it to you, and the only way you could pay it back was out of a fund that was coming to them, and that is not much of a loan. But I don't care to haggle about that. I just wanted to clear it up.

Senator EDGE. Isn't the object, Mr. Fess, to centralize the funds under one head rather than four or five heads?

Mr. FESS. Well, that was the judgment of everybody. The committee of which I am chairman was very anxious to have that done.

Senator EDGE. It is a rather businesslike policy, isn't it?

Mr. FESS. I think so.

Senator REED. But a loan implies that it is to be paid by the borrower, doesn't it?

Mr. FESS. Yes; exactly.

Senator REED. And in this instance the borrower did not expect to pay it at all; that the money was to be returned out of a fund that was to be collected, and passed into the hands of the loaner?

Mr. FESS. Well, Senator, if you will permit, there would be no difficulty in our committee raising the money that we need. That could be done very easily. But it was an interruption of the National Committee, and we——

Senator REED. I understand. I don't say that this is wrong, but I am just raising the question of what is called a loan. It is not a loan in the proper sense; it is an advance.

Mr. FESS. If the chairman would permit this observation?

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through?

Senator REED. No; I am not through. The witness wanted to say something here.

Mr. FESS. I was just going to say, if the chairman will permit this observation, with reference to going to the people who have already contributed, that when the National Committee has collected funds if the State committee undertakes to collect after that the State committee will have trouble, because the individual who has already given says: "We were promised that this was to be the money, and we have already given it." Consequently it would be an uphill business under this arrangement for any State committee or for our committee acting jointly through this way, through the Ways and Means Committee, to collect any funds. Anybody that has had any experience in collecting funds knows that it is almost impossible to get funds afterwards. I am a college president, and I have had that trouble all my life.

Senator REED. It would be a little more accurate to say then that your ——— was a concentration of the efforts to collect the funds, rather than a concentration of the funds.

Mr. FESS. Yes. And, Senator, there is no concentration in the disbursement of the funds. The two committees are absolutely independent on that.

Senator REED. Well, that was my thought. Now you were asked to make up a budget, you said, of the moneys that you were going to need in this campaign?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Senator REED. And you did make up such a budget?

Mr. FESS. I estimated it on the basis of two years ago.

Senator REED. Did you estimate in making up that budget—did you make it up of items, so much for this district, so much for that district, or did you just lump it?

Mr. FESS. Lumped it.

Senator REED. Now, how did you spend \$280,000 two years ago, when you didn't have any national campaign committee to help you?

Mr. FESS. We collected \$280,000 and had about \$80,000 left; spent \$200,000.

Senator REED. Very well. You spent \$200,000 two years ago, and you had no national campaign committee to aid you?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, of course, you will agree with me that if a national campaign is being properly conducted, and the speakers come in and speak for the national ticket, they also serve the congressional candidates' purposes admirably?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Senator REED. It is better, generally, than they can do for themselves, I guess you will agree with that, won't you?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, what I want to know is why this year, having had \$280,000 two years ago, and having been able to close your campaign with \$80,000 in the treasury, that this year you double the amount that you are going to use in your congressional campaign?

Mr. FESS. In the first place there will be a greater effort this year than two years ago, naturally, because it is a national campaign, and our committee will be more active than it was two years ago. And in the second place, two years ago the flu prevented our sending

speakers, and the item of speakers, which is always a big item of expense, was entirely eliminated two years ago.

Senator REED. And the flu is not altogether an unmixed evil, or carries some benefits?

Mr. FESS. That may be. I will leave that with you.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. FESS. Then that item was lacking two years ago. That is a tremendous big one this year. Consequently, the expense in hotels and railroad fare, printing of all of our supplies, are fully a half more, if not double what they were two years ago. I think, Senator, when we passed a legislative executive bill we called attention to the fact that it carried three times what it did two years ago, and yet it contained about the same things, and the answer was that it cost two or three times as much now as that did two years ago. I don't know whether that is legitimate or not, but we are in that period just now. So we could not carry this campaign on, I think, legitimately—I mean everything is to be legitimate—with the same amount of money that we had two years ago. We should at least add a considerable amount, if not double, a half at least.

Senator REED. Very well. Now, what did you expend four years ago, do you remember?

Mr. FESS. Four years ago?

Senator REED. Yes, in the presidential campaign.

Mr. FESS. I was not chairman.

Senator REED. Well, do you know?

Mr. FESS. No, I do not. I think our committee collected \$388,000. I was a member of the committee, but I was not chairman.

Senator REED. You spoke of the expense for speeches. Do you pay speakers?

Mr. FESS. Expenses; their expenses.

Senator REED. That is all. Do you pay any of them salaries?

Mr. FESS. Speaking for our committee, we pay no salaries, no salaries.

Senator REED. Do you think that \$400,000 today for carrying on a campaign would go much farther than \$200,000 two years ago, when we were right in the war, and had high prices?

Mr. FESS. If you eliminate the flu question, I think your question is to be answered in the affirmative.

Senator REED. Now, have you that budget which you made up, and which you presented to the National Committee as a basis of your \$400,000 estimate?

Mr. FESS. I don't think I have, Senator.

Senator REED. Who has it?

Mr. FESS. Our office ought to have it, if it is in existence.

Senator REED. Where is your office? At Washington?

Mr. FESS. No, office headquarters are here now.

Senator REED. Can you get it?

Mr. FESS. I will see if I can find it. I am not sure, Senator, that I have got anything of a detailed statement made up. You want speakers and supplies?

Senator REED. I want the budget that you presented to the national committee as the basis for this agreement that you were to have a half a million dollars.

Mr. FESS. Well, I think I ought to modify my statement. You take the word "budget" to be an itemized account. I did not present an itemized account.

Senator REED. Well, whatever it was that was presented, whether it was an itemized account, or semi-itemized account, or a lump account, a written memorandum, I would like to see that document.

Mr. FESS. Very well.

Senator REED. And I would like in that connection with it to have any papers that you have that would show any items which in the aggregate composed that item, so that we can have a basis for forming a conclusion.

Mr. FESS. Here is the report up to date, itemized.

Senator REED. If you could give us after adjournment, after dinner, it would not be hard to get, would it?

Mr. FESS. I will give it if I can find it there.

Senator REED. Mr. Chairman, I am through.

Senator SPENCER. I have some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I have a few more questions. We will simply rely upon you, Mr. Fess, to bring them if you have them.

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to ask you about something else. There was some evidence introduced here yesterday of a book by Mr. Barnes of New York. I want to ask you what you know about that book.

Mr. FESS. The only thing I know about that is Mr. Barnes wrote me some time in February stating it was his custom to get out a publication something in the form of a yearbook, every quadrennial, to be sold, I understood him to say, after the convention, after the national convention, and he said that the book, in addition to facts and figures, was to include biographical sketches of leading men of the State, and that he had chosen Rutherford B. Hayes as the man whose character sketch he wanted to run for Ohio, and asked me if I would write the sketch, which I did, for him. That is all I know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote the character sketch of Rutherford B. Hayes?

Mr. FESS. I did. I have not seen the book.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you know of other public men writing for this book? The national committee, did they have anything to do with it?

Mr. FESS. Absolutely nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your committee have anything to do with it?

Mr. FESS. Oh, no; nothing. It was a mere——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you ever see the book?

Mr. FESS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Barnes?

Mr. FESS. The editor of the Albany Journal.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he any connection with the Republican campaign?

Mr. FESS. Not that I know of. I think it was a newspaper enterprise.

The CHAIRMAN. A newspaper enterprise?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether the book was given away with subscriptions?

Mr. FESS. I do not. I presume it is offered for subscription.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen any copies of what is to be in the book?

Mr. FESS. No, I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. When is this wonderful book to be published, so that we can buy a copy of it?

Mr. FESS. He wanted me to have the article in by the first of April, and I had it in. It was a mere service of love. I got nothing for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, a service of love. Are you a particular friend of Mr. Barnes'?

Mr. FESS. I know him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, pictures have been presented here of it, and some statement as to it. Have you those pictures here, Senator?

Senator SPENCER. Why, they were handed in to the clerk. I haven't seen them since.

Senator REED. They were here with the other exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think that they were introduced. But anyhow, here are the words:

Moral and financial support. We, the undersigned, appreciate the necessity of restoring to power the Republican Party, and approve the widespread distribution of militant republican propaganda under the direction of Hon. William Barnes.

Then this is signed by John D. Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller, jr., The American Tobacco Co., the Guaranty Trust Co., the Berwind-White Coal Co., the General Electric Co., Famous Players-Lasky Corporation, Julius Fleischman, and William Wrigley, Jr. Co. Do you know anything about it?

Mr. FESS. Absolutely nothing.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what is the necessity of all these gentlemen backing this book?

Mr. FESS. I have no idea, unless it would be to give it prestige. I have no idea. My only connection with it was two letters from Mr. Barnes, one asking me to write the sketch. The other was an answer to my letter asking him what was the character of the sketch he wanted. And the other was a letter from New York City; they took it up from the New York office of Mr. Barnes, asking whether the article was ready.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you write the article just as a personal matter?

Mr. FESS. Purely.

The CHAIRMAN. Or as chairman of the Congressional Committee?

Mr. FESS. Oh, as a personal matter, as a personal matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I don't understand yet what is to be done with this book. Is it to be circulated around the country? Is it for your committee to circulate it in any way?

Mr. FESS. Why certainly no. We have nothing to do with it at all. I know nothing about it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Barnes say in his letter to you that he wanted of your article for this book?

Mr. FESS. He said, "I want you to write the Ohio article for this publication." I have been a reader of the editorials of Mr. Barnes quite a while, and made an address in Albany once to a Grant

Memorial meeting, at which he was chairman, and as a matter of personal regard I wrote the article for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you understand there is any deep-dyed sinister purpose to spend money with this book?

Mr. FESS. Well, Senator, you know I would have nothing to do with it if I thought so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am wondering just what this book has got to do with this campaign.

Mr. FESS. Why, nothing that I can imagine. Nothing was stranger to me than the testimony that came out that indicated that the National Committee was connected up with Rockefeller and some of these fellows, with this book, because I had no idea——

Mr. HAYS. It was not in the testimony.

Mr. FESS. No, the question of one of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if there is anything of that kind we would like to have it, if it is in existence.

Mr. FESS. I would be glad to give it to you if I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where this book would be published?

Mr. FESS. No. I presume it was published about the time of the convention.

The CHAIRMAN. That it was published?

Mr. FESS. I presume so, if it was a newspaper proposition, certainly that would be the time to get it out.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know where we can secure a copy of that?

Mr. FESS. I should judge from Mr. Barnes, of Albany, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barnes has no connection with the Republican organization, has he?

Mr. FESS. Not with our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. He is one of the Republican bosses of former days?

Mr. FESS. Yes, he is rather a distinguished character of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Distinguished——

Mr. FESS. Character of New York.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you said "extinguished."

Mr. FESS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Senator REED. You would be astounded to find that any of these capitalists had contributed to the Republican-campaign fund, wouldn't you, these men whose names were read?

Mr. FESS. No, I would not be astounded at that.

Senator REED. Well, I so understood you.

Senator SPENCER. Mr. Fess, there is no contribution, direct or indirect, to the Republican campaign fund, to any support that may be given to the private enterprise of the Albany Journal, getting out some of their local publications, is there?

Mr. FESS. Absolutely not. There is no pledge to us—I mean no contribution to our committee of any sort, with any promise or pledge attached to it. We have received now and then contributions from corporations which were immediately returned with an explanation that no check from a corporation would be accepted, because it is against the law.

Senator SPENCER. That book, if I understand you right, is precisely the same as when any individual newspaper gets out a special edition, or a special publication, and gets individual assistance, either by way of articles in it, or contributions to it? It is a purely personal newspaper venture, without anything more in it, is that right?

Mr. FESS. I understood it so, that the editor of the Albany Journal was getting out in a newspaper enterprise at publication to be sold at the psychological time—the adjournment of the convention—and it was to be made up of biographical sketches or statements, together with a lot of facts. I supposed that was what it was.

Senator SPENCER. You have no reason to change that supposition?

Mr. FESS. No.

Senator SPENCER. That is what you believe it is to-day?

Mr. FESS. I still think that is what it is.

Senator EDGE. You understand it is to be sold; is that what I understand you to say?

Mr. FESS. I have no idea.

Senator SPENCER. I thought you used the word “sold” in your last statement. I was just asking for information whether there is a purchase price for the book to be sold?

Mr. FESS. I have no idea. All that I had in mind was that here was a newspaper man that was using the national convention as an opportunity for an enterprise.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if there has not been any demand for the book heretofore, doctor, this may help it out with a little advertising.

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Senator REED. Was that your purpose?

The CHAIRMAN. I am not interested in the book myself. That is all, doctor. Very much obliged.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will place in the record as Fess Exhibit No. 1 the current balance sheet produced by him.

(Fess Exhibit No. 1 is attached hereto.)

FESS EXHIBIT No. 1.

Current account balance sheet, Aug. 26, 1920.

| 1919. | RECEIPTS. | EXPENDITURES. | |
|------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| Oct. 16. | Balance | Chicago headquarters | \$5,000.00 |
| from N. B. Scott | \$39,270.87 | Convention expenses | 829.93 |
| 1920. | | Incidental expenses | 624.24 |
| Aug. 26. | Cont. 100 | Newspapers expenses | 85.47 |
| or over each | 51,300.00 | Political Oklahoma | \$750.00 |
| Aug. 26. | Cont. less | Political Virginia | 1,000.00 |
| than 100 each | 27,228.05 | Political Wisconsin | 2,000.00 |
| Aug. 26. | Refunds | Political North Carolina (ref.) | 1,500.00 |
| | 1,500.00 | Political Missouri | 1,671.66 |
| | | Political Iowa. 1914 camp | 4,419.22 |
| | | Political Minnesota | 500.00 |
| | | Political North Dakota | 500.00 |
| | | Political Maine | 2,000.00 |
| | | Total political | 14,340.88 |
| | | Postage | 3,950.00 |
| | | Printing | 3,050.87 |
| | | Publicity | 8,934.49 |
| | | Rent | 4,425.00 |
| | | Salaries headquarters | 9,617.63 |
| | | Salaries col. of funds | 4,553.94 |
| | | Speakers | 153.00 |

Current account balance sheet, Aug. 26, 1920.—Continued.

| 1919. | RECEIPTS.—contd. | EXPENDITURES.—contd. | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| | | Supplies..... | \$6, 074. 21 |
| | | Telegrams..... | 134. 16 |
| | | Telephones..... | 123. 10 |
| | | Towel service..... | 24. 00 |
| | | Travelling Expenses..... | 1, 003. 41 |
| | | Women's pol. organ..... | 1, 812. 80 |
| | | Collection fees..... | 2. 50 |
| | | N. G. checks, retd..... | 20. 00 |
| | | Balance..... | 54, 531. 13 |
| | <u>\$119, 298. 92</u> | | <u>119, 298. 92</u> |
| Total receipts..... | 119, 298. 92 | Political expenses..... | 14, 340. 88 |
| Balance..... | 54, 531. 13 | Less amt. refunded..... | 1, 500. 00 |
| Total expenses..... | 64, 767. 79 | Net political expenses..... | 12, 840. 88 |

The CHAIRMAN. And we will place in the record the letter of January 15, 1920, produced by Mr. Fess, as Fess Exhibit No. 2; the letter of January 13, 1920, as Fess Exhibit No. 3, and the third letter, which is not dated, as Fess Exhibit No. 4.

(Fess Exhibits 2, 3, and 4 are attached hereto:)

FESS EXHIBIT No. 2.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., January 15, 1920.

Personal.

DEAR Mr. ———. The biennial reorganization having been perfected, this committee is ready for business. A sweeping victory for Republicanism in November is our objective. The trend of sentiment is in our favor and we can duplicate the victory of 1918 if we do not squander our opportunities.

The country is full of unrest, due in no small measure to the mismanagement of affairs by the present semisocialistic administration, and a vast amount of organization and educational work must be done. Radicalism thrives in a period of unrest, and the rantings of the extremist must be answered by ~~what~~ argument if the honest citizen is to be guided aright through these perilous times.

To accomplish the work that must be done to lay a sure foundation for success will require the active assistance of Republicans everywhere and a considerable fund to defray the expense of organization and educational work. It is our job to do the work, but we must have funds to defray the expenses. Please send us your check for as liberal an amount as you can afford for this work at this time—and suggest to your friends that they do likewise. A dollar wisely expended now may render unnecessary a larger expenditure in the heat of battle when funds are often squandered.

Every dollar we can legitimately obtain should be devoted to this important work and we must look to those who see the dangers and realize the need for effective work to assist us in obtaining the necessary funds. The time for action has come and we seriously need your substantial and active assistance.

Draw checks in my favor and mail to me, or to the committee, at 701 Rigg Building, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

GTS-R.

Treasurer.

FESS EXHIBIT No. 3.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C., January 30, 1920.

DEAR MR. ———: We are disappointed in not having received a favorable response to our recent request for funds. We need your help, and I fear the fault is mine in not having made our needs more apparent.

After nominations have been made and popular interest has been aroused it is not usually difficult for political organizations to collect funds within

reasonable limits for campaign work. While funds are then needed with which to arouse and sustain interest, never before was the country so in need of sound doctrine and wise leadership as now; yet, without the "campaign enthusiasm" it seems difficult to arouse some of our most substantial people to a realization that the situation is seriously in need of attention and that much effective work must be and can be done before the campaign opens in June. Too many of those who should be deeply concerned and solicitous of the future seem too busy to give thought to the matter now. It is to be hoped there will be enough far-seeing men and women, who, by interesting themselves now, may sufficiently assist and encourage those in places of leadership and responsibility to insure their best efforts in the right direction. Radicalism is running wild and seems to have funds in abundance for its work of destruction.

You realize, I feel sure, the importance of this work—and that it can not be carried on without funds. If it will inconvenience you to send us at this time the full amount you feel the work merits, send us a check for as much as you can now spare and plan to send another contribution later. The work must not be retarded by a lack of funds.

Checks should be drawn in my favor and mailed to me, or to the committee, at 701 Riggs Building, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely, yours,

_____, *Treasurer.*

GTS-F.

— — — — —
FESS EXHIBIT No. 4.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ———: Many thanks for your assistance. Please be assured that it will help in connection with the work now under way.

After nominations have been made and interest has been aroused by conventions and other political activities, it is not usually difficult for political organizations to collect funds, within reasonable limits, with which to prosecute a campaign. While funds are then needed with which to arouse and sustain interest, never before was the country so in need of sound doctrine and wise leadership as now; yet, without the "campaign enthusiasm" it seems difficult to convince even the soundest minds that the present situation is seriously in need of attention and that much effective work must be and can be done between now and the convention season of next year. Too many of those who should be deeply concerned and solicitous of the future seem too busy to give thought to the matter now. It is to be hoped there will be enough far-seeing men and women, who, by interesting themselves now, may sufficiently assist and encourage those in places of leadership and responsibility to insure their best efforts in the right direction.

I hesitate to bother you further but I have and feel a responsibility in the matter of securing funds for seriously needed work and will greatly appreciate your kindness if you will give me in confidence a list of the men and women of your acquaintance who ought to be interested in this work and to whom we should be able to look for substantial assistance. We will not of course, even intimate the source of the suggestion, but it will give me pleasure to place our problem before them and ask their assistance. We need their help.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

_____,
Treasurer.

GTS-E.
Enclosure.

TESTIMONY OF HON. FRED A. BRITTEN.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your name to the reporter, Congressman?

Mr. BRITTEN. Fred A. Britten.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a Member of Congress?

The CHAIRMAN. You gave out this statement, part of which I will now read:

The pending investigation will show that the British Parliament recently appropriated \$87,500 in favor of the British ambassador at Washington for entertainment purposes and that this fund has already found its way into the Democratic national committee, where it will, no doubt, be followed by ten times that amount should it be made evident that this new disciple of Wilson can win with money rather than honest issues.

Now the point the committee is interested in is yours as to the appropriation of this claim have been made of it. What can

Mr. BRITTEN. Well, Senator, in the whatever about the appropriation have acknowledged from London during the last week.

The CHAIRMAN. Acknowledged by whom?

Mr. BRITTEN. By telegrams, through the press.

Senator POMERENE. An appropriation for what?

Mr. BRITTEN. For entertainment purposes for the British ambassador at Washington, and that is what aroused my suspicions in the premises. The idea of appropriating \$87,500 for entertainment purposes—"entertainment purposes," quotationized—is a new one, entirely new for the British embassy at Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, have you followed that down so that you speak now with authority on that question?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir; the press dispatches from London only this week will indicate that very thing, Senator.

Senator REED. Have you those dispatches?

Mr. BRITTEN. I am sorry to say that I did not bring them with me, Senator, but the press of the country, I presume, and I know the local press, carried dispatches purporting to come from London only within the last three or four days, acknowledging the appropriation, and stating in substance, Senator, that the reason the \$87,500 was appropriated for entertainment purposes in this instance, over and above the salary of Lord Geddes, was because he was a poor man, and that he probably could not maintain the institution the way the British Government would like to see it maintained, and therefore they appropriated this unusual amount. Now, that was the sub-

stance of the telegraphic news dispatch from London probably on Thursday morning of this last week.

The CHAIRMAN. What had they appropriated the year before for entertainment?

Mr. BRITTEN. Nothing that I could learn of.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do you mean to say that they did not appropriate anything, or that you did not learn of anything?

Mr. BRITTEN. I have never heard of their appropriating for entertainment purposes at Washington.

Senator POMERENE. Well, there are a good many things that you haven't heard about, I assume.

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes; many of them, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. You don't want this committee to conclude that simply because you have not heard a thing, that therefore it does not exist?

Mr. BRITTEN. Did I say that, Senator?

Senator POMERENE. No; but that is the inference to be drawn from your statement.

Mr. BRITTEN. No; that is not the inference at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, go ahead now, Mr. Britten.

Mr. BRITTEN. I was called before your committee, gentlemen, because of the publicity given that statement. I realized that it was an unusual statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say in that connection that Mr. White wired me, asking that you be called.

Mr. BRITTEN. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. To prove that statement. But immediately upon seeing the statement I wired to have you subpoenaed.

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Before I received Mr. White's message.

Mr. BRITTEN. I think I can prove positively that vast amounts of British money are being expended in America right now, and I have the data before me.

The CHAIRMAN. We may come to that; but, Mr. Britten, we want you to give us your evidence about this statement.

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir; I will be glad to tell you all I know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. A statement of this kind coming from a Member of Congress is rather serious and important a thing, and we want the evidence. Just confine yourself to this first, and then we will get to the other.

Mr. BRITTEN. You asked me a question, Senator, if an appropriation of this character had ever been made before.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRITTEN. And I said I did not know. At least, that is what I intended to convey to you gentlemen. I do not know whether it has or not. My impression is that it has not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you have got, satisfactory to you, the statement that it has been appropriated. Now, do you know anything about the uses that have been made of it?

Mr. BRITTEN. Of that particular \$87,500?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BRITTEN. It is my hope that your committee will subpoena—

The CHAIRMAN. Who do you want us to subpoena—the British ambassador?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes; Thomas W., Senator.

Senator REED. Thomas W.?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes. If you will call before you the manager of , Page & Co., the publishers, of New York, I think from sources you will learn that money is being expended quite in America, in the interests of—may I proceed?

CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

BRITTEN (continuing). In the interest of the league of nations my contention is, Senator, my honest belief is that any money expended in the interest of the league of nations to-day is indirect benefit to Gov. Cox in his quest for votes.

CHAIRMAN. Do you think this \$87,000 that you speak of, for entertainment purposes, is being expended to entertain people to influence them in favor of the league of nations?

Mr. BRITTEN. I do not think it is being expended for entertainment purposes at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how do you think it is being expended, or what basis have you for your belief as to how it is being expended?

Mr. BRITTEN. My personal impression is that this money is being expended, like a lot of other foreign money, in the interest of publicity for the furtherance of the development of the league of nations idea.

Senator SPENCER. Have you got anything more than a general impression in the matter?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes; I have right here before me, Senator.

Senator SPENCER. Have you any foundation as regards your statement concerning the \$87,500?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir; not that particular \$87,500. My hope was that your committee would develop that.

Senator SPENCER. Are you correctly quoted when you are quoted as saying that this fund of \$87,500 has already found its way into the Democratic national committee?

Mr. BRITTEN. I believe the earlier part of that statement will show, or, at least, it was my intention to say that your committee would develop that fact. I believe the statement shows that, Senator. It says that your committee would show that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you really think this \$87,000 has gone into the Democratic campaign?

Mr. BRITTEN. Directly, no, sir; but indirectly, quite probably.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, how indirectly?

Mr. BRITTEN. In the promotion of this propaganda in the interest of the League of Nations, which I maintain is a direct assistance to Gov. Cox in his campaign.

Senator REED. Well, now, you state that you have there evidence that you are ready to produce in this proceeding, showing the use of British money in this country. I take it you mean by that the use of British money for the purpose of shaping public opinion upon public questions. That is what you mean, is it not?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, I would like to hear that evidence.

Mr. BRITTEN. I will be very glad to lay it before you.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead in your own way.

Mr. BRITTEN. I will be very glad to show you what I have on which my opinion is based, Senator.

Senator REED. Well, I want something on which I can base an opinion.

Mr. BRITTEN. In June of this year, two months ago, the London Fortnightly Review, on page 882—

Senator REED. Two years ago, you say?

Mr. BRITTEN (continuing). No; this year.

Senator REED. This year?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir; June of this year—Steven Graham, an English editor, says—and I am not going to insert a lot of extraneous matter; it is just a line or two. The quotation is:

The vast number of official propagandists sent to America have done harm. It is commonly said in a random way that Britain has spent billions of dollars in propaganda in America.

That was taken out of the London Fortnightly Review. Graham was a volunteer as a private in the Scots Guards during the war.

Senator REED. Is he the editor of that paper?

Mr. BRITTEN. I am not so sure about that.

Senator REED. Or is this merely a contributed article by some contributor?

Mr. BRITTEN. I could not answer that, Senator. It could be easily developed, though, I am sure. Now, I have in my hand a statement taken from the copperplates of the Western Newspaper Union.

Senator REED. The what?

Mr. BRITTEN. The Western Newspaper Union. This plate, or a full page of it, is sent to probably every newspaper publisher in the United States, and to magazine publishers by the thousand. In the upper right-hand corner in large type it says:

To the publisher: Plates of this story are available to you—

And then in large type—

without charge, carriage prepaid, on order of an individual interested in the League of Nations. The story can be run in one or several installments. (Signed) Western Newspaper Union.

In the upper left-hand corner of this sheet is a statement which says:

From Louis Selbold's widely discussed interview with President Wilson.

The CHAIRMAN. When do you think a talk with him might have been had?

Mr. BRITTEN. I have not the slightest idea. That is merely my conclusion in the premises. It is merely my conclusion.

The CHAIRMAN. Simply your conclusion.

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes. It is evident, however, that this is costing a lot of money, and I had the idea, gentlemen, that if you would call the managers of the Western Newspaper Union before you, and of Doubleday, Page & Co., you could ascertain who was putting up that money.

Senator POMERENE. What evidence have you that it is being put up from British sources?

Mr. BRITTEN. None whatever, excepting the connections that I have just related, Senator.

Senator POMERENE. Are you a lawyer?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is this paper from? What is this sheet?

Mr. BRITTEN. That is the sheet that went to all the publishers, as it states in the upper right hand corner, by the Western Newspaper Union. In other words, they send the plate to the publisher. It is quite heavy.

Senator EDGE. It is what we call a proof of plate.

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes.

Senator EDGE. It is not from a newspaper.

Mr. BRITTEN. No; it is a proof of plate.

The CHAIRMAN. The idea is, then, that anybody desiring this plate of this story can get it by sending to the Western Newspaper Union?

Mr. BRITTEN. Get it from them.

The CHAIRMAN. And get it for nothing?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you read this story?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not know whether it is a story concerning the League of Nations or not, do you?

Mr. BRITTEN. It is a fiction story woven about the League of Nations and its value to humanity.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Margaret Prescott Montague?

Mr. BRITTEN. I have been unable to find out. That is probably a nom de plume, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Western Newspaper Union?

Senator REED. Who is Margaret Prescott Montague?

The CHAIRMAN. She wrote that.

Senator REED. This article?

The CHAIRMAN. She writes the story.

Mr. BRITTEN. She writes the story, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. "Copyright, 1920; from the book published by Doubleday, Page & Co." This has been published, then, in book form?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir; and also I believe the President's reference there indicates that it was carried in one of the New York weeklies or monthlies—in the Atlantic Monthly.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are offices of the Western Newspaper Union?

Mr. BRITTEN. I have not the slightest idea, sir. They probably have offices in all the large cities.

Senator EDGE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to observe right there, irrespective of whether the deductions of Congressman Britten are correct or otherwise, as to the responsibility of the publication for furnishing funds, inasmuch as that seems to be rather an important campaign document, I think it would be quite wise for use to ascertain where the funds have come from. I suggest we get in touch with the Western Newspaper Union.

Mr. BRITTEN. Pardon me, Senator, but some newspaper man suggested yesterday that there were 2,600 weeklies in the United States alone which might or might not subscribe to that free offer.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further, Mr. Britten, that you desire to present?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Britten, you have submitted all the evidence you have. You will have to agree that instead of proving something you have not proven anything up to date, will you not? Have you got some facts that you think deductions can be made from?

Mr. BRITTEN. Senator, if I have proven anything at all I have proven by mere reference to that sheet that it is a very costly propaganda.

Senator REED. Some individual proposes to pay for circulating that particular article, and whether that individual is a representative of the British Government or a representative of himself or an Ameri-

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. BRITTEN. But is it not interesting——

REED. Well, it may be interesting, but——

Mr. BRITTEN. No, Senator. I was about to say, would it not be to ascertain just who was putting up the money?

REED. Oh, that is a different question. Your charge is this, that the British Government was interfering in our affairs.

Mr. BRITTEN. Not the British Government, Senator.

REED. Well, British interests. If British interests are denied to know it, and everybody else wants to know it; but no evidence of it, no such charge ought to be made. Now, you speak of the fact that \$87,500 was appropriated by the British Government to pay the expenses of the British Embassy.

Mr. BRITTEN. No; I did not say that, Senator. The appropriation directly applied to entertainment purposes.

Senator REED. Entertainment purposes?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Very well. Now, you know, do you not, that the salaries of the diplomats rarely, if ever, equal the expenses of maintaining the diplomatic establishment? You know that, do you not?

Mr. BRITTEN. I think that is quite generally understood.

Senator REED. It is true about our own ambassadors, is it not?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir; it is.

Senator REED. So that, generally speaking, we have to get men of considerable means for our ambassadors? That has been the rule, particularly the rule with Russia, has it not?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes; and in South America.

Senator REED. And with some other countries.

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, the mere fact, therefore, that the British Government has seen fit to appropriate \$87,500 for entertainment purposes to the British ambassador here does not argue anything at all, except that they appropriated it for that purpose.

Mr. BRITTEN. Except also, Senator, that it is an unusual allowance at this time.

Senator REED. An unusual allowance, and yet you have said you did not know what the allowances were in the past; you do not know whether they have given allowances or not. But suppose that it was true that the British nation sent an ambassador over here, rich or poor, and had concluded that they wanted him to keep his establishment up on a high plane socially, and appropriated \$87,500. You could not argue from that that that money had gone into the Democratic national campaign, could you?

Mr. BRITTEN. No; but if——

Senator REED. That is just a wild jump of the imagination, is it not?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir. But if——

Senator REED. And that is all.

Mr. BRITTEN (continuing). But if, Senator, a lot of money was being expended in the interest of the league of nations, and your committee should develop that fact——

Senator REED. Oh, if we could develop that the \$87,000 was expended for the benefit of league of nations propaganda, or any material part of it could be developed, it would be pertinent to this inquiry. But up to this moment you have not given us a suggestion, even, of evidence of that kind, have you?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir.

Senator REED. No.

Mr. BRITTEN. But I am in hopes that you may find it, with the assistance of your committee, Senator.

Senator REED. And you have not given any suggestion of evidence that points to a dollar of this money ever reaching the Democratic national committee, have you?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir.

Senator REED. What you have done is to show by newspaper statements, or by a quotation from them, that the British Government gave the British ambassador \$87,500 for entertainment purposes, and, as an entirely separate and distinct thing, that the Newspaper Union, which is a concern furnishing news to the papers throughout the country, has agreed to furnish plate matter concerning a certain article which mentions a book which you have not read, but which you infer favors the league of nations.

Mr. BRITTEN. No; I do not infer that. The statement says it does.

Senator REED. Very well.

Mr. BRITTEN. President Wilson's statement says so. He read the book.

Senator REED. No; somebody put that in; somebody is putting up that money. That is the inference. But who the individual is, you do not know.

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir.

Senator REED. He might be a South American, and he might be a German, and he might be any one of 110,000,000 Americans; and he might be the man in the moon for all you know.

(No answer.)

Senator REED. Now, you do not want this committee to draw a conclusion from that that British money is being used, do you?

Mr. BRITTEN. No; but I hope that this committee will investigate the matter further and ascertain just who is spending that money.

in the newspaper. The latter part, that I was prepared to prove it, or that I could prove it, you did not see. The headlines very often confuse the reader.

Senator POMERENE. Very well. Now, let us follow this just a moment further. Your statement now is to the effect that in substance \$87,000 of the British Government's money found its way into Gov. Cox's campaign fund. Have you any proof to offer on that?

Mr. BRITTEN. That is not my statement. My statement is that an investigation by the committee would show that.

Senator REED. Would show what?

Mr. BRITTEN. Would show that this \$87,000 was expended in the interest of Gov. Cox, through this propaganda for the league of nations.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any proof that you can offer on that charge?

Mr. BRITTEN. The only proof I have—it is not a charge; it is a suggestion.

Senator POMERENE. Have you any proof to offer in support of that charge?

Mr. BRITTEN. It is not a charge.

Senator POMERENE. Why did you make that statement to the public?

Mr. BRITTEN. My statement was based on the evidence which I have laid before this committee.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to dignify what you have given this committee by calling it evidence, do you?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir; I do.

Senator POMERENE. Well, you are a Congressman, are you not?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. And have been for several terms?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. Do you not regard it as a pretty serious matter for a Member of Congress to make a serious charge of that kind against the British Government, or any other government, without having any proof to offer to the committee?

Mr. BRITTEN. I did not make the charge against the British Government. You are continually using the word "charge" when it was not used.

Senator POMERENE. It is simply a suggestion?

Mr. BRITTEN. Yes; based on my opinion; and I have laid the opinion before you.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. BRITTEN. I have laid the substance of the opinion before you.

Senator REED. You distinguish between a statement of fact and a charge, do you?

Mr. BRITTEN. Well, a statement of fact and a charge, I suppose, are the same.

Senator REED. Did you not say, as a matter of fact, that this was true, that the British Government had put up \$87,500 which had found its way into Gov. Cox's campaign fund?

Mr. BRITTEN. For entertainment purposes, for the British ambassador; and that an investigation by your committee here would develop certain facts.

Senator REED. What fact?

Mr. BRITTEN. The fact that this money was being expended in the interest of the league of nations, which in itself is intended as a direct benefit for Gov. Cox.

Senator REED. Did you mean that it was expended for the league of nations by calling men down to the British Embassy and feeding them—wining them and dining them?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Or did you mean that the money was used either as a direct contribution to this committee, or in support of propaganda?

Mr. BRITTEN. Now, Senator, you and I know that it is practically impossible for a layman to put his finger right on the exact location of the expenditure of that money. I am not inferring that the money was spent for entertainment purposes, by inviting people to the embassy. My suggestion is that it was not spent for entertainment purposes at all, and will not be, and was not intended to be.

Senator REED. All right.

Mr. BRITTEN. That is my opinion.

Senator REED. What is your evidence as to what it was to be expended for—anything except what you have given about it?

Mr. BRITTEN. No, sir; publicity purposes.

Senator REED. Well, you have not shown that a penny has ever been expended for publicity purposes, have you?

Mr. BRITTEN. No; I have not shown that, and no one else can who has not got the power that you have.

Senator REED. All that you have shown is on newspaper statements, that the money was appropriated by the British Government for entertainment purposes, and there you reach a blank wall and stop.

Mr. BRITTEN. Senator, if I am not mistaken, you yourself have repeatedly referred to propaganda in this country, on the floor of the Senate.

Senator REED. I have referred to propaganda in this country, but nobody ever heard me charge that it was being paid for by money put up by a foreign Government.

Mr. BRITTEN. I do not charge that, either.

Senator REED. Well, I think I have asked all the questions I desire to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Britten.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now stand adjourned until 2:15.

(Whereupon, at 1.07 o'clock p. m., a recess was taken until 2.15 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

AUGUST 31, 1920—2.15 P. M.

The committee met pursuant to recess.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McMillan.

TESTIMONY OF MR. MILES H. McMILLAN.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McMillan, have you given your full name to the reporter?

Mr. McMILLAN. Miles H. McMillan.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the Western Newspaper Union?

Mr. McMILLAN. I am resident manager, Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Britten testified this morning and presented a paper which I show you. [Handing document to witness.] Are you familiar with it?

Mr. McMILLAN. That went out from my office.

The CHAIRMAN. It went out from your office?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On this it says:

To the publisher: Plates of this story are available to you without charge, carried prepaid, on order of an individual interested in the league of nations. The story can be run in one or several installments.

It purports to be signed by the Western Newspaper Union. Who is paying for that?

Mr. McMILLAN. That I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Who does know?

Mr. McMILLAN. I will explain. The order for circularizing came to us from our New York office. We have made no shipments, but simply sent the circulars out.

The CHAIRMAN. How many papers do you send this to?

Mr. McMILLAN. That was circularized in all States except 15.

The CHAIRMAN. All States except what?

Mr. McMILLAN. The 12 Southern States being omitted and 3 Northern States.

Senator REED. What Northern States were omitted?

Mr. McMILLAN. New York, Illinois, and Vermont.

Senator REED. And the Southern States were omitted as hopeless.

Mr. McMILLAN. That I do not know. Those were our instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. How many papers did this go to?

Mr. McMILLAN. I could not tell definitely without taking the list and making the deduction. It totaled about——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, were there several thousand?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, from our own office in Chicago we circularized probably 600 papers. Other offices—we have 36 other branches—made a similar circularization.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they circularize as many as you?

Mr. McMILLAN. Very few of them would.

The CHAIRMAN. You had the plate matter furnished——

Senator REED. Won't you ask him about the total papers that he serves, or did he answer that?

The CHAIRMAN. How many papers do you serve?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, we serve with our service—not with this—around 10,000 papers all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. And with this you served 600?

Mr. McMILLAN. This went out from our Chicago office only, as far as this office is concerned; but other offices were sending out similar circulars on the same instructions.

The CHAIRMAN. On the same instructions?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just who were those instructions from?

Mr. McMILLAN. From our New York office; Mr. Johnson, our manager in New York; Edward C. Johnson.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the manager of the New York office, is he?

Mr. McMILLAN. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you furnish any of these plate matters?

Mr. McMILLAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of the papers want it?

Mr. McMILLAN. We have not furnished it. We have had some replies; how many, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You stand ready to furnish it?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without cost?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know who is paying for it?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not know. I have no idea. Mr. Johnson could give you the information, no doubt.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think Mr. Johnson would know?

Mr. McMILLAN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Or could he tell us somebody else who knows?

Mr. McMILLAN. He could give you the information. There is no question about that.

Senator SPENCER. All you know is that you got instructions to offer that.

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator SPENCER. When it was asked for, in the way indicated, without any cost to the buyer.

Mr. McMILLAN. We were instructed to send this proof out with a return postal card and a circular letter to the publisher. I have the circular letter we sent out.

(The letter and postal card marked respectively McMillan Exhibits 1 and 2 are as follows:)

[Exhibit 1.]

CHICAGO, August 24, 1920.

To the publisher:

Plates of the short story Uncle Sam of Freedom Ridge are available to you without charge, carriage prepaid, on order of an individual interested in the League of Nations covenant.

This is the story which President Wilson said he wished every American might read.

The story is complete as shown on the proof inclosed. It may be run in one or more installments.

A postal card is inclosed for your convenience.

Yours, very truly,

WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION.

[EXHIBIT 2.]

[On face.]

Western Newspaper Union,
210 South Desplaines Street,
Chicago, Ill.

[On back.]

Date

WESTERN NEWSPAPER UNION,
Chicago, Ill.

Send us plates of Margaret Prescott Montague's short story, Uncle Sam of Freedom Ridge.

It is understood that the plates will be delivered without charges, transportation prepaid.

Publisher

Paper

Town State

Senator SPENCER. And supposing you got an answer to that, Mr. McMillan, stating, "We would like that plate." Would it go from your office?

Mr. McMILLAN. It would be shipped from this office. We have no shipping instructions; we have simply authorization to circularize and secure the order, however.

Senator SPENCER. Well, have you got the plates in already for shipment?

Mr. McMILLAN. No, sir.

Senator SPENCER. You would simply turn over the orders to New York, then?

Mr. McMILLAN. No; the orders would come to us.

Senator SIENCER. I see.

Mr. McMILLAN. And when we had shipments, then, we would cast the plates and ship them to those newspapers which ordered them.

Senator SPENCER. Your instructions have gone no further than the circularization as yet?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you read this book?

Mr. McMILLAN. I have not.

Senator EDGE. Mr. McMillan, in your position as Chicago manager of the Western Newspaper Union, or rather, your connection with the organization in its entirety, you would say it is a purely business organization, accepting orders from political organizations, business organizations, or anything of that kind which you consider should go through the mails? Your connection with it is in no way political, but is purely as a business organization; is that correct?

Mr. McMILLAN. Absolutely so. We simply are manufacturers of plates and shippers.

Senator REED. You say that the Chicago office would cover in this circular sent from the Chicago office about 600 papers?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, what is the Chicago territory?

Mr. McMILLAN. It covers the northern half of Illinois, one tier of counties in southern Wisconsin, about three tiers of counties in eastern Iowa, and a few northwestern counties in Indiana, and the counties along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan in Michigan.

Senator REED. Now, it is a very small part of the United States, then, covered by those 600 papers?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And there are 36 other offices in the United States?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Similar to this?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And each of those offices has a territory?

Mr. McMILLAN. It has.

Senator REED. Now, each of those 36 offices circularized its territory with reference to this particular matter, did it?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is not quite correct, because our southern offices would not circularize, because those States were omitted.

Senator REED. They were omitted.

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes.

Senator REED. But all of the United States except the strictly southern States, where it is known that the election is settled in advance—that is, there is really no political contest—all the rest of the United States was circularized except the State of New York, the State of Vermont and—what was the other State?

Mr. McMILLAN. Illinois.

Senator REED. And the State of Illinois?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. But you did send this circular into parts of Illinois, did you not, into these very parts that you have just described?

Mr. McMILLAN. No.

Senator REED. Did you omit those counties?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, we omitted them.

Senator REED. Do you know why Illinois was omitted?

Mr. McMILLAN. Absolutely, I do not know.

Senator REED. People live here, do they not?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is true.

Senator REED. Who read and think.

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Was there any reason ever given to you as to why Illinois was to be omitted?

Mr. McMILLAN. No, sir.

Senator REED. Very well. Now, the aggregate of the newspapers that you serve in the United States is about ten thousand, did you say?

Mr. McMILLAN. Approximately so.

Senator REED. There are no weeklies?

Mr. McMILLAN. Country weeklies and country dailies.

Senator REED. And country dailies?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And the country semiweeklies, if any there are?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And also you cover magazines, do you not?

Mr. McMILLAN. We do not.

Senator REED. Altogether, omitting the Southern States, how many papers would get this circular—omitting the Southern States and the three Northern States—approximately?

Mr. McMILLAN. I could not give you that information, really, approximately. I can get it, however.

Senator REED. Well, it would be fully three-fourths of the newspapers of the United States, would it not?

Mr. McMILLAN. I presume that is about correct.

Senator REED. Well, then, that would be 7,500 papers. How much does it cost to furnish—but before I ask that, let me ask you this question: What would be the aggregate circulation of these papers? You advertise that you reach a certain number of readers, do you not, right along, through your association?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not think that we do, so far as the manufacture of plates is concerned.

Senator REED. Well, I am not speaking about so far as the manufacture of plates is concerned. I am speaking about this association which serves the country papers. You get advertisements also, do you not?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And when you get advertisements you represent to your customer that you have a certain clientele; that is to say, that an advertisement which you get and insert, or an article which you insert, will reach so many people?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, in our ready-print business, which is a different matter from this entirely, we do place advertising, and in the country weekly papers I would say—the average is between 600 and 700 in the country weekly papers.

Senator REED. And that is all?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes.

Senator REED. And that is through the office here?

Mr. McMILLAN. How?

Senator REED. Or do you mean in the aggregate from the whole United States?

Mr. McMILLAN. That is for the whole country.

Senator REED. For the whole country?

Mr. McMILLAN. That we serve.

Senator REED. But that is a separate thing from this.

Mr. McMILLAN. Absolutely.

Senator REED. You get money for doing this work, do you not?

Mr. McMILLAN. We get money for the manufacture and shipment of these plates; yes.

Senator REED. All you get is merely the pay for the plates.

Mr. McMILLAN. That is all.

Senator REED. Do I understand, then, that if a man can get you or your company to take an article and put it on your plate, all he has to do is to pay for the making of that plate, and thereby he gets the article circulated through this vast number of papers?

Mr. McMILLAN. No, indeed.

Senator REED. Well, then, what is the *modus operandi*?

Mr. McMILLAN. It is necessary for him to first circularize the papers, and see if they want it.

Senator REED. You charge for that, do you not?

Mr. McMILLAN. We charge the postage, whatever that amounts to.

Senator REED. And nothing else?

Mr. McMILLAN. If there is a return card goes in, as in that case, and a circular letter is printed, and envelopes furnished, there is a charge for the outgoing and incoming postage and circular letters, which would be probably 5 cents apiece.

Senator REED. But if I were to come to you with this article and ask you to have it put in through all of the United States except the Southern States and these three Northern States, in all the papers that you serve, if they accepted it, what would it cost me?

Mr. McMILLAN. For a six-column page it would cost you at the rate of \$2.50 per page, for the manufacture and prepay charges of the plates.

Senator REED. Well, would I have any other charges in addition to that to pay you folks?

Mr. McMILLAN. You would have to pay for the setting of the type, the make-up of the forms, and any cuts that might go in.

Senator REED. Any cuts?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, would there be any cuts go with this article as it is now set up?

Mr. McMILLAN. I am not sure whether there are any cuts in that article or not.

Senator REED. There are no pictures in it, if that is what you mean.

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, then, there would be no cuts.

Senator REED. Take this article and tell me what it would cost.

Mr. McMILLAN. This is only a part of it.

Senator EDGE. Here is the full article.

Senator REED. Let us see the full article. Take this full article, which appears to be seven columns closely printed of an ordinary newspaper page.

Mr. McMILLAN. The price of \$2.50 that I quoted just now is for a six-column page. This is seven columns. The one column shipment ordinarily would be 75 cents, which would be at the rate of \$3.25; but the price on this, shipped as it is here, would be \$3 per shipment—\$3 per paper.

Senator REED. For the plate?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir; for the plate.

Senator REED. So that if a man could get your concern to make plates and circularize, he gets this matter in very cheaply, does he not?

Mr. McMILLAN. He certainly does.

Senator REED. If there are 7,500 papers at \$3, that would be \$22,500 that some individual is paying, or that somebody is paying; and in addition to that, would you be paid for your circularization—the expenses of it, I mean?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Which would amount to about \$30,000.

Mr. McMILLAN. Which would amount to about 5 cents for each letter mailed.

Senator REED. Now, we do not want—and I think I can speak for the committee; if I am in error they will correct me—we do not want to have to send a subpoena to New York for your New York man to come here to give us that man's name, unless it is necessary. Can you wire him and tell him you have been asked for the name, and get the name from him, so that it can be brought here to us?

Mr. McMILLAN. I can try it.

Senator REED. And tell him that may save him coming out here, under an order for him to come here; or would you rather have him brought out here, gentlemen?

Senator POMERENE. Get the name and address of the man.

Senator REED. How?

Senator POMERENE. The name and address.

Senator REED. The name and address of the individual; yes.

Mr. McMILLAN. I will be glad to do it.

Senator REED. Will you do that this afternoon?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This was to run along in a serial, was it not, from week to week?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, if you will read the circular letter there you will find that they may run it all at one time, or as a serial.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this as presented cover the whole story here.

Mr. McMILLAN. That covers the whole story.

The CHAIRMAN. The whole story.

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Is that satisfactory to the committee or would you rather wire——

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Marsh says that Mr. White can clear this up. If he can, let us see what he has to say about it.

Senator REED. Does Mr White know about it?

The CHAIRMAN. He says so. We can put Mr. White on the stand.

Senator REED. I want to ask you another question or two, Mr. McMillan. Does your association send out other matter relating to the League of Nations, that was arranged for, to be paid for by other people, something like this was paid for?

Mr. McMILLAN. Not that I recall, that we were sending out anything on the league.

Senator REED. You did not send out anything?

Mr. McMILLAN. There may have been something appeared during the early period, either during the war or later, in the way of government matter; but I have no recollection of it now.

Senator REED. In the way of government matter?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes.

Senator REED. Could you examine your files and ascertain without much difficulty? I assume you keep files of all matter that you send out, do you not?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, we have files of all that we send out for individual people. The matter of news would not necessarily be kept on file by us, however.

Senator REED. Has news of any kind been furnished you by any organizations or associations engaged in conducting a campaign of propaganda with reference to any political questions?

Mr. McMILLAN. No.

Senator REED. Including the League of Nations?

Mr. McMILLAN. No.

Senator REED. How do you ordinarily gather your news?

Mr. McMILLAN. Usually by wire reports, or in some cases, if it is for weekly papers, we clip news.

Senator REED. When you send out news yourselves, you get paid for it, do you not? Do you get paid merely for the plate, or do you get paid for the plate and for the news?

Mr. McMILLAN. We have two offices only furnishing what is known as daily telegraph plates, Chicago and Columbus. Those services comprise a wire service that we use at Chicago, and I do not know what the arrangement is for service at Columbus.

Senator REED. Ordinarily the newspaper itself pays for the plate, does it not?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir; that service is paid for by the newspaper. It is a part of our own service, which we sell.

Senator REED. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask you a question or two. This goes out to the papers of the country. Anybody reading this in the papers of the country has no knowledge that it has been paid for out of the fund of some propaganda organization, have they?

Mr. McMILLAN. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. And if anyone wants to get an article sent all over the country, and has the money to do it he can do it through your newspaper union, and the people who read it do not know anything about who is paying for it, or where it comes from, do they?

Mr. McMILLAN. I do not think they could; no.

The CHAIRMAN. But you just said they could, with this article. Why should they not, with others?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, that depends entirely on whether the article is a fit subject for newspaper circulation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us take the bill to regulate the packers in Congress. How much have you sent out on that?

Mr. McMILLAN. I would just like to be clear on one subject, and differentiate between our own service, which we sell to the public,

The CHAIRMAN. How is that?

McMILLAN. I do not know of any.

CHAIRMAN. Is there any propaganda that you have had any on, that you have gone to the papers with?

McMILLAN. Well, we had a great deal of war work; all of the work.

CHAIRMAN. Did you have Henry Ford's Mount Clemens news service?

Mr. McMILLAN. We sent that out; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent that out?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About the President's trip abroad, and the speeches, and all of that?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You sent out the whole Ford Mount Clemens service, did you?

Mr. McMILLAN. We sent all that was sent out, and got paid for it; not in copy form, though.

The CHAIRMAN. Who paid for that?

Mr. McMILLAN. Henry Ford.

Senator REED. Who?

Mr. McMILLAN. Henry Ford.

The CHAIRMAN. When the people read that, did they know that Henry Ford had paid for it? Was there anything on the article to indicate that Henry Ford was paying for it?

Mr. McMILLAN. The article showed the Mount Clemens News Bureau, and that is the concern that paid us for it. Now, it was pretty well known in the daily papers that Henry Ford was back of the Mount Clemens News Bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. It was known?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes, sir; as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the man who sits down on his farm in southern Illinois, and reads about that, knows that it is Henry Ford's affair, and paid for by Henry Ford, do you?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, the information that went to the newspapers—all of the information that we had went to the newspapers, which were circularized.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is true then——

Mr. McMILLAN. Of course, we can not label every article that goes out on the article itself.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. McMILLAN. I say, I of course we can not label every article that goes out on the article itself.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you can not label every article?

Mr. McMILLAN. No; of course not.

Senator REED. But when it goes out as coming from a news service bureau, the public would actually infer that that institution would be impartial in gathering the news, like the Associated Press, or the United Press. Does that not give a very different effect than if it was stated that this was an article sent out by one Henry Ford, who is noted as being on one side of the question as an advocate and not a news gatherer?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, I do not know what effect that would have.

Senator REED. For instance, a statement of fact by a responsible news service bureau might have a different effect than a statement of fact by a man who was confused as to when the Revolutionary War was fought, might it not?

Mr. McMILLAN. In the case of the Mount Clemens News Bureau there was a definite organized bureau there, with a definite address, and I think, so far as my recollection goes now, there was no attempt to hide its identity.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there an attempt to hide the identity of any of these matters that go out, or is there such an attempt?

Mr. McMILLAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do not most of the States have corrupt practices acts that require an advertisement to be labeled as an advertisement? How do you get around that in sending your stuff out?

Mr. McMILLAN. If we send an advertisement out, we label it an advertisement.

The CHAIRMAN. You label your advertisements?

Mr. McMILLAN. Yes; excepting a display ad, which speaks for itself.

Senator REED. How do you distinguish between these two cases: I go to a newspaper and want an article in, and you have it put in. They must put the word "advertisement" over it, because it is a paid article. A gentleman comes to you and has you make a plate, and you send the plate out, and you are paid, and all of the expense of putting it in the paper is paid, and that is not labeled as advertising. Where is the difference between those two cases?

Mr. McMILLAN. I would say, we do not assume to publish that article. We are simply manufacturing a plate, and there would be the manufacturing and shipping charge; that is all.

Senator REED. Well, I am speaking of a newspaper.

Mr. McMILLAN. No; we do not even guarantee in any sense that the plate will be published in that shape. That is a matter between the publishers and the party ordering the shipment made.

Senator REED. Pardon me. I am speaking of the newspaper. You send this particular article to the Norfolk News, for instance. It is

induced to take it because the type is set up, the plate is furnished, and it costs nothing to put it in. I come to a newspaper and I ask to have an article inserted, and they say, "You will have to pay the cost of setting up the type," or, "You will have to pay us a certain sum of money which compensates us for our labor." In the latter instance it is an advertisement and must be so marked. Why is it not in the former instance?

(No response.)

Senator REED. Is not the purpose of the law to stop this very thing of buying space in newspapers and having it printed as though it was the newspaper's opinion, when in fact it is the opinion of some one who wants to carry on some kind of advocacy?

Mr. McMILLAN. Well, we are not selling space in newspapers.

Senator REED. I am speaking about the newspaper itself. You are doing the mechanical part. But I am speaking about the newspaper itself.

(No response.)

Senator REED. Well, we need not argue.

Mr. McMILLAN. If the newspaper should make a charge for running that matter as an advertisement, then it should be marked as an advertisement. If it does not, if he wishes for any reason of his own to run that article for its own merit, or for any reason, so far as I know, he has the privilege of running that in the newspaper. Is that right?

Senator REED. Although the expense of it has been paid by somebody else?

Mr. McMILLAN. Not necessarily. In this case the expense would not be paid.

Senator REED. The expense is partially paid, at least.

Mr. McMILLAN. It is true if he wanted to use this plate he would have had no expense for the plate.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. McMILLAN. But many publishers prefer to set the type.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. McMILLAN. Some of them—12 ems—could not use that plate.

Senator REED. Of course, I am speaking of one who uses a plate, not the one who does not use it. But that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further? If not, that is all.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. White.

TESTIMONY OF MR. GEORGE WHITE.

The witness was duly sworn by the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. White, we want to finish with Mr. Upham's cross examination, but we would like to use you on this one matter. I am informed you can give us some information on it. We will not take up your full examination, Mr. White, but we would like to have this matter cleared up, if it can be. Do you know about the matter that we were inquiring into here?

Mr. WHITE. Why, yes, so far as my committee is concerned. Shall I just relate the circumstances?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Cochran, the publicity man in charge of the bureau of publicity, came to me—oh, perhaps 10 days or two weeks ago—and brought this article to me, "Uncle Sam of Freedom Ridge," and asked me if I had read it. I said I had, with a very great deal of pleasure and instruction. He said, "What do you think of the plan to circularize it in the country?" I said I thought it was a very good thing. "Well," he said, "I had better get a price on it." I asked him how much it would cost and he said he did not know definitely, but I think he said about \$15,000. I think it was based on \$2.50. I could not hear this testimony here, but as I recall, he said \$2.50 for the plates, for sending the plates around; and on the basis of perhaps 6,000 papers, it would cost something like \$15,000. I said, "Well, you do not know definitely." He said, "No." I said, "You find out." He said, "Then should I go ahead, if it is not over \$15,000?" I remarked that we did not have \$15,000 in the treasury just then, but if he would come around later and bring the exact figures, why, I would decide on it. Now, that is all I know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he bring you the figures?

Mr. WHITE. He had not yet; not when I left Saturday.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it seems to have been arranged for in some way.

Mr. WHITE. I do not know. I am giving you just what I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not know who has arranged for it, or who is paying for it?

Mr. WHITE. Nobody under the committee, to my knowledge, has arranged for it.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought you could clear this up for us.

Senator REED. We had better have that man here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Let me ask just one question to clear this up.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Mr. White, you are familiar, I take it, as chairman of the committee, with the fact that in some of the States where you apparently purposed to have this accepted, there are corrupt practices acts, which require very definitely a line at the bottom of the advertisement reading something like this, "Paid for by"—either an individual, or it may be the national committee, or whatever it might be.

Mr. WHITE. Yes, sir.

Senator EDGE. You are familiar with that?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I know that in general political advertisements, yes.

Senator EDGE. Well, in sending out—

Mr. WHITE. This article—pardon me.

Senator EDGE. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. I was going to say, this article appeared in the Atlantic Monthly, I think, of May or June, by Doubleday, Page & Co., and is published in a book, sold, I think, for \$1.50 over the country.

Senator REED. What was that book?

Mr. WHITE. "Uncle Sam of Freedom Ridge." I have seen it.

Senator REED. That, of course, would have no references to the corrupt practices act.

Mr. WHITE. Well, the question would be whether it would not, whether you can take a book of wide circulation—

Senator EDGE. If the Democratic national committee—I am asking you what your opinion is—should send this out, paying the Western Newspaper Union so much per plate, they, of course, are paying for it.

Mr. WHITE. Yes.

Senator EDGE. It goes to the newspaper in a State having a corrupt practices act, requiring a statement, “Paid for by so and so,” and if the payment was only nominal, is it your judgment that the “Paid for” should not be placed under the aid to comply with the act?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I would want to take that up with an attorney. Frankly, I had not thought of it.

Senator EDGE. In other words, you are not prepared to state on that?

Mr. WHITE. I would want to take that under consideration. I think it ought to be taken under consideration.

Senator EDGE. In other words, you are not quite positive whether this would be an advertisement or not?

Mr. WHITE. No, I am not decided on that. I had not reached that point. I am just telling you the circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN. If you could have arranged this for \$15,000, you were inclined to do it, were you?

Mr. WHITE. I was inclined to do it, if we had the \$15,000; yes?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us see how it would work. That would have gone to Republican papers as well as Democratic papers, would it not?

Mr. WHITE. I suppose it would.

The CHAIRMAN. It would have been published in Republican papers as well as Democratic papers?

Mr. WHITE. I suppose it would; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The man who read it in the Republican paper would not have known that it was prepared by the Democratic national committee and was a Democratic campaign document, would he?

Mr. WHITE. That is a part of the machinery I have not looked into, and I do not know anything about it.

The CHAIRMAN. But that is so, is it not?

Mr. WHITE. Well, I suppose it is so.

The CHAIRMAN. So the farmer who picks up this “Uncle Sam of Freedom Ridge,” or whatever it is, and reads it over in his Republican paper has not any idea that the Democrats are paying for it, has he?

Mr. WHITE. Not unless he knows something about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the kind of campaigning we are going to have? Do you really believe that is an ethical kind of campaigning?

Mr. WHITE. Well, you put the question. I say, I have not given the word to send it out.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I am just wondering not only about this but other things. How much of that kind of business is going on in the country, do you know?

Mr. WHITE. I do not know. I read about boiler plates in Republican and Democratic papers. I am not a newspaper man, and I do not know what boiler plate means, except the stuff that is in country papers, that we see all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. On the bills in Congress this same kind of thing is done, is it not? And when the farmer picks up his paper, if there is in it an arraignment, for instance, of the packers' bill, he does not know that the packers may be paying for it, does he?

Mr. WHITE. I do not think he does; no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think it would be a good idea to have some reform along that line, so that it would have to appear who was paying for things of that kind?

Mr. WHITE. Why, I can not quarrel with you on that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. No; I know you can not.

Senator EDGE. Mr. White, would it not appeal to you as a business man to at least be an evasion of the law if that goes out from either committee and is sent to the newspapers, published in States where the law is very clear that all political advertising should have that footnote, and there was no direction or suggestion that a footnote be put on it? Do you not consider that that is an evasion, at least, of the spirit of the law?

Mr. WHITE. Well, you say the spirit of the law. I would rather think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. White, we want to hear from you again just as soon as we can.

Mr. WHITE. All right.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF FRED W. UPHAM.

Senator REED. Mr. Upham, I asked you to bring certain statements here. Have you them with you now?

Mr. UPHAM. I brought all of the statements that have to do with the treasurer's office. The chairman, I take it, is prepared to answer the other questions.

Senator REED. Let me see them, will you please? Let me see what you have brought, so that I can proceed intelligently.

Mr. UPHAM. You asked me to explain the budget and any agreements that we had with the States.

Senator REED. What is this paper which has been handed to me?

Mr. UPHAM. This is a table showing quotas——

Senator POMERENE. Let me suggest that the paper be marked for identification.

Senator REED. I am having him identify it.

Mr. UPHAM. The table showing quotas as assigned to the several States early in 1919 for national campaign purposes. I think this was in May, 1919.

Senator REED. Now, let the paper be marked "Upham Exhibit 11."

(The exhibit is as follows:)

UPHAM'S EXHIBIT 11.

Table showing quotas as assigned to the several States early in 1919 for national campaign purposes.

| State. | Contributions. | Quota national fund. | To be retained by national committee. |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Arkansas..... | \$2,478 | \$15,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Arizona..... | 2,377 | ..... | \$25,000. |
| Alabama..... | 640 | 25,000 | 100 per cent. |
| California..... | 37,895 | 200,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Colorado..... | 3,350 | 50,000 | One-third. |
| Connecticut..... | 25 | 75,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Delaware..... | 5,060 | 30,000 | Do. |
| District of Columbia..... | 8,200 | 45,000 | 90 per cent. |
| Florida..... | 2,593 | 10,000 | 100 per cent. |
| Georgia..... | 2,058 | 25,000 | Do. |
| Idaho..... | 247 | ..... | \$15,000. |
| Illinois..... | 66,317 | 560,000 | 80 per cent. |
| Indiana..... | 13,353 | 100,000 | State, \$250,000. |
| Iowa..... | 23,339 | 75,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Kansas..... | 16,299 | 60,000 | 60 per cent. |
| Kentucky..... | 5,196 | ..... | \$25,000. |
| Louisiana..... | 6,433 | 25,000 | 100 per cent. |
| Maine..... | 11,660 | ..... | \$30,000. |
| Maryland..... | 5,865 | ..... | \$25,000. |
| Massachusetts..... | 30,872 | 175,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Michigan..... | 56,233 | 250,000 | State, \$100,000. |
| Minnesota..... | 1,025 | 50,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Mississippi..... | 879 | 5,000 | 100 per cent. |
| Missouri..... | 24,160 | 90,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Montana..... | 3,894 | ..... | \$15,000. |
| Nebraska..... | 3,499 | 25,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Nevada..... | ..... | 5,000 | Do. |
| New Hampshire..... | ..... | 15,000 | 100 per cent. No agree- ment. |
| New Jersey..... | 27,212 | 210,000 | 60 per cent. |
| New Mexico..... | 1,080 | ..... | \$10,000. |
| New York..... | 225,292 | 1,600,000 | 80 per cent. |
| North Carolina..... | 3,867 | ..... | \$5,000. |
| North Dakota..... | ..... | 5,000 | 100 per cent. No agree- ment. |
| Ohio..... | 190,372 | 400,000 | State, \$250,000. |
| Oklahoma..... | 13,677 | 75,000 | No agreement. |
| Oregon..... | 2,551 | 25,000 | 100 per cent. |
| Pennsylvania..... | 69,118 | 375,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Rhode Island..... | 26,957 | 75,000 | No agreement. |
| South Carolina..... | 563 | 10,000 | 100 per cent. |
| South Dakota..... | 4,397 | 7,500 | 50 per cent. |
| Tennessee..... | 6,391 | ..... | \$25,000. |
| Texas..... | 4,594 | 25,000 | 100 per cent. |
| Utah..... | 1,835 | ..... | \$21,000. |
| Vermont..... | 4,123 | 10,000 | Second \$10,000. |
| Virginia..... | 12,055 | ..... | \$25,000. |
| Washington..... | 10,000 | 60,000 | No agreement. |
| West Virginia..... | 12,067 | 40,000 | Do. |
| Wisconsin..... | 28,945 | 50,000 | 50 per cent. |
| Wyoming..... | ..... | 10,000 | No agreement. |
| Total..... | ..... | 4,887,500 | |

Mr. UPHAM. We assigned to the State of Arkansas——

Senator REED. Just a moment. I asked you what the paper was.

Mr. UPHAM. It is a list that was made up early in 1919.

Senator REED. You say it is a list that was made up early in 1919?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, on the basis of a popular campaign, cutting out large subscriptions.

Senator REED. Who was it made this up?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I had more to do with it than anyone. I practically made it up myself.

Senator REED. Who else was with you at the time? Who consulted with you about it? Or whom did you consult with?

Mr. UPHAM. I consulted different men in different States, as I took each State up.

Senator REED. Well, now, did you consult with the national committeemen from the various States, or did you consult with the State chairmen, or whom did you consult with?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, in the State of Arkansas, the first State, I talked with Mr. Rimmel, the national committeeman from that State.

Senator REED. Before I go into that, there is set down here a list of the names, typewritten, of the States, and to the left of those States are certain sums indicated in pencil.

Mr. UPHAM. Which are the amounts that have been contributed to date by those States.

Senator REED. Those are the amounts that have been contributed?

Mr. UPHAM. As shown by the testimony this morning.

Senator REED. Now, the figures in the right hand column, typewritten, is that the amount of money that you had estimated you would need?

Mr. UPHAM. That is the amount we set down with the expectation that we might get a total of from three million to three and a half million dollars. That was a mark to shoot at.

Senator REED. But you did set down those figures in this column?

Mr. UPHAM. Not in any hope of getting it, but something to work on.

Senator REED. I am going to take the liberty of marking this——

Mr. UPHAM. That is the quota.

Senator REED. Well, you did set down the figures——

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED (continuing). Under the heading, "Quota national fund," which was what you proposed to ask the States to raise: is that not true? And you did ask them to raise that amount after consulting with prominent people from those States.

Mr. UPHAM. Knowing that——

Senator REED. No. But you did ask them to raise that, did you not? That is what I am getting at.

Mr. UPHAM. We assessed those quotas with the expectation of getting about 50 per cent of it. They were assessed on that basis.

Senator REED. I am not asking you about the assessment. Now, when we come to the State of Alabama, which is the first State——

Mr. UPHAM. Arkansas is the first State.

Senator REED. Arkansas. Well, you called in and consulted with somebody from that State, did you not?

Mr. UPHAM. I did.

Senator REED. And who was that?

Mr. UPHAM. Rimmel.

Senator REED. Who?

Mr. UPHAM. Rimmel.

Senator REED. What is his first name?

Mr. UPHAM. His initials are H. L.

Senator REED. What is he?

Mr. UPHAM. Republican national committeeman of the State of Arkansas.

Senator REED. Now, when you talked to him, did you and he talk about the amount of money that that State ought to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And when you got through talking, did you put down the figure of \$15,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir. He told me he thought they ought to raise about \$5,000.

Senator REED. But you told him they ought to raise \$15,000?

Mr. UPHAM. No. We put it down \$15,000 to spur the boys up, hoping they would get \$5,000.

Senator REED. Did you put it down just for a joke, or did you put down those figures to mean something?

Mr. UPHAM. We put them down for a mark to shoot at, hoping that we might get a little more. If we put it down at \$5,000 we were afraid they would get \$1,000.

Senator REED. Yes?

Mr. UPHAM. So we put it at \$15,000 in the hope of getting five.

Senator REED. So this was all a bluff. There was not anything about it, or anything intended about it, except as a bluff to the fellows, to make them raise the money?

Mr. UPHAM. It was salesmanship, absolutely.

Senator REED. Salesmanship?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you made it up and filed it away in your archives, did you not?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know anything about archives.

Senator REED. Well, you filed it away in your drawers, in your breeches pocket, or any place you please. You put it away among your papers, did you not, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; it is on record in my office.

Senator REED. Yes. And you did not print it out around the State, did you? You did not give it to the public, did you?

Mr. UPHAM. We gave it to our finance committee for that State.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And when you gave it to the finance committee of that State, what did you tell the finance committee to do with it?

Mr. UPHAM. I told the finance committee that I hoped they would raise the amount of the quota.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And if they raised it, you were going to take it, were you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

Senator REED. And when you told them that you hoped they would raise it, did you tell them the truth or did you tell them you hoped something that you did not expect at all?

Mr. UPHAM. I absolutely told them the truth. I told them I hoped they would raise it, with the expectation that I would get about one-third of it.

Senator REED. Yes. You are making the usual distinction between hope and expectation, are you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. What was there to arouse the pride of the State, if you kept this thing secret, only giving in each instance to the national committeeman from each State the amount he was to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know how to answer that.

Senator REED. Well, I did not think you would. I would not know how to answer it myself.

Mr. UPHAM. I know that we have raised \$2,478 in that State.

Senator REED. Exactly, up to this date.

Mr. UPHAM. Up to this date.

Senator REED. And you have not begun to raise your campaign fund yet, have you?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not think we will get very much more from that State.

Senator REED. I am not talking about what you did get.

Mr. UPHAM. I had hoped to get \$5,000, and I have gotten less than half of \$5,000.

Senator REED. Up to date.

Mr. UPHAM. On a \$15,000 quota; yes.

Senator REED. Have you got something promised you down there?

Mr. UPHAM. Very little. The statement this morning shows how much there is.

Senator REED. Now, if this did not mean anything at all, what did you make it up for?

Mr. UPHAM. It did mean something. It meant a plan of campaign; it meant a plan to get popular subscriptions all over this country, outside of large subscriptions.

Senator REED. And you hoped to get them. You state that, do you not?

Mr. UPHAM. I can not say I did hope; no.

Senator REED. You did not even hope?

Mr. UPHAM. Some of my enthusiastic understudies may have, but I never did. I never fooled myself on it at all.

Senator REED. In each instance the national committeeman and you agreed that you would try to raise this amount of money, did you not?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I do not think that Rummel was fooled on it, either.

Senator REED. Did he not say he would try and raise it?

Mr. UPHAM. He said he thought it would be well to quota the State at a good deal more than we would get.

Senator REED. And did the rest of them say the same thing?

Mr. UPHAM. I would not say that all of them did; no.

Senator REED. But most of them did?

Mr. UPHAM. I think they did. I think they all figured at about double the amount they expected to get.

Senator REED. They were to go back and tell the States they were to raise this amount of money?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

Senator REED. And each of them very readily agreed to go back and tell their States they were to raise this amount of money, which they expected the State to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; and here is the result

Senator REED. They must have been a cheerful lot of liars.

Mr. UPHAM. Here is the result.

Senator REED. They must have been a cheerful lot of liars if they would go back and tell them that.

Mr. UPHAM. Here is the result, \$2,478 from Arkansas.

Senator REED. Well, that is the result to date; yes.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. We quotaed Alabama for \$25,000. We got \$640.

Senator REED. Up to date?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. There are some large steel companies down there, are they not?

Mr. UPHAM. We could not accept any money from any steel company anywhere.

Senator REED. No; but from the officers.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I have not seen any of their checks.

Senator REED. And their stockholders?

Mr. UPHAM. I am afraid they do not live down there.

Senator REED. Possibly they are in this book over here. [Indicating.] Well, now, that is your explanation, and with that explanation I think we can put the paper in. Now, over here on the left are some figures in pencil.

Mr. UPHAM. Suppose I read this paper.

Senator REED. Fifty per cent—well, let us get it in.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I can read it.

Senator POMERENE. Let us hear what it says.

Mr. UPHAM. For instance, Arkansas we quotaed for \$150,000; we have raised \$2,478; I have not put down the cents.

Arizona we quotaed for \$25,000; we raised \$2,377.

Alabama we quotaed for \$25,000; we raised \$640 for both State and national.

California we quotaed for \$200,000; we raised \$37,895.

Colorado we quotaed for \$50,000; we have raised \$3,350.

Connecticut we quotaed for \$75,000; we have raised up to date \$25, that is all.

Delaware we quotaed for \$30,000; we have raised \$5,060.

The District of Columbia we quotaed for \$45,000; we have raised \$8,200.

Florida we quotaed for \$10,000; we have raised \$2,593.

Georgia we quotaed for \$25,000; we have raised \$2,058.

Idaho we quotaed for \$15,000; we have raised \$247.

Illinois we quotaed for \$560,000, and we have raised \$66,317.

Senator REED. Illinois?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Indiana we quotaed for \$100,000, and we have raised \$13,353.

Senator Kenyon's State, Iowa, we quotaed for \$75,000, and they have done pretty well; they have sent us in \$23,339. That is almost entirely from farming communities; very little from cities in Iowa.

Kansas we quotaed for \$60,000, and they have sent in \$16,299.

Kentucky we quotaed for \$25,000, and they have sent in \$5,196.

Louisiana we quotaed for \$25,000, and they have sent in \$6,433.

Maine we did not quota anything for national; they have sent in \$11,660.

Maryland we did not quota anything for the national, and they have sent in \$5,865.

Massachusetts we have quotaed for \$175,000, and they have sent in \$30,872.

Michigan we have quotaed for \$250,000, and they have sent in \$56,233.

Minnesota we quotaed for \$50,000, and they have sent in \$1,025.

Mississippi we have quotaed for \$5,000, and they have sent in \$879.

Missouri we have quotaed for \$90,000, and they have sent in \$24,160.

Montana we did not make a quota. We did not make a quota from Montana for national purposes, but they have sent in \$3,894.

Nebraska we quotaed for \$25,000, and they have sent in \$3,499.

Nevada we quotaed for \$5,000, and they have sent in nothing.

New Hampshire we quotaed for \$15,000, and they have sent in nothing.

New Jersey we quotaed for \$210,000, and they have sent in \$27,212.

New Mexico we did not quota. They have sent in \$1,080.

New York we quotaed for \$1,600,000. That is the State of New York. They have sent in \$225,292.

North Carolina we did not quota. They have sent in \$3,867.

North Dakota we quotaed for \$5,000. They have sent in nothing.

Ohio we quotaed for \$400,000, and they have sent in \$190,372.

Rhode Island we quotaed for \$75,000, and they have sent in \$26,957.

Senator POMERENE. May I interrupt you there just long enough to ask one question? Speaking of Ohio, with whom did you have your conference when you arranged your quota for that State?

Mr. UPHAM. I discussed it with Mr. Hynicka, national committeeman, and with Col. William Cooper Procter, of Cincinnati.

Senator POMERENE. Anyone else?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; not at that time. Mr. Wolfe, who is connected with the committee in Ohio, talked with me one time about quotas, but that was some time after they were laid.

Senator POMERENE. What Mr. Wolfe?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know his initials. He is the owner of the Ohio State Journal.

Senator POMERENE. Well, there are two of them—Robert Wolfe and Harry Wolfe.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, this is Robert Wolfe.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he assist in raising the money in Ohio?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; very materially. He had more to do with it, he and Mr. Miller, than any other man.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his paper?

Mr. UPHAM. The Ohio State Journal and some other paper.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that supporting the Republican ticket?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know whether it is or not. I have heard that it was and I have heard that it was not. I have not seen it. He told me after the nomination that he would be for Harding.

Oregon we quotaed for \$25,000, and they remitted \$2,551.

Pennsylvania we quotaed for \$375,000, and they have sent in \$59,118. These figures were up to last Thursday night.

Rhode Island we quotaed for \$75,000, and they have sent in \$26,957.

South Carolina we quotaed for \$10,000, and they have sent in \$963.

South Dakota we quotaed for \$7,500, and their remittance is \$4,397.

Tennessee we did not make a quota for, but they have sent in \$6,391.

Senator REED. How much is Tennessee?

Mr. UPHAM. Tennessee is \$6,391.

Texas we quotaed for \$25,000. We have gotten in \$4,594.

Utah, we did not put in the quota. They have sent in \$1,835.

Vermont, we quotaed for \$10,000. They have sent in \$4,123.

Virginia, we did not put in the quota. They have sent in \$12,055.

Washington, we quotaed for \$60,000, and they have remitted \$10,000.

West Virginia, we quotaed for \$40,000, and their remittance is \$12,067.

Wisconsin, we quotaed for \$50,000, and they have sent in \$28,945.

Wyoming, we quotaed for \$10,000, and we have received no money from Wyoming.

Senator REED. Now, Mr. Upham, that completes the reading of the paper, except certain memoranda in pencil to the extreme right.

Mr. UPHAM. You asked me for the percentages each State was to get.

Senator REED. Was to get back.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, do these figures in pencil, in the right-hand column, and set opposite the respective States, indicate the percentage that was to be returned to the various States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Senator REED. Of the moneys they wanted?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. So that if we put that in the record now, that piece of paper, in that shape——

Senator POMERENE. Senator, for the information of the committee, what are those figures there that you are referring to?

Senator REED. Just one moment and I will get this question finished. So that if we put this piece of paper in this shape, in order to have it complete, as a tabulation, we ought to put over these right-hand pencil figures, as they appear here, a proper heading—this is not the extreme right-hand column, but the column that is next to the large amounts—there ought to be an appropriate heading over this column that I refer to, for instance: "Amount agreed to be returned to the respective States"?

Mr. UPHAM. No; that is the amount to be retained by the national committee.

Senator REED. The amounts to be retained by the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. The balance is to be returned to the respective States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And you would not object to putting that on as a heading on that column, would you?

Mr. UPHAM. Not a bit.

Senator REED. So that we can have a complete paper here.

Mr. UPHAM. Not a bit. "Percentage to be retained by national committee." Shall I put it that way?

Senator REED. Yes. Now I was a little in error a moment ago when I kept referring to this paper, speaking of the figures which you have just now identified by the words "Percentage to be retained by the national committee," as the extreme right-hand column. There are, however, other memoranda or figures to the right of that.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. The first one of which is \$15,000.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Opposite the State of Georgia.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. What does that indicate?

Mr. UPHAM. That means that the State committee—no, that is opposite Idaho.

Senator REED. Opposite Idaho; very well.

Mr. UPHAM. The national committee were not to raise any money in Idaho for national purposes. The State committee started out to get \$15,000.

Senator REED. For their own purposes?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, below that I find opposite the State of Illinois a figure.

Mr. UPHAM. No; that is Indiana.

Senator REED. The State of Indiana?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, I can not get these figures right. I want to get them right. The State of Indiana?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. As indicated.

Mr. UPHAM. \$100,000 for the national, and the State committee undertook to raise \$250,000 for themselves.

Senator REED. For themselves?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir. Where there was any variance in the percentage I put it down.

Senator REED. So the quota that was to be raised by the national committee was \$100,000, and that was to be retained by the national committee, and then the State had proposed to raise \$250,000 for itself and keep it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. That is right?

Mr. UPHAM. All that both of them raised was \$13,353.

Senator REED. Yes; up to date?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; out of the whole amount.

Senator REED. Now, following on down, we come to the State of Kentucky.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. The quota did not propose to assess them at all?

Mr. UPHAM. No; we did not expect anything from Kentucky for national purposes.

Senator REED. They, however, proposed to raise \$25,000 for their own use?

Mr. UPHAM. For their own use.

Senator REED. For their own use?

Mr. UPHAM. State campaigns; and they have raised \$5,196, all of which goes back, because we have no agreement to give them anything but the 100 per cent, you see.

Senator REED. Yes; you are to give them 100 per cent?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Take the State of Maine.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. They were not to raise any money for the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. No; but \$30,000 for themselves.

Senator REED. And they were to raise \$30,000 for themselves?

Mr. UPHAM. Of which they have raised \$11,660; that has gone through my hands.

Senator REED. Yes; and the State of Maryland was not to raise anything?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. The State of Maryland was not to raise anything for the national committee, but they were to raise \$25,000 for themselves?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, following these figures down, can I take the examples that I have already given as applicable to the other States, or do they need explanation?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I think it is very clear. You asked me to give you the States we have agreements with, and I have marked the States where we have no agreement.

Senator REED. In each instance where there is no agreement it is written out here in plain language?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. I had very little time to get this up, and I did the best I could.

Senator REED. I think it is very good.

Mr. UPHAM. I tried to include all your questions.

Senator REED. Now, the aggregate of your quota that was to come through the national committee——

Mr. UPHAM. Come to the national committee.

Senator REED. Come to the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And the percentages to be retained, which you have indicated here——

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Was \$4,887,500?

Mr. UPHAM. With the expectation of getting about \$3,000,000.

Senator REED. Well, that was the aggregate of the quota I am speaking of now.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; of the quota; yes.

Senator REED. Now, you have been getting some money that you did not expect to get at all?

Senator SPENCER. Senator, we could hear a great deal better if you would take your seat there.

Senator REED. Can you not hear me?

Senator SPENCER. I can hear you distinctly, but not the witness.

Mr. UPHAM. We were holding a private conversation.

Senator REED. I had to show him this paper, and that was why it was necessary for me to stand close to him. What was the question?

(Last question read as above recorded.)

Senator REED. And you have not in all instances gotten as much money as you hoped to get. That is right, is it?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, that shows \$4,800,000 in quotas, on which we expected to get about \$3,000,000. And as to the \$3,000,000, we have never known until the 1st day of July what we would require to get; that is, what the treasury department would be required to get.

Since the 1st day of July I know that I am required to raise \$3,000,000, approximately; \$3,079,000, if that is the amount. And of that we have raised a little over \$1,000,000—State and National, all together; about \$800,000 for the national.

Senator REED. Now, this statement which you have given me evidently was not made up at the time the quotas were made up; is that right?

Mr. UPHAM. \$618,000.

Senator REED. What is that?

Mr. UPHAM. It has been raised, of this amount, for the national committee.

Senator REED. Yes; but I am asking this question now: This statement which you handed me—this particular piece of paper—was not prepared at the time these quotas were arranged for, was it?

Mr. UPHAM. What? That there?

Senator REED. This particular piece of paper.

Mr. UPHAM. Not that particular piece; no; because I copied it off to-day.

Senator REED. What did you copy it off of?

Mr. UPHAM. I copied it off of a very much mutilated piece of paper where a lot of figures had been made, and estimates, and things of that kind.

Senator REED. Did that paper bear any date?

Mr. UPHAM. These quotas were spread 14 months before the budget was made up.

Senator REED. These quotas were spread before the budget was made up?

Mr. UPHAM. Fourteen months in advance.

Senator REED. That is, now, by the "budget" you mean the amounts, the moneys that you ultimately agreed you had to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. I had to raise \$3,079,000. That is all I expect to raise. I have got a good, big job to get that.

Senator REED. When was that budget completed?

Mr. UPHAM. The 1st day of July was the first time I saw it.

Senator REED. The 1st day of July?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. This document or paper shows certain amounts of money received, the aggregate of which you have just given; that is up to what date?

Mr. UPHAM. Up to last Thursday.

Senator REED. What moneys have come in since?

Mr. UPHAM. Since when?

Senator REED. Since last Thursday.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I think Friday it was—this is just from memory—\$15,000—between \$15,000 and \$20,000. Yesterday's, I noticed, was fifteen thousand and some odd dollars.

Senator REED. You spoke of pledges that had been made. By the way, Saturday; what about Saturday?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I don't know. I should say in the neighborhood of \$15,000 or \$20,000.

Senator REED. So you have probably got \$50,000, approximately, since last Thursday?

Mr. UPHAM. I think so.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. I made those figures up as soon as I got Senator Kenyon's word to appear.

Senator REED. What is the amount of the pledges that are signed up?

Mr. UPHAM. You had that this morning. I can give it to you again.

Senator REED. We had the aggregate. Can you give the amount of pledges from the different States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. I submitted that list this morning, and you have it. It amounts to \$291,565.33.

Senator REED. Does that come in large amounts from any particular State or would it be distributed over the entire list?

Mr. UPHAM. The statement I submitted shows the number of pledges from each State, the amount from each State. That went into the record this morning.

Senator REED. What are these pledges?

Mr. UPHAM. I told you that those pledges were of a thousand dollars or less than a thousand dollars, with the exception of two. There were two of \$5,000.

Senator REED. Well, now, just to get it in concrete shape: here, for example, you assessed the State of Arkansas \$15,000. It has paid you in cash since \$2,478, and you have signed pledges from that State——

Mr. UPHAM. Well, I couldn't say "assessed." We have "quoted" the State.

Senator REED. All right, quoted; you have signed pledges from that State of \$3,739.25 in addition?

Mr. UPHAM. No; those aren't signed pledges. That is cash actually received. The paper that I have in my hand that you are reading from—oh, I did not know that you had this statement. Whatever that says is true: that we have that number of uncollected pledges, on ahead, at this date.

Senator REED. That was August the 26th?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; last Thursday.

Senator REED. The State of Arkansas up to this date has paid, or signed-up pledges, amounting to over \$5,000 of the \$15,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Those figures are correct.

Senator REED. Yes?

Mr. UPHAM. From the books.

Senator REED. And in order to get at the amount of money that has been collected from these States and the amount that has been pledged we would add together the aggregates, and you would give us pretty nearly a million dollars?

Mr. UPHAM. I should think so.

Senator REED. That is right.

Mr. UPHAM. I estimated this morning that there were about \$300,000 of pledges there; I estimated \$200,000 went to the national committee.

Senator REED. Yes; but I am speaking about money that comes through. Now, you are going to return a lot of this money, you say, to the States?

Mr. UPHAM. We are going to return it, according to agreement.

Senator REED. Yes; that is what I assumed it was. Now, isn't it your experience as a national committeeman that if a State, at this

early period of the campaign, had raised one-third of its quota it was doing pretty well?

Mr. UPHAM. There are only 60 days left.

Senator REED. Yes; and there have been only about 30 days used, haven't there? And you always get your money chiefly in the last 60 days, don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. I didn't get that, sir.

Senator REED. You always get your money in the last 60 days of the campaign, don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. I haven't mine; no. I have never been treasurer before.

Senator REED. Well, you have never been treasurer; but you have been a member of the committee, haven't you?

Mr. UPHAM. I have never been a member of the committee.

Senator REED. So you can not speak from experience. If you were to add to this \$4,887,500 the various sums that the States agreed to raise for their own purposes, and which were not to pass through your hands, you would have how much money?

Mr. UPHAM. Before I commenced to add I would deduct a couple of million from there.

Senator REED. Well, I know; but I am talking about the estimates. Now, you would probably deduct some and you probably would add some that you did not expect, like some of these States that have been paying money that you did not expect?

Mr. UPHAM. My own estimate, as I told the chairman of the committee, was that the quotas as spread would produce not to exceed three and a half million dollars, between three and three and a half million dollars; that was my estimate then, and my estimate has not been changed. I tried to get all the information on there, Senator, that you asked me for this morning.

Senator REED. Well, the States appear to have agreed here, as near as I can cast this up in a very great hurry, to raise \$778,000 to be used by themselves.

Mr. UPHAM. How much have they raised of that? You see, it is a very, very small amount.

Senator REED. Well, I am asking what they agreed.

Mr. UPHAM. They did not agree to raise it, you understand; no State agreed to raise any amount of money.

Senator REED. Well, the men that came down here made an arrangement with you to raise money, and they agreed with you to raise a certain amount of money, I think?

Mr. UPHAM. No; we figured on how much a State should raise.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. UPHAM. And quotaed up about double what we thought we would get.

Senator REED. Yes. Now, that would give you approximately what?

Mr. UPHAM. Approximately \$3,000,000.

Senator REED. Your quota for the national committee that you put down here on this piece of paper, plus the quota that the States were to raise outside, aggregates—and I may have made a slight error in figures—\$5,665,500—Now, that is what you started out—

Mr. UPHAM. That is about 50 off for cash, however.

Senator REED. Very well. You keep saying that. These are the figures that you made as to what you wanted, and what you expected to get—hoped to get—and were going to try to get that you made early in the year 1919?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; 1919.

Senator REED. 1919. This says early in 1919.

Mr. UPHAM. I think that was in May.

Senator REED. Of 1919 or 1920?

Mr. UPHAM. 1919.

Senator REED. A year ago?

Senator REED. Fourteen months ago. Before we knew what we had got to do.

Senator REED. Since that have you told any of these States that they did not need to raise the amount of money that you had figured on?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't think I have.

Senator REED. On the contrary, you have been constantly urging them to come up to their quota, have you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Some one in connection with me has; yes. I have not.

Senator REED. Yes. So that you can not deny, by any possibility, that you are still working to the mark of \$5,665,500?

Mr. UPHAM. I can, absolutely; because, since the 1st day of July I have known exactly what was to be raised: A trifle over \$3,000,000. And that is the mark.

Senator REED. But you still say that you or somebody else is urging them to raise these sums of money, and you have not reduced the quota in any instance?

Mr. UPHAM. I know, but we are——

Senator REED. You are still saying, "Come on, boys; you owe us so much money; go out and get it in here. Come on; we have got to have it to save the country." Don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. I have got a good sales force.

Senator REED. Yes. And you kind of put it on a business basis all the way through?

Mr. UPHAM. You would say so if you would see my books.

Senator REED. Very well. Now, what else was it that I asked you to bring me?

Mr. UPHAM. Mr. Hays has got the balance of what you asked for.

Mr. HAYS. I have those other matters.

Senator REED. I understand the other two matters I have inquired about Mr. Hays has charge of.

Mr. UPHAM. I haven't that information.

Senator REED. I have no further questions, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any Federal officials in this list? [Indicating volume containing list of contributors to the Republican campaign.]

Mr. UPHAM. Not to my knowledge.

Senator REED. In this quota which was put down for New York—is that New York State or New York City?

Mr. UPHAM. New York State.

Senator REED. Does it include the city?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

Senator REED. Is there any separate quota or arrangement for the city of New York?

Mr. UPHAM. Not to my knowledge. I had nothing to do with it, except State divisions.

Senator REED. Well, now, was there anybody else that had anything to do with the financial arrangement, besides you, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. Not for the national committee; no. What the campaign director for the State of New York told New York they wanted out of the New York State quota I don't know. I don't know what they asked Kansas City for out of Missouri's State quota.

Senator REED. Who asked?

Mr. UPHAM. The State director.

Senator REED. The State director?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. That is, we call them chairmen and vice chairmen of the finance committee of each State, a man and a woman.

Senator REED. Now let me get at that. Your plan of organization was that in each State there would be a finance committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. That finance committee would raise money and turn it over to the national committee in those cases where you had an agreement for a joint collection of funds?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And after it had paid the full quota that had been assigned to that State—if it ever did pay it—that finance committee was not to have anything further to do. Is that right?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

Senator REED. But the State committee might go on, and might raise money if it saw fit to do so, and the local organizations in counties and in cities might raise money?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know anything about the local organizations.

Senator REED. No restriction on that that you know of?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not.

Senator REED. You know of no restrictions?

Mr. UPHAM. The State chairmen told me that they were appropriating their State money to their counties. I don't know what they were doing with the money. I have no control over it at all.

Senator REED. Certainly. That is what I thought.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. You don't undertake to exercise any control over the State organizations themselves?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. Now, how about the city of Chicago? Wasn't there a certain sum assigned to the city of Chicago to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. Not by me.

Senator REED. Well, by whom could it have been assigned?

Mr. UPHAM. The State director.

Senator REED. The State director?

Mr. UPHAM. The State director, the finance committee for the State.

Senator REED. Did you see this official bulletin that was printed from time to time.

Mr. UPHAM. Very little of it. Some copies I have never read.

Senator REED. Did you see the first one?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't think I read it.

Senator REED. Did anybody read it?

Mr. UPHAM. I hope so. You know what I said it was this morning.

Senator REED. What is that?

Mr. UPHAM. You know what I said this morning about a bulletin. I said it was salesmanship and "bull."

Senator REED. Well, it was not supposed to have any bald falsehood in it, was it?

Mr. UPHAM. To encourage the work.

Senator REED. I know, but when it contains a statement as a fact, do you mean to say that we can not credit that as a fact?

Mr. UPHAM. I tell you that that is, as I said this morning; the paper was gotten up for salesmanship purposes. I don't know or vouch for the facts in it at all.

Senator REED. I don't know much about salesmanship and salesmanship purposes. I am not much of a business man, but I would think that salesmanship purposes would require common honesty and reasonableness and truth, isn't that your idea, even of salesmanship?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

Senator REED. Now, in these days, that politics have become ethical in the highest degree, and when your chairman has been spending so much time reforming politics, and getting down to small subscriptions, in this era of reform, don't you think that I can take as a fact any statement of fact contained in this bulletin, or shall I take it as "bull," as you say?

Mr. UPHAM. Enthusiasm.

Senator REED. Now, I want to read you this letter. This is dated July 8, 1920. It is addressed "Dear Mr. Parrish." I think I will read the introduction, under the heading, "Owen's indirect summons."

I am reading from the bulletin of July 17.

Mr. George M. Verity—

not the name itself ought to import verity in all that follows—

of Middletown, Ohio, is the president of the American Rolling Mills Co. Mr. Verity, on account of his large and exhaustive business interests, could reasonably be excused from adding other duties to his present burdens and responsibilities. In accepting the chairmanship of the ways and means committee for his county he exemplifies the fine and strikingly patriotic spirit of many business men similarly situated, who are devoting time and energy to the work of the ways and means department of the Republican national committee.

Mr. Verity's letter, which follows, may be effective reading for present and prospective chairmen of the various subdivisions of the ways and means organization.

HENRY E. OWEN.

Then follows the letter:

JULY 8, 1920.

DEAR MR. PARRISH: I have accepted the Butler County chairmanship of the ways and means committee of the Republican national committee simply because I have felt it a call to duty at an extremely critical time in the affairs of the Nation. Otherwise, I could not have taken any time for the raising of funds in our county.

Mr. Fred W. Upham, treasurer of the Republican national committee, has asked Butler County to raise a quota of \$15,000 as our share of the expense of the coming campaign.

Did you do that?

Mr. UPHAM. I did not.

Senator REED. Then, this is a falsehood; is that true?

Mr. UPHAM. But I expect——

Senator REED. Well, it is not the truth, and a thing that is not a truth is a falsehood always.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, it is a falsehood as far as my assessing any county or any city is concerned.

Senator REED. By the way, who is Mr. Parrish?

Mr. UPHAM. I never heard of him.

Senator REED. Did you ever hear of George M. Verity?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. You don't know him at all?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. Well, I will continue reading your letter.

Mr. UPHAM. He may be one of the staff in Ohio collecting money. I don't know. I don't know all these gentlemen.

Senator REED. I will read back again and give you the context.

Mr. Fred W. Upham, treasurer of the Republican national committee, has asked Butler County to raise a quota of \$15,000 as our share of the expense of the coming campaign, and it would seem that the amount fixed is very fair and reasonable. I am sure that Butler County will not have to be asked twice to meet such a patriotic call.

This is the most important period in the history of our country. The policies inaugurated by our next administration will undoubtedly affect the life and progress of the Nation for many years to come, etc.

Our chosen standard bearers, Senator Warren G. Harding and Gov. Calvin Coolidge, are men of large abilities and of sterling character who have never wavered in their support of those fundamental principles of individual freedom and opportunity for which the Republican Party has always stood, etc.

(Signed) GEO. M. VERITY.

Now, what I want to know is if you repudiate that letter and the statements contained in it?

Mr. UPHAM. I think that the man who wrote the letter had been told that "Upham expects you, as treasurer of the national committee, to do this much for your county." He had figured on a certain amount for that county, and he used my name. I think it would have been a little stronger to use Mr. Hays's name, or he might have said "Harding would like to have you do it," just as well.

Senator REED. Yes; but you have a financial organization out getting money, and the gentlemen who get it are endeavoring or are saying, at least some of them, "a certain amount has been assessed to our county."

Mr. UPHAM. Well, we gave Ohio a certain quota.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. How I would have divided that up as between counties, cities, and districts, I don't know, in any State.

Senator REED. Evidently they were working to fill Ohio's quota. Aren't they?

Mr. UPHAM. I think that Ohio has done pretty well—\$190,000 so far.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. But the candidate comes from that State.

The CHAIRMAN. Ohio is getting a lot of advertisement.

Mr. UPHAM. Getting both candidates.

Senator REED. You have a body of men called "field men," don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. How many of them are there?

Mr. UPHAM. In the States we are operating in, I would say one to a State.

Senator REED. One?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. But you are operating in all of the States except the extreme Southern States, I assume; are you not?

Mr. UPHAM. Practically; yes.

Senator REED. Then, how many men would you have out; say, 30 or 35?

Mr. UPHAM. I should think easily that many.

Senator REED. Don't you have more than one to a State?

Mr. UPHAM. Not field men; not that I know of.

Senator REED. Do you have some men that go into these States that you do not call "field men"?

Mr. UPHAM. No; they are furnished by their own States. I don't have any real direction of them. They are directed by their chairmen and vice chairmen of the finance committees. The field man is a man we send out to assist in spreading the gospel.

Senator REED. The bulletin states to field men:

Give headquarters your opinion as to what you would like to see in the bulletin. Send in material used by you so that we may consider it for wider publication.

Isn't it strange, if you have only got 30 men, to take that means to get it through? Who does this bulletin go to?

Mr. UPHAM. It goes to the men connected with the finance department. I think the national committeemen are all on the mailing list. I think the State chairman of the State and all the finance chairmen of the State, counties, cities, wherever there are finance chairmen.

Senator REED. So you do send out your financial bulletin, even down to the county, the men in the counties who are collecting money?

Mr. UPHAM. If we have a list of them.

Senator REED. Well, you try to have that list? You have got a pretty complete one, haven't you?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, the State finance committee does.

Senator REED. You must have it in order to send the bulletin to them. Now, is there anything that goes out in this document that purports to be over your signature direct that is not true?

Mr. UPHAM. I should hope not. I don't think so. I have only seen one article over my signature, and I think at the time that was prepared I was in the East, and an interview of mine was taken and made into an appeal.

Senator REED. Well, here is something that I will read to you in the bulletin of July 27 on the front page, set in leaded type.

[Telegram from Mr. Upham.]

MARION, OHIO, July 22, 1920.

EDITOR OFFICIAL BULLETIN,

365 Conway Building, Chicago, Ill.:

Our candidate by his fearless, forcible presentation of the issues confronting our people in his speech of acceptance has placed the campaign on an even higher plane.

I most heartily congratulate our ways and means chairmen and committeemen everywhere. Their task has been immeasurably lightened. It is no longer a duty but a pleasure to provide the ways and means to elect Warren G. Harding President of the United States.

Seventy-five of Ohio's ways and means chairmen met to-day in conference assembled, and as a special tribute to Ohio's favorite son unanimously pledged to produce Ohio's quota before August 15.

I appeal to our ways and means workers in every State to emulate Ohio's example and raise their quotas at once.

That is a true statement of fact, isn't it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You sent that from Marion, Ohio, where you had just been in conference with Mr. Harding?

Mr. UPHAM. I think I prepared it on my way back from Marion, somewhere in the neighborhood of Marion.

Senator REED. You had been down there?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; and I just came back.

Senator REED. Came back to Chicago. Of course geography does not affect the truth. The geography of your location does not affect the truth of the matter.

Mr. UPHAM. You asked me if I sent it from Marion. I wanted to tell the truth. I don't think I did.

Senator REED. All right. But the fact is that 75 of these ways and means committeemen did meet and agree by August 15 to have in Ohio's quota?

Mr. UPHAM. That is what they said they would do.

Senator REED. And that quota has just been introduced in evidence in the last document that you produced, hasn't it?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So you are working to that quota, aren't you?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; in Ohio.

Senator REED. And you expect those 75 men to keep their word and get Ohio's quota in by August 15, don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator REED. Don't you expect it?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator REED. Why did you send out this statement to the other people in the country if at the time you did not expect it?

Mr. UPHAM. I did at the time.

Senator REED. You did at the time. What has happened since to change the situation?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, the time was too short, August 15.

Senator REED. Well, you expect them to get it in shortly after that, don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. I hope. I wouldn't say I expect, though.

Senator REED. You didn't get it in by August 15?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator REED. But you hope to get it in?

Mr. UPHAM. No. You can see what we have got in now.

Senator REED. And you made this statement, so that Ohio's example, as you then believed to be a very good one, would be emulated and followed by other States?

Mr. UPHAM. It produced how much—\$190,000, I think it is.

Senator REED. Yes; they have done pretty well, and they have got 60 days to get the rest of it. Now, you have really, as a matter of fact, appealed directly to the counties, have you not?

Mr. UPHAM. I have not; no sir.

Senator REED. I mean your committee.

Mr. UPHAM. I think they have made county divisions in the collection of funds; yes.

Senator REED. They made county divisions in the collection of funds. Have you any of those divisions here?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I haven't got a county division anywhere.

Senator REED. Who has made the county divisions for the collection of funds?

Mr. UPHAM. They are in the hands of the chairman and vice chairman of each State.

Senator REED. By the "chairman" you mean the chairman of the State committee, or is it the chairman of the finance committee?

Mr. UPHAM. The chairman of the finance committee; a man and a woman.

Senator REED. Do I understand that you have a finance committee now in each State that is separate and distinct from the ordinary State political committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Here is a fair sample of that. Here is a telegram received to-day from North Dakota. It says:

Contributions received by subscription. State chairman apportioned it by counties, \$20 in smallest county to \$450 in our largest county.

I suppose they divided it up by counties.

Contributions possibly average \$3 for each contributor.

Senator REED. I didn't get that last.

Mr. UPHAM. That is to show—you asked if divisions were made by counties. We make no divisions.

Senator REED. You don't make them here in Chicago?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator REED. But your financial agents do?

Mr. UPHAM. No; the chairman of the finance committee for his State.

Senator REED. Well, I still haven't got clearly in mind the method of organization, Mr. Upham. Let me clear that up. Of course, you have a national committee, and of course you have State committees. Now, if I understand you right, you have a finance committee in each State, which is separate and distinct from the State committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Absolutely.

Senator REED. And that finance committee responds directly to the national committee here in Chicago?

Mr. UPHAM. They report to me.

Senator REED. They report to you?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, that finance committee which reports direct to you has just sent you a telegram from the State of North Dakota, is it?

Mr. UPHAM. North Dakota.

Senator REED. Will you kindly let me see that so I can read it into my question?

Mr. UPHAM. It will show you how it is divided by counties. That man Twichell——

Senator REED. They sent you this telegram as indicative of their method?

Following telegram just received at this office from Fargo, N. Dak.:

"Contributions raised by subscription. State chairman apportioned it by counties. \$20 in smallest county to \$450 in our largest county. Contributions possibly average \$3 for each contributor.

"TREADWELL TWICHELL, *Chairman.*"

Mr. UPHAM. Chairman of the finance committee of each State.

Senator REED. Gunder Olson, national committeeman. So that these financial committees of the State, which are arms of the national committee, do reach down and touch the counties and do organize clear down to the grass roots to get money, don't they?

Mr. UPHAM. They are supposed to raise the money for the national and State purposes; yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you have, among other things, the little elephant which was displayed here yesterday, which very appropriately is to be fed with money, as one of the means by which you collect these small contributions?

Mr. UPHAM. That is, the ladies have that in view.

Senator REED. Yes. Now, therefore, the national committee, which is responsible for the organization of the State finance committees, must be held responsible for what the State finance committees do in reaching out into the counties and into the cities?

Mr. UPHAM. And we are reaching out for the \$3,000,000 for the whole country.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. We understand that. If you got any more than that, you would fall dead. But still, singularly enough, your quotas all are very much larger, and each of these fellows is working toward the quota, as far as I have been able to observe.

I will put this telegram in evidence as an exhibit.

(The telegram was marked "Upham Exhibit 12," and is attached hereto.)

UPHAM EXHIBIT 12.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1920.

Hon. FRED UPHAM,

Treasurer Republican National Committee,

Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill.:

Following telegram just received at this office from Fargo, N. Dak.:

"Contributions raised by subscription. State chairman apportioned it by counties, \$20 in smallest county to \$450 in our largest county. Contributions possibly average \$3 for each contributor.

"TREADWELL TWICHELL, *Chairman.*

"GUNDER OLSON, *National Committeeman.*"

CLARENCE B. MILLER.

Senator REED. Now, do you have city directors to look after cities?

Mr. UPHAM. We have in Chicago.

Senator REED. Well, if you have them in Chicago, you don't favor this wicked city of Chicago, do you? You have them in other cities?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't have in mind any directors except in New York and Chicago.

Senator REED. New York and Chicago?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. You don't pass over the city of St. Louis, where finances appear to have been so persuasive in recent days?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't think we have. I don't know of a St. Louis man in charge of things there. Mr. Dickey, Walter Dickey, has charge of the State. He lives down in your town.

Senator REED. Yes; he lives down there. I know him. I know all about him. He is a nice gentleman. Now, if there are two city directors in the whole United States that you know anything about, and I should think you would if anybody did, because I have learned in talking across the table to have a great deal of respect for your intellect, why is it that you issue a circular to only two directors which reads:

Remember that we are counting upon the city directors to produce the quickest results and the largest amounts.

You would not print that in a paper and send it to just two directors, would you?

Mr. UPHAM. I did not print it.

Senator REED. No; but it goes out. It is published by the treasurer's office of the Republican national committee. I am reading from the Official Bulletin: "Treasurer's office, Republican national committee, Fred W. Upham, treasurer." Well, you know, don't you now, Mr. Upham—just be an honest Injun—that there are a lot of city directors, and that is the reason that this article appeared?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know. I only know of New York and Chicago where I could identify a city director. I hope there are a lot of others.

Senator REED. Well, to identify them. But in your general knowledge, gleaned from the conduct of this business, while you may not have seen the men, or put your fingers into the prints of the nails, or thrust your hand into the side, still you are not enough of a doubting Thomas to think for a minute that they do not exist, are you?

Mr. UPHAM. I hope they do. I don't know. You asked me of my own knowledge, and I only know of two.

Senator REED. Well, I asked you of your own knowledge, and that knowledge that you gained in your character as a member of this committee would enable you to know. Well, now, I want to read further from this bulletin:

Remember that we are counting upon the city directors to produce the quickest results in the largest amounts.

In cities, particularly those of manufacturing eminence, are those whose interests have been most seriously affected during the last seven years by lavish and wasteful governmental expenditures and who are therefore most interested in seeing the Government brought back into constitutional sanity.

Business men and manufacturers are the ones whose activities develop cities. They are two of the safeguards of the Republic at this moment, when we are given an opportunity to change party control.

Therefore, each city director—

Now, you don't say each of the two city directors, but you speak of those as if there were a number of them—

Therefore, each city director, in accordance with the plans already delivered to him from headquarters, must hasten the matter of getting in touch with the greatest business leader of each city and through him into touch with a group that shall form the city committee and then through the city committee into touch with the leading business men in all lines. This effort should lead up to a

public meeting, if considered wise by local leaders. The public meeting can be held in a private house, or a shady garden, or wherever is most convenient or comfortable on a hot day.

You didn't write that, did you, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I didn't write that.

Senator REED. You have got more sense than that.

Mr. UPHAM. I think it is good stuff.

Senator REED. Well, you wouldn't write that. Do you indorse it?

Mr. UPHAM. The fellow was after the dough.

Senator REED. Well, now, let's see. I want to go back and read this:

Therefore each city director, in accordance with the plans already delivered to him from headquarters, must hasten the matter of getting in touch——

Mr. UPHAM. That is from State headquarters, not from the national.

Senator REED. The State headquarters?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. How did this gentleman know that the State headquarters had furnished any plans in all the various States of the country?

Mr. UPHAM. That I don't know.

Senator REED. You do know, don't you, Mr. Upham?

Mr. UPHAM. The State planned its own campaign, divided up its work. What divisions were made, I don't know.

Senator REED. But this is not a bulletin issued by State committees. It is issued by the national committee, and it refers to plans already furnished. You say they are State plans. How did the author of this article know that those State plans had been prepared, and had already been furnished? Wasn't there a plan agreed upon down here by you gentlemen?

Mr. UPHAM. As the cities agreed.

Senator REED. Well, what individual wrote this particular article? I would like to find out about this particular plan.

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know who wrote it.

Senator REED. Who is the editor of this?

Mr. UPHAM. A man named Quarles. Is that a signed article?

Senator REED. He is one of your staff, isn't he?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; he has charge of the Official Bulletin, the publication of it.

Senator REED. And the treasurer's staff—that is, your staff, at headquarters—is made up as follows—and I am reading again from the Bulletin of July 17, 1920:

Fred W. Upham, treasurer; Harry F. Blair, assistant to treasurer; Edwin L. Quarles, assistant to Mr. Blair; C. W. Lee, director, eastern division; Henry E. Owen, director, central division; Charles A. McKeand, director, western division; E. G. Fitzgerald, office manager.

Now, this Mr. Quarles is the man that runs the paper?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Is he in town?

Mr. UPHAM. He is.

Senator REED. Did he ever consult with you at all about anything that goes into this document—this assistant of yours?

Mr. UPHAM. Very little.

Senator REED. Now, continuing, bearing in mind that you only know of two city directors, I will read:

The city director has only one responsibility before him—to produce results from the city to which he is assigned. Let none of us be delayed or disturbed by the speed or slowness of any other city. The city director that produces his quota most promptly will find the name of his city in the honor roll of "Quotas complete" in the Official Bulletin.

Evidently you expected some of these cities to make up their quota?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; through the contributions from the States.

Senator REED. Whatever was the quota for the city, and that quota was known, and that rule applied to a large number of cities, or else there could not have been any competition?

Mr. UPHAM. It is the salesmanship.

Senator REED. Or else there could not have been any competition between these cities as to which would first complete its quota. So you did have quotas for cities, didn't you?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; not nationally.

Senator REED. Not nationally? Well, I understand your stand, Mr. Upham.

Mr. UPHAM. I have never seen a quota of any city in the United States.

Senator REED. I don't care whether you have ever seen it or not. The question is of its existence.

Mr. UPHAM. I have never discussed the question of quotas.

Senator REED. I understand perfectly that there are two explanations that you want to go along with your testimony. One is that no matter how hard you were driving to get each place to pay its quota, and although if they all paid their quota it would far exceed the \$3,000,000 fund that you started out with, that yet you insisted that that was all that you expected to raise or hoped to raise. I understand that.

Mr. UPHAM. All I intended to raise.

Senator REED. All you intended to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Now, I understand that there is another explanation that goes along with it—that this financial organization, which consists of a State chairman, a vice chairman, responding directly to the national committee, was not created personally by you; that that financial organization has divided the cities and counties and has assigned to each county and to each city the amount which they think ought to be paid, and that that constitutes the quota, but that you did not do it.

Mr. UPHAM. I only did it so far as the State quota was concerned. With regard to other divisions within the States, as far as they are concerned, I have never made that my business.

Senator REED. No; but if that machinery assigned general quotas to various cities based upon this general quota that was laid down by the national committee, while you may not know of it personally, yet you do not propose, having helped to create that machinery, to repudiate its acts, do you?

Mr. UPHAM. I think their plan of campaign in the States has been a good business campaign. I think they have divided up in committees in the best way to raise the money.

Senator REED. Let me put it this way, Mr. Upham: If you appoint 48 general agents and assign to them the territory and State that they are to subdivide, and they do subdivide it, that carries the responsibility right back, doesn't it, to you, as long as they are working generally——

Mr. UPHAM. When we quoted a State we quoted the whole State. We quoted Ohio, for instance, for a certain amount, and how much they assigned to Cincinnati out of that amount I have never taken any cognizance of.

Senator REED. That you have never taken any cognizance of?

Mr. UPHAM. No, no. And I don't know about how much they assigned to Columbus, and I don't know how much they assigned to any other city.

Senator REED. The machinery that you set up makes the assignments, and, of course, you are responsible for it in law and in conscience and everything else so long as they act within the limit of their authority. Of course, if they went outside of it and did anything criminal or wrong you haven't anything to do with that.

Mr. UPHAM. As long as they don't pass over the \$3,000,000, I have nothing to do with it.

Senator REED. There is, therefore, an assignment of quotas or a making of quotas for different cities in the country, and there was, if not a prize in dollars and cents, there was a prize in the way of honorable mention for those cities that first made up their quotas?

Mr. UPHAM. So that says.

Senator REED. That is what this says. Therefore we can regard it now as a settled question that there are quotas for cities. It took us quite a good while to get there, but we got there.

Mr. UPHAM. That was arranged by State committees.

Senator REED. Yes; arranged by State committees, and they created the quotas and they made the assignments. Did you put any limitation upon the quota that should be assigned to any city?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. Did you put any limitation upon the amount that any State would be permitted to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. Put any limit on what?

Senator REED. On the amount they were permitted to raise?

Mr. UPHAM. It has never been; no, sir.

Senator REED. Well, you had some States here that you made no assignments to, that no quota was made for at all, and yet they brought you in money and you took the money yourself, didn't you?

Mr. UPHAM. Took the money; yes, sir; and returned it to them.

Senator REED. Yes; but you took the money, though?

Mr. UPHAM. And returned it to them.

Senator REED. Exactly; but you took it. You did not repudiate it as an unlawful, an unauthorized, or a wicked act. So that to carry it out, now—and I want to get your view about it—suppose you had assigned to the State of Illinois \$500,000 to raise—I don't know what it was. But suppose that the State organization which you helped to create had assigned to the city of Chicago \$100,000. Suppose that the city of Chicago was to raise, did raise, \$150,000; you would take it, wouldn't you?

Mr. UPHAM. Certainly I would, as a part of this quota; as a part of the Illinois quota.

Senator REED. And if Illinois ran over her quota you would receive it, always having in mind that when you got up to the three million and odd dollars—I have forgotten what they were—you would stop?

Mr. UPHAM. I would stop before they got there.

Senator REED. You would stop before they got there. Well, now, have not various subcommittees of the national committee—or did they not, when they made their requests, request much larger sums than were actually assigned to them, in some instances?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't understand that question.

Senator REED. Well, I will take, for instance, the publicity bureau. You got from the publicity bureau an estimate of what they wanted, didn't you?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I got from the national committee a budget.

Senator REED. Oh. And you do not go back of that?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. You don't know, then, whether it is a fact or not, before the national committee made up the budget which they finally handed to you, there had been long arguments and controversy and discussions between the national committee and the various subcommittees, the subcommittees wanting more money than was finally assigned to them?

Mr. UPHAM. That was not my business. I wasn't in on it.

Senator REED. I see.

Mr. UPHAM. I have been given a budget of \$3,067,000, or \$73,000, or whatever it is, and that is what I am going to use.

Senator REED. Now, in the bulletin of August 25, appears this article:

Carl Fritsche, our campaign director in Michigan, sends in some good stories from that State. Here is one of them contained in a letter of August 20 to Divisional Director Henry E. Owen.

"On Wednesday night a meeting of 100 citizens of Ionia County was held in Ionia, Mich. An address was made by Congressman J. W. Fordney. John D. Owen, our field representative, then explained the plan for raising the campaign fund through popular subscription. Immediately following his talk Mr. Martin N. Brady got up and said: 'Gentlemen, we who are present will have to pay this money if it is raised, so why waste your time or mine by postponing action. Let's raise it here to-night. I can't give as much as some present, but I hereby pledge \$100, which is the limit of my ability.' Immediately another citizen got up and said: 'I'll give \$250.' Within 20 minutes' time the entire quota of \$3,000 was pledged."

So they seem to have had a quota for the little town of Ionia, Mich., and it seems that there was there a divisional director taking an active hand, and he certainly represents the national committee, doesn't he?

Mr. UPHAM. Represents the finance department; yes.

Senator REED. The finance department?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And the finance department is a part of the national committee. So it will hardly do any longer for us to dispute the question that there are quotas made out by somebody for these towns and cities of the United States, and that the direct representatives of the national committee go there and insist upon raising that quota? We can not dispute that any longer, can we?

Mr. UPHAM. You see the results from the figures. You see how much we have gotten of it.

Senator REED. Yes. I am just talking about this quota business now. Now, that quota there was the quota that was based upon the quota for the State, which you introduced in evidence a while ago, wasn't it? That quota—you are still working on that quota that was made up early in 1919, and are still collecting money from towns and cities based upon that quota; that is right, isn't it? You nod your head, and, of course, the reporter can not get your nod.

Mr. UPHAM. I have got a couple of million dollars yet to raise on it.

Senator REED. How?

Mr. UPHAM. I have got to collect over \$2,000,000 on it yet.

Senator REED. Oh, I understand that; but you are raising it. Of course, the job is not over. Some of the wheat that is still in the harvest field has to be cut. You hope to get it in before the rain, don't you?

Mr. UPHAM. We hope to get enough to fill our budget.

Senator REED. Well, I will read again from this same bulletin of the 25th of August:

FLASHES FROM THE FIELD.

Florida: Our Florida quota has been raised and our field representatives have been withdrawn.

So Florida raised the whole amount laid down in this quota?

Mr. UPHAM. It shows there how much I received. I don't know how much. You have the figures before you.

Senator REED. Well, this is August 25. You may not have gotten the money yet.

Mr. UPHAM. I think Florida's quota was \$10,000, and they raised how much—\$2,500?

Senator REED. \$10,000, and they raised and turned in \$2,593, and here is this "Flash from the field." I suppose it is reliable, isn't it, or it wouldn't be put in the bulletin? You must have gotten such a telegram as that; somebody got it, or you would not put it in the bulletin.

Mr. UPHAM. I don't think Quarles would; I shouldn't think he would.

Senator REED. "California." It is put in here as one of the States here that was assigned \$200,000, and raised only \$37,895. But here is the "Flashes from the field" of August 25:

California: Regional Chairman Albert Lindley, of San Francisco, visited headquarters this week. Mr. Lindley has just completed a trip over the western mountain and coast States and reports that this territory gives assurance of satisfactory returns.

Mr. UPHAM. What does he mean? For Harding?

Senator REED. I suppose you received that sort of a report?

Mr. UPHAM. I have had good political reports from Lindley, and he has told me that he thought we would get a fair response in money from the Pacific coast.

Senator REED (reading):

Maine: To repeat, Maine has oversubscribed by \$5,000 the quota assigned her, and our activities there have ceased.

Now, you had not in this paper which you gave me, and which was marked as an exhibit, assigned or named anything to be raised,

so you must have revised this quota and put in something additional for Maine?

Mr. UPHAM. And have not since.

Senator REED. What?

Mr. UPHAM. And have not since.

Senator REED. You have not since done it?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator REED. Then how could you come to have a quota that was oversubscribed by \$5,000?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know. That is salesmanship, I guess. I don't know.

Senator REED. Well, what are the figures over here of \$30,000 opposite the cipher?

Mr. UPHAM. That was what Maine was to raise for Maine; nothing for the national committee.

Senator REED. All right. Then this telegram or this statement means that Maine has raised her \$30,000, doesn't it?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I don't think so.

Senator REED. What does it mean?

Mr. UPHAM. I don't know what it means. I don't think the man that got the telegram knew what Maine's quota was that had been talked of 14 months ago.

Senator REED (reading):

Ohio: That man, John Kelley, keeps on sending in money from Ohio. We haven't time to add it up right now.

Mr. UPHAM. That sounds like a mail-order house, doesn't it?

Senator REED (reading):

South Dakota: That things have been busy in South Dakota is indicated by the fact that they have approximately completed their quota.

Now, their quota was \$7,500. The amount of cash which you report as received is \$4,397.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, there may be some pledges there. You have got another list.

Senator REED. If they have approximately finished their quota, then the balance is reasonably sure, isn't it to you, of their quota?

Mr. UPHAM. I hope so.

Senator REED. Texas.

Mr. UPHAM. You know we have got 5,000 counties, and about 100 cities, and these few instances are out of those in the whole United States. Each fellow likes to brag, that is all.

Senator REED. These are not from counties. These are from States. It does not say that one county in South Dakota has done something, but it says South Dakota.

Mr. UPHAM. But you are reading, or you were reading before, of some cities and some counties.

Senator REED (reading):

That things have been busy in South Dakota is indicated by the fact that they—

South Dakota—not very good grammar, but let it go—
have approximately completed their quota.

Now, Texas:

The full quota for Texas has been raised, and our representatives have been withdrawn.

Now, Texas was assigned \$25,000?

Mr. UPHAM. That was afterwards revised to \$5,000.

Senator REED. \$5,000?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, then, you did make some revision in this instance?

Mr. UPHAM. I know that Texas was revised to \$5,000.

Senator REED. And you added some—some places that were blank?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know of any.

Senator REED. How?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know of any.

Senator REED. Who would know about that, if you do not?

Mr. UPHAM. I would, if anybody. No one could do it except with my authority.

Senator REED. Nobody could do it except with your authority?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. Can you tell us now whether Maine and Maryland were assigned quotas?

Mr. UPHAM. Maine was assigned a quota of \$30,000 fourteen months ago.

Senator REED. Yes; Maine was?

Mr. UPHAM. Fourteen months ago.

Senator REED. Maine is left blank here in this sheet.

Mr. UPHAM. That is, for State purposes.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. But not for national purposes.

Senator REED. Not for national purposes?

Mr. UPHAM. Not for national purposes, not a dollar.

Senator REED. Very well. Well, there are a number of these other interesting reports——

Senator POMERENE. Did you say, not for financial purposes, or not for national purposes?

Mr. UPHAM. Not for national purposes.

Senator REED. Now let us examine that question of not for national purposes. If there is a campaign in the State of Maryland conducted by a Republican organization or organizations, whether county or State, the whole force of that campaign would be directed toward the election of the whole ticket, would it not, from President, as I said a while ago, down to constable?

Mr. UPHAM. That is for Mr. Hays to say. I am not an authority——

Senator REED. Well, you know that, as a sensible man?

Mr. UPHAM. I know that it is very much easier to run for office in a Republican State when there is a President to be elected, because the President will often lug the other fellow along.

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. I know that; yes.

Senator REED. Yes. So when you speak about these States getting money for State use, in every instance it goes to the benefit of the national ticket unless you have some State that is absolutely hopeless,

and, of course, you do not regard Maryland as absolutely hopeless, do you?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not; no.

Senator REED. No. I do not think I have any more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Upham, I would like to ask a few questions, and I may ask to have you recalled later on. If so, you will be so informed.

Mr. UPHAM. All right.

Senator POMERENE. You, up to this moment, have testified about your arrangements with representatives of the Republican organization in the several States where the raising of funds for your national committee and for your several State committees——

Mr. UPHAM. Where we have the arrangement with them; yes.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. And you said that there were about, I believe, 15 of those States where there was no such arrangement?

Mr. UPHAM. You have the exact list there.

Senator POMERENE. Well, I may be in error about this figure.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. Since then I have compiled them and they are there.

Senator POMERENE. Yes. And in each of those States you have a different arrangement as to the proportion which is to go to the national committee and the proportion which is to go to the State committee, have you not?

Mr. UPHAM. It varies in the different States; yes.

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. That percentage is given there.

Senator POMERENE. Now, when was it that you made up your mind that three million and seventy-odd thousand dollars should be the quota that was to be raised for the national purposes?

Mr. UPHAM. You mean the budget?

Senator POMERENE. The budget; yes.

Mr. UPHAM. The moment I got it—July 1.

Senator POMERENE. Of this year?

Mr. UPHAM. Of this year, after the nomination.

Senator POMERENE. And what position were you occupying at the time this estimate was made for the several States?

Mr. UPHAM. The same position I hold now—treasurer of the Republican national committee.

Senator POMERENE. And that, you say, was early in 1919?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir; the same position.

Senator POMERENE. And the total figures you gave are \$4,887,500?

Mr. UPHAM. With the expectation of raising about \$3,000,000, or something like that.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did you visit these several States early in 1919 and confer with the several State committees or representatives as to this amount?

Mr. UPHAM. I did not. But I saw——

Senator POMERENE (interrupting). How did you arrange that?

Mr. UPHAM. The national committeemen have frequent meetings. I met men from the different States, with whom I could confer.

Senator POMERENE. And then your conferences were with the national committeemen representing the several States?

Mr. UPHAM. The leading business men of the States; yes.

Senator POMERENE. Now, did this \$4,887,500 include the \$500,000 that was estimated to be necessary for the congressional committee and the \$200,000 that was estimated to be necessary for the senatorial committee?

Mr. UPHAM. I had not heard anything about either the senatorial or the other.

Senator POMERENE. I say——

Mr. UPHAM. This was 14 months before the budget was made up.

Senator POMERENE. Now, during the time of the fixing of this amount of \$4,887,500 early in 1919, and the determination of the budget in July of 1920, was there any other amounts discussed by your committee as being necessary for your campaign purposes?

Mr. UPHAM. I told the chairman, when these quotas were spread, that I thought they would produce about \$3,000,000. He did not know and I did not know at that time what the budget would contain or what the total of the budget would be. We had nothing to go by until we had the budget.

Senator POMERENE. Well, Mr. Upham, that does not quite answer my question.

Mr. UPHAM. These quotas were spread on the basis of getting about what the budget happened to be.

Senator POMERENE. I am not disputing that, but that does not quite answer my question, Mr. Upham, if you please. Here was a given amount which the committee in its wisdom had determined would be necessary for this campaign?

Mr. UPHAM. No, no. That was a list made up by myself.

Senator POMERENE. My language there was "an estimate." Now, were there any other estimates made?

Mr. UPHAM. The committee had nothing whatever to do with that.

Senator POMERENE. How is that?

Mr. UPHAM. I say the national committee had nothing to do with that.

Senator POMERENE. Well, did you or those with whom you conferred name any other sums?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator POMERENE. At any time?

Mr. UPHAM. No; not that I know of.

Senator POMERENE. Was there not an estimate presented which included the 51 cities to which Gov. Cox referred in his Pittsburgh speech?

Mr. UPHAM. My testimony this morning was to the effect that I had never seen it or heard of it.

Senator POMERENE. Had you ever heard of it?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. I am advised that the newspapers here in Chicago and elsewhere some time ago had a news item to this effect—that there were four and only four copies of that statement made at the time. Did you see that statement in the papers?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; I did not.

Senator POMERENE. Had you heard about it?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Was any one engaged in the enterprise of making estimates for the committee?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Not to your knowledge?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Now, further, did you arrange in your conferences with these committees for any amount which was to be raised by the several county or municipal committees of the several States?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir. Our figures were based entirely on States as States; how the activity was to be divided up within the lines of the State I had nothing to do with.

Senator POMERENE. Have you had any control over the amount that these State committeemen were to raise in their States?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; in the States as a total.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, let us not misunderstand one another.

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator POMERENE. You by your answer, I take it, are referring to what you call the joint National and State purpose. I perhaps did not make myself clear. I had reference to the amount which might be raised in the counties, or in the cities, for the purposes, the general purposes, of the election.

Mr. UPHAM. That is, for their own local purposes?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, the State committee was supposed in each case to provide for their county funds. Whether a county or city went out and raised money for its own local affairs or not, I have no control over.

Senator POMERENE. You do not mean to say that a State organization was to raise the amount which would be used in each of the several counties?

Mr. UPHAM. They told me so.

Senator POMERENE. Who?

Mr. UPHAM. Many State chairmen.

Senator POMERENE. Well, name them; name those who told you that that was going to be their method of doing business.

Mr. UPHAM. Clarke, of the State of Ohio, for instance.

Senator POMERENE. Who?

Mr. UPHAM. Clarke.

Senator POMERENE. George H. Clarke?

Mr. UPHAM. I think his name is—I think those are his initials.

Senator POMERENE. When did he tell you that?

Mr. UPHAM. He told me so several times, that the State would apportion—

Senator POMERENE. That is, that they would arrange the amount which was to be raised in the different counties?

Mr. UPHAM. No, no. To go back—the State fund which was to go back to the counties. I am talking about the money that we raised in the joint effort for National and State that went back to the State. Then that was to be distributed by counties.

Senator POMERENE. Let us get back to the counties, and come up from them.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Do you mean to say, now, that any arrangement was made—for instance, the county of Stark County, Ohio.

Do you mean to say that any arrangement was made by the State committee indicating the amount which was to be raised and expended in Stark County by the Stark County organization?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not think so.

Senator POMERENE. No.

Mr. UPHAM. I am talking about the State committee. I do not know anything about the local organization.

Senator POMERENE. Well, that is just what I am trying to get at.

Mr. UPHAM. All right.

Senator POMERENE. Now, then, we understand one another—that in all of these answers that you have made to the several questions which have been put to you you do not mean to be understood as saying that the counties were in anywise limited or directed as to the amount which they were to raise to be expended in their several counties?

Mr. UPHAM. Not for local purposes; no.

Senator POMERENE. Well, by local purposes do you include any expense that might be an expense—any expense that might be incident to the holding of meetings?

Mr. UPHAM. The State committee pays most of that.

Senator POMERENE. Well, now, just wait until I finish my question. In local purposes do you include any expense which would relate to local meetings or relate to local advertising, or to the sending out of literature locally for educational purposes, or for any of the purposes incident to the registration and the getting out of the vote?

Mr. UPHAM. Not to my knowledge. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know anything about that?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator POMERENE. Now, then, have you studied this proposition sufficiently to be able to give us an estimate as to the amount which would be expended, either by the Republican county committees of the several States or the Democratic county committees of the several States?

Mr. UPHAM. I have no idea in the world.

Senator POMERENE. You have no idea in the world?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator POMERENE. You do not know whether it would be largely in excess of the budget which you have indicated here has been adopted for national and State purposes or not? You do not know whether it would be in excess of that or not, do you?

Mr. UPHAM. No one knows.

Senator POMERENE. So that—

Mr. UPHAM (interrupting). We have a budget of \$3,000,000 and some odd thousand dollars, if we can raise it.

Senator POMERENE. It is possible, is it not, that in the industrial centers of the State of Ohio there may be large sums raised by the local political committees of your party of which you have no knowledge whatever?

Mr. UPHAM. That is possible; yes.

Senator POMERENE. It is quite probable, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know. I doubt it.

Senator POMERENE. Whom did you confer with concerning the amount to be raised in New York State?

Mr. UPHAM. Herbert Parsons.

Senator POMERENE. Anyone else?

Mr. UPHAM. I talked to Charlie Hilles quite a good deal about it, too. He is national committeeman.

Senator POMERENE. Herbert Parsons is your national committeeman?

Mr. UPHAM. He was.

Senator POMERENE. Is he now?

Mr. UPHAM. No.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hilles is?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator POMERENE. And did you confer with any one else in New York State as to the amount that was to be raised?

Mr. UPHAM. I talked with the chairman of my finance committee a good deal, Col. Boyce Thompson.

Senator POMERENE. Col. William Boyce Thompson?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator POMERENE. How much money has he raised for your committee?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not think he has raised any. I do not know of any. He has not been soliciting money personally. In New York State there has not been a single instance of a subscription exceeding \$1,000.

Senator POMERENE. Has Willian Boyce Thompson furnished any money to the national committee at all?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Has he loaned any money to it?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir. I gave you a full list of our creditors this morning.

Senator POMERENE. I think—well, I asked you if he had loaned any. Did he loan any money?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir. Our loans are \$360,000. I gave you the full list this morning.

Senator POMERENE. Did your list cover the dates of those loans?

Mr. UPHAM. Whether—I rather think the dates are there; yes, of all the loans.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if it did not, will you furnish them?

Mr. UPHAM. Oh, yes; gladly. They are all within the last three weeks, I should say.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Senator REED. I would like to ask just two or three questions. Mr. Upham, there are one or two questions that I want to ask that I failed to ask before. Will you please give—or, first, let me ask you this question: The committee that is in charge of the raising of the finance, do you call that the finance committee or——

Mr. UPHAM. Ways and means.

Senator REED. The ways and means committee?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Will you give me the names of the ways and means committee of the national committee?

Mr. UPHAM. I think I can give them to you from memory.

Senator REED. All right, sir.

Mr. UPHAM. Col. William Boyce Thompson, of New York; Mrs. John T. Pratt, of New York.

Senator REED. Just a moment. Mrs. who?

Mr. UPHAM. Mrs. John T. Pratt.

Senator REED. Mrs. or Mr.?

Mr. UPHAM. Mrs.

Senator REED. Yes?

Mr. UPHAM. John W. Weeks, William Cooper Procter. Now, the chairman says that the committee was fired by the convention. The only ways and means committee to work with men—I never had to consult them since the nomination. The only ways and means committee that I have ever had anything to do with, I can give you.

Senator REED. Is it an existing committee?

Mr. HAYS. I gave that same thing——

Senator REED. Let me ask Mr. Hays for this information: Who comprise the present ways and means committee?

Mr. HAYS. The names I gave you yesterday, those were appointed a year and a half ago; and they figured out this plan, but there has been no functioning of that committee, except the chairman and vice chairman, for several months.

Senator REED. Will you give us the names of the full committee?

Mr. HAYS. That was appointed a year ago?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Or a year and a half ago?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. I did that.

Senator REED. I am going to ask you to do it again, for the sake of saving going through the record, if you can do it readily.

Mr. HAYS. Well, the national ways and means committee that was appointed about 19 or 20 months ago was John Weeks, Mrs. Pratt, Col. Thompson, Congressman Slep, Col. Procter, and Mr. McGraw of Oklahoma.

Senator REED. McGraw?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; James McGraw of Oklahoma.

Mr. UPHAM. And Crocker.

Mr. HAYS. And Crocker, I think; Crocker of California, yes.

Senator REED. Well, can you give us those names; hand them in to us on a slip of paper.

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

Senator REED. Very well.

Mr. HAYS. They have not functioned for some time, however.

Senator REED. Now, the only members of this committee who have been functioning during this campaign are the chairman——

Mr. HAYS. The treasurer—it was all put in the treasurer's office, after these men figured out the plan, and then they ceased to function, except the officers. Col. Thompson and Mrs. Pratt are held in.

Senator REED. Col. Thompson is what?

Mr. HAYS. Col. Thompson and Mrs. Pratt, the chairman and vice chairman of the ways and means committee, have been helping the treasurer, but there has been no continuing of the functions of that committee. It was not reappointed at the national convention, or I suppose technically it expired. They helped in the original work, I believe; they all helped.

Senator REED. Exactly. Now, you had for each State a ways and means committee?

Mr. UPHAM. A chairman and vice chairman, a man and woman.

Senator REED. Will you furnish a complete list of those committees?

Mr. UPHAM. All right, sir. Give me a piece of paper, please, sir.

Senator REED. Do you want the States in order so that you can follow them?

Mr. UPHAM. No, no. I will just say, "List of finance chairmen and vice chairmen for each State." That is what you want, is it?

Senator REED. Yes; but I wanted to know if you wanted the list of States so that you would not miss any of them.

The CHAIRMAN. He is going to furnish it later.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes; I am going to furnish it later. I have to get it from the office.

Senator REED. Oh, yes.

Mr. UPHAM. I have a list of them.

Senator REED. Yes. And give us a list also of your field agents?

Mr. UPHAM. A list of field agents. All right, sir.

Senator REED. Now, could you do one thing more?

Mr. UPHAM. We call them field men.

Senator REED. Field men?

Mr. UPHAM. Whether they are men or women.

Senator REED. Now, your men or women who are engaged in getting money in any way. I would like to have what I called for yesterday—maybe it is here now—your advertising contracts.

Mr. HAYS. Everything that you asked for this morning I have got.

Senator REED. Does that embrace billboards?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. What you told me to get I have got here.

Senator REED. All right. Then I will not ask any questions about it, request it again. That is what I want. Now, I want to ask you this, Mr. Upham: Do you know whether or not any money has been collected by the financial agencies of the States and kept on hand in those States and not promptly forwarded?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not.

Senator REED. Do you know whether the Colorado quota has been raised or guaranteed or pledged in any way?

Mr. UPHAM. I have not the figures before me. But that will show how much has been pledged and how much has been raised—what I have presented.

Senator REED. Well, there is nothing marked pledged here—

Mr. UPHAM. It would be on the other sheet.

Senator REED. There is nothing marked on the other sheet, either.

Mr. UPHAM. Oh, there must be. You have the sheet of pledges?

Senator REED. Yes; there they are.

Mr. UPHAM. Pledges, \$5,875; subscriptions, \$1,738.

Senator REED. Who is the finance chairman there?

Mr. UPHAM. The finance chairman?

Senator REED. Yes. Now, we keep talking about finance chairman. Ways and means chairman is the right term, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. For Colorado.

Mr. UPHAM. Call him the chairman. It is the same man.

Senator REED. Who is that, then?

Mr. UPHAM. Clarence C. Hamlin.

Senator REED. Who?

Mr. UPHAM. Hamlin.

Senator REED. Do you know anything about Blair having made the statement that all limits were off for the campaign fund?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not think he ever made such a statement.

Senator REED. Do you know of anybody else connected with the national committee or connected with this plan of raising money who, on or about June 14, said that the \$1,000 limit was off?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

Senator REED. Or said that in substance and effect?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not. I have been interviewed several times on it, and I have said——

Senator REED. How is that?

Mr. UPHAM. I say I have said that if it was taken off, the public would have been notified before we did it.

Senator REED. Well, I think that embraces what I wanted to ask you about.

Senator POMERENE. Let me ask you just one other question. Do you know C. H. Hall, of Topeka, Kans.?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not. I never heard of him.

Senator POMERENE. Did you ever make any remittance to him?

Mr. UPHAM. Did I?

Senator POMERENE. Yes.

Mr. UPHAM. My books will show. I do not know.

Senator POMERENE. Or the committee?

Mr. UPHAM. I do not know. Do you want me to find out?

Senator POMERENE. Well, in any large sum?

Mr. UPHAM. Not that I know of. That name is not familiar to me.

Senator POMERENE. Well, if you will just examine your books, it will be all right.

Mr. UPHAM. What is the name?

Senator POMERENE. C. H. Hall.

Mr. UPHAM. Of Topeka?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; or at Holton.

Mr. UPHAM. Holton?

Senator POMERENE. I think, either at Topeka, Kans., or at Holton.

Mr. UPHAM. If I ever sent him anything, I have got a voucher for it and a receipt.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Mr. UPHAM. Just a minute. The chairman thinks I misunderstood your question. You did not ask if he sent me, did you?

Senator POMERENE. No.

Mr. UPHAM. If he sent me, it is in this book. You want to know the amount and what it was for, if there was any such thing?

Senator POMERENE. Yes; and when it was.

Mr. UPHAM. How?

Senator POMERENE. And when it was.

Mr. UPHAM. And when it was. All right.

Senator POMERENE. That is all.

Senator REED. I want one thing further. I want the names of all the employees of the national committee.

Mr. UPHAM. You can not get that from me. You will have to ask the chairman.

Senator REED. Well, I will ask the chairman to produce that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you through, Senator Reed?

Senator REED. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Upham, you have presented here, in response to the request of the committee, a list of thousands of names of people who have contributed to the Republican campaign fund.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I observe, in going through this list, that there are pages of contributions of \$1, 50 cents, and even some of 25 cents.

Mr. UPHAM. It is a complete list of every subscription.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). \$2, \$3, \$5—thousands of people contributing those small amounts of money.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That attempt of yours and of the committee to raise money all over the United States from as many people as possible, has it been from a desire to try and popularize the raising of funds and to get away from the old-time Wall Street raising of funds?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, there was a double purpose, one, to popularize—that is, to distribute the burden throughout the whole country and at the same time get as many stockholders as possible, knowing that the stockholders would vote the ticket.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Have there been any contributions from what commonly are termed—and criticized—as contributions from the large interests of the country?

Mr. UPHAM. There has not been a contribution from any interest that I know of. I can not legally take a contribution, except from—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, from representatives of the large interests?

Mr. UPHAM. I suppose there are contributions there from New York, maybe a contribution there from Rockefeller, for all I know—John D. Rockefeller.

The CHAIRMAN. But none over \$1,000?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir; not one.

The CHAIRMAN. From anybody?

Mr. UPHAM. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been more or less criticism throughout the country in years gone by—

Mr. UPHAM (continuing). The chairman stated yesterday how many there were over \$1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Thirty-nine.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been criticism over the country because of these large donations from New York, has there not, commonly called Wall Street donations?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember in 1904 how much criticism there was of that?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember how much Mr. Ryan contributed at that time to the Democratic fund and how much Mr. Belmont contributed to the Democratic fund?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, they were supposed to contribute about half a million dollars apiece, I would suppose.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember that those two gentlemen practically made up the deficit in the campaign fund?

Senator POMERENE. Who?

The CHAIRMAN. Belmont and Ryan. It amounted, as I remember it, to over \$700,000, the two of them. And there has been an attempt to get away from that sort of thing, has there not, in the country, and you are trying to do that?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes. The committee is trying to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I notice through here in the State of Iowa, for instance, donations of small amounts from farmers and small business men, in little towns. I assume that follows all the way through this list.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those the people, do you think, that Gov. Cox referred to as intending to employ bayonets to keep labor down?

Mr. UPHAM. I could not tell you whom he had in mind, who he intended to get at.

The CHAIRMAN. This class of people whom you have listed through here, are they people who are inclined to be corruptive in their desires as to government?

Mr. UPHAM. I should say that they were the best citizens that we had.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Senator REED. I omitted to read some of these statements from the Official Bulletin. Now, I have asked you, and I have asked the chairman, whether there was any underwriting.

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. Or guarantees?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED. And you have both stated that you knew of nothing of the kind. I want to read you from the bulletin of August 16, now, under the attractive head of "Flashes from the field":

Ohio. Stark County has completed quota. Cleveland, wire from director as follows: "Every indication Cleveland will do full share. Important influential leaders are definitely pledged to task. Perfecting organization for campaign week September 16." Cincinnati business men have underwritten quota to be delivered to September 1.

Mr. UPHAM. That is just a promise; that is all. We have no underwriting of any kind.

Senator REED. Well, this says they have underwritten it, does it not?

Senator POMERENE. And this is printed in the bulletin.

Senator REED. And it is printed in the bulletin: "Steubenville has nearly completed its quota."

Mr. UPHAM. They meant they would see it was done; that was all.

Senator REED (reading):

Toledo, with committee of leading business men actively soliciting to complete quota by August 15.

Massachusetts. The little city of Pittsburg, Mass., together with surrounding industrial territory, has produced in the past two weeks, through the general subscription plan, \$31,000.

Mr. UPHAM. Senator Weeks told me that there were over 7,000 subscribers in Massachusetts. He said that never in the history of the State, in any political campaign, had there been 10 per cent of

that number of subscribers in the State before. He said, "Our solicitors have brought in over 7,000 subscriptions."

Senator REED. It looks like you were going to get your quota from that State, does it not?

Mr. UPHAM. Well, you can see the figure right there. How much have we got? You have got my figures there.

Senator REED. Yes.

In the Pacific States Regional Chairman Albert Lindley has just been making a trip around the circle, and he reports most flattering conditions. At luncheon in Seattle, on Tuesday, where he was the guest of honor, \$10,000 was subscribed at the table, and the balance of the State's quota will be in the hands of Treasurer Upham prior to September 1.

It looks pretty good out there, does it not?

Mr. UPHAM. We never had a dollar in the world from Washington before.

Senator REED. Yes. This is the coast State, of course?

Mr. UPHAM. Yes.

Senator REED (reading):

Maine. The Pine Tree State has made a record of which she can be truly proud. In the past practically no subscriptions for the national committee fund were ever received from this State. Starting July 18, the first organization of the State ways and means committee was perfected, and on August 15 the quota had been oversubscribed \$5,000.

Mr. UPHAM. Well, we discussed that once before.

Senator REED. Yes. It was a little different statement, however.

Tennessee. Chattanooga oversubscribed its quota this week and the balance of the Tennessee cities through small groups of business men who are determined that a business administration is essential for the future welfare of the country, are being carefully canvassed.

Indiana. Twelfth congressional district with large quotas assigned. Campaign large subscriptions practically completed. Full district quota will be reported by August 25.

Have you got that in yet?

Mr. UPHAM. You have got my report there.

Senator REED. For Indiana?

Mr. UPHAM. Indiana, \$13,000; we have gotten in from the whole State so far.

Senator REED. Yes.

Colorado. C. C. Hamlin, State chairman, reports northern counties in Colorado have practically raised their quotas. He guarantees the State quota by September 1.

Is he a responsible man?

Mr. UPHAM. He is a lawyer.

Senator REED. "California. Southern California is swinging along in splendid shape, and will produce its quota prior to September 1. The Harding and Coolidge Club, recently organized in San Francisco, has guaranteed \$100,000 to the fund." That is pretty nearly an underwriting, is it not?

Mr. UPHAM. No; I would not say so. I would say it was some more "bull."

Senator REED. Well, there is some more of this. I will just put the article in the record—the whole of it, Mr. Reporter.

(The article, "Flashes from the Field," in the bulletin of Aug. 16, 1920, is as follows:)

FLASHES FROM THE FIELD.

Ohio.—Stark County has completed its quota. Cleveland wire from director as follows: "Every indication Cleveland will do full share. Important influential leaders are definitely pledged to task. Perfecting organization for campaign week September 16. Cincinnati business men have underwritten quota to be delivered September 1. Steubenville has nearly completed its quota. Toledo, with committee of leading business men actively soliciting, to complete quota by August 15.

Massachusetts.—The little city of Fitchburg, Mass., together with surrounding industrial territory, has produced in the past two weeks, through the general subscription plan, \$31,000. Western Massachusetts counties are in the midst of an intensive campaign. Metropolitan Boston is being very thoroughly organized under the direction of Chairman Charles F. Weed, through financial campaign with popular features. Campaign will be concluded by August 15.

Coast.—In the Pacific States Regional Chairman Albert Lindley has just been making a trip around the circle, and he reports most flattering conditions. At luncheon in Seattle on Tuesday, where he was the guest of honor, \$10,000 was subscribed at the table, and the balance of the State's quota will be in the hands of Treasurer Upham prior to September 1.

Maine.—The Pine Tree State has made a record of which she can be truly proud. In the past practically no subscriptions to the national committee fund were ever received from this State. Starting July 18, the first organization of the State ways and means committee was perfected, and on August 15 the quota had been oversubscribed \$5,000.

Tennessee.—Chattanooga oversubscribed its quota this week, and the balance of the Tennessee cities, through small groups of business men who are determined that a business administration is essential for the future welfare of the country, are being carefully canvassed.

Wisconsin.—This State has every day since adjournment of convention recorded itself on the cash register at headquarters with substantial sums. Milwaukee organization moving forward with big men behind it.

Indiana.—Twelfth congressional district with large quotas assigned. Campaign large subscriptions practically completed. Full district quota will be reported by August 25.

Michigan.—Campaign in Pontiac, Saginaw, Alma, Bay City, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Battle Creek, Grand Rapids, and Grand Haven started during past week. Forty counties in Michigan now campaigning.

Colorado.—C. C. Hamlin, State chairman, reports northern counties in Colorado have practically raised their quotas. He guarantees the State quota by September 1.

California.—Southern California is swinging along in splendid shape, and will produce its quota prior to September 1. The Harding and Coolidge Club, recently organized in San Francisco, has guaranteed \$100,000 to the fund.

Florida.—Subscriptions have been coming in to Treasurer Upham's office from all parts of Florida showing a deep interest in the Republican campaign.

Arizona.—A number of influential Democratic business men in Arizona have during the week subscribed to the Republican fund.

New Hampshire.—Money being sent every day to eastern treasurer. Chairman hopes to complete entire State's quota by this week.

Alabama.—Campaign has started in Birmingham with key business men actively at work.

Arizona.—Tucson and Phoenix are driving complete campaign this week.

Illinois.—Will and Boone Counties have practically completed quotas.

South Dakota.—Mitchell has completed quota.

Senator REED. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Upham.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Senator New is here. I suppose you are anxious to finish too, Mr. Hays. We will finish with you first, Mr. Hays.

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILL H. HAYS—Resumed.

Mr. HAYS. Senator Reed asked that there be indicated the amount appropriated or included in the budget for publicity; the publicity item in the budget being \$1,346,500, what part of that was appropriated or estimated for advertisements in foreign language newspapers. Is that right?

Senator REED. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Now, there has been no appropriation to put any advertisements in foreign-language newspapers. It is hoped and rather planned there will be money to put advertisements in foreign-language newspapers, but in that budget there is no estimate made.

Senator REED. Is there a general estimate for advertising in papers?

Mr. HAYS. I will be glad to give you the items of the \$1,346,500; there are magazines and monthlies, items of weekly and national circulation, and there is a miscellaneous of \$40,000; and with that, and with savings in different places, they hope to have some money for advertisements in foreign-language newspapers.

Senator REED. How much is set aside for advertising in papers?

Mr. HAYS. In magazines—well, in newspapers, nothing. That just has not been done, and there is no provision made for foreign-language advertisements—advertisements in foreign-language papers. In that connection, there are agencies soliciting advertisements and men who look for advertisements of political parties and other agencies in the foreign-language press. And I want in that connection to read a letter, as a lead, that you may have the information.

(The letter is as follows:)

[Foreign Language Advertising Service (Inc.), special advertising agencies for foreign-language newspapers. New York office, 152 Fourth Avenue; Boston office, Little Building, Boston, Mass.]

AUGUST 18, 1920.

GENTLEMEN: We are making up lists at the request of Mr. Hans Ryke, director of bureau of naturalized citizens, Democratic national committee, for political advertising during the coming presidential campaign. You no doubt remember Mr. Hans Ryke, who during the war was chief of the foreign-language division of the Liberty loan and war savings campaigns, and his remarkable and untiring work in behalf of the foreign-language press before the committee of Congress which was considering the bills to wipe out the foreign-language press of this country. It was largely due to Mr. Ryke's work that these bills were defeated, and we feel that he is entitled to particular recognition by the proprietors of foreign-language newspapers, which at this time can be rendered by getting him the very lowest rates possible in advertising which he is to put out. Mr. Ryke plans a campaign to begin about the 1st of September and run until the 1st of November, using a total space of about 1,000 inches in each of the best foreign-language newspapers of the country.

Kindly fill out the inclosed postcard, giving us the very lowest rate that you can possibly accept for this advertising, and what commission and cash discount you will allow us. Time is short, so please mail this card at once. Avoid delay.

In reference to our financial standing, we will refer you to the Old Colony Trust Co., Boston, Mass.

Yours, truly,

FOREIGN-LANGUAGE ADVERTISING SERVICE (INC.).

Senator REED. To whom is that addressed?

Mr. HAYS. It has no address. It is evidently a circular letter to the foreign-language press. Now, I had Lord & Thomas, advertising agents, advise me, and they say that there are in the total United

States 1,284 foreign-language newspapers. The number that can be eliminated as not the best ones is 1,042, leaving as the best ones 241; and the total cost of 1,000 inches in 241 of the best foreign-language papers, covering 23 languages, is \$235,880. That is a lead on what the Democratic committee evidently is planning to do in that connection.

Senator REED. As this letter is addressed to nobody, this letter which is presented here, you say you infer it was sent to some papers. How do you infer that?

Mr. HAYS. I will ascertain it. It was just handed to me this noon. I will ascertain where it came from. The addressor of the letter would know. I can find out where that came from, I think. Now, if there is anything else—you wanted the speakers employed, did you not, and some itemization of the speakers' bureau?

Senator REED. No; I wanted to know about the amount set aside for billboard advertising.

Mr. HAYS. Oh, yes. \$160,000. That contract—and it is the only one—has actually been signed. I could not get the contract, but the budget was \$160,000 for all of the billboard in the United States, and that has been signed, and the contract was \$159,264.74.

Senator REED. Whom did you make that contract with?

Mr. HAYS. Why, some billboard company. I forget the name of it.

Senator REED. Well, who was it made the contract on behalf of your committee? Who negotiated it?

Mr. HAYS. It is signed by Mr. Upham and myself. It was negotiated by Mr. Wrigley and Mr. Lasker.

Senator REED. Mr. Wrigley is a large billboard advertiser, is he not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; and he knows those things.

Senator REED. Is he interested in that?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no; except that he uses them a great deal, and he knew about how to make that kind of a contract.

Senator REED. Mr. Wrigley is the chewing gum man, is he not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes; Will Wrigley, who makes Spearmint gum; and Lasker is of Lord & Thomas Advertising Agency here. They prepared that for us, and we have executed that contract to cover such billboard advertising as we will do all over the country until election, and it amounts to \$159,264.74. Senator New will give you the items in connection with the speakers.

Senator REED. All right.

Senator POMERENE. Mr. Hays, I would like to ask a question or two. Have you got a list of the ways and means committees of the several States?

Mr. HAYS. No; I have not.

Senator POMERENE. You are not able to furnish that?

Mr. HAYS. No, sir.

Senator POMERENE. Where can we get that?

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. Upham can get that, I think. Mr. Upham has the chairman and vice chairman, I think.

Mr. UPHAM. I will bring it in to-morrow.

Senator POMERENE. I overlooked that before.

Mr. UPHAM. All right.

Senator POMERENE. Now, just one other matter here. What relation has your committee with the American Defense Society?

Mr. HAYS. Senator, we have not any. Now, I want to amend in a very trifling way my testimony of yesterday in that connection. I have known nothing about the American Defense Society since the war. I just know there is such a thing, that is all. But the other day the president of the American Defense Society, whose name I do not know, called, among others, at the office to suggest that they would like to go to Marion.

Senator POMERENE. Like to what?

Mr. HAYS. And I did not have time to talk about it——

Senator POMERENE. He would like to do what?

Mr. HAYS. Go to Marion, Ohio, to see Mr. Harding. You asked if I knew anything about it. I did not discuss it with him at all.

Senator POMERENE. What was his name, do you remember?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not remember.

Senator POMERENE. Was it King?

Mr. HAYS. I really do not remember. He was an elderly gentleman.

Senator POMERENE. Where was he from?

Mr. HAYS. New York, I think. He is an elderly gentleman, president of the American Defense Society, or who said he was, and he said he had made a canvass of their membership; that he had written a letter of some kind to see how their membership stood about this thing, and it was practically unanimous, and he said he was going to organized a trip to Marion.

The CHAIRMAN. About what thing?

Mr. HAYS. About the candidate for President.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I see.

Mr. HAYS. And whom they were for, for President; and he said he wanted to go to Marion. I want to amend what I said to that extent. I have heard of them since the war only in that regard.

Senator POMERENE. Did you give a man by the name of John B. King, formerly a field secretary of the American Defense Society, letters of introduction on the letterhead of the national executive committee?

Mr. HAYS. During the war, do you mean?

Senator POMERENE. Well, recently.

Mr. HAYS. Not to my knowledge; no.

Senator POMERENE. You have no recollection of that?

Mr. HAYS. No; I do not; I do not think so. We have no contact with them at all.

Senator POMERENE. Very well. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further? If not, that is all, Mr. Hays.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Senator New.

TESTIMONY OF SENATOR HARRY S. NEW.

The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name to the reporters, Senator.

Senator NEW. Harry S. New.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is it that you want to say to the committee?

Senator NEW. What does the committee want me to say to it?

The CHAIRMAN. We want you to tell us about the speakers' bureau, for one thing. There was a question asked about that yesterday.

Senator SPENCER. How many speakers have you got at work now?

Senator NEW. At work?

Senator SPENCER. Yes; in the United States.

Senator NEW. Very few.

Senator SPENCER. Well, how many approximately?

The CHAIRMAN. That does not mean those who are preparing their speeches.

Senator NEW. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But actually out in the field.

Senator SPENCER. Yes; actually out.

Senator NEW. Actually out?

Senator SPENCER. Actually out in the field, in the campaign.

Senator NEW. Actually out, there are a very few. I can not say just how many. The eastern division, for instance, has charge of all that territory east of the Allegheny Mountains, and there is an active campaign on in Maine. I do not know just how many speakers are in Maine under the auspices of the Republican national committee just now, but there are not many. And out here there are very few.

Senator REED. How many speakers have you under pay? I do not mean expenses, but——

Senator NEW. Under pay?

Senator REED. Yes.

Senator NEW. I think at the present there are not to exceed one dozen.

Senator REED. Well, have you arrangements made with others to take the field later on?

Senator NEW. Yes.

Senator REED. How many?

Senator NEW. Oh, I suppose we have more or less definite arrangements with—oh, there are probably 300 or 400 men with whom there is some sort of an arrangement calling for their speaking services after the campaign is once fairly inaugurated.

Senator REED. What do you have to pay those men?

Senator NEW. Most of them are paid nothing.

Senator REED. Well, I am speaking about the men who are paid, not the men whose expenses are merely paid. You misunderstood my question, Senator.

Senator NEW. How much do we have to pay them?

Senator REED. How many of these speakers that you have spoken of are paid speakers?

Senator NEW. Well, do you mean those who are to come later?

Senator REED. Who are in the field already and who are to come later. How many of them are to be paid?

Senator NEW. Oh, I could not tell you, but there are not a very great many of them. Most of those whose services we are going to rely upon will receive nothing—that is, will serve for nothing, excepting that in many instances we pay their traveling and hotel expenses.

Senator REED. Of course, you know who the men are that you have to pay?

Senator NEW. Well, we will know when we get through arranging with them.

Senator REED. You have some three hundred tentatively arranged for, but part of them are to be paid but part not. Now, I wanted to know how many of them would have to be paid.

Senator NEW. Not a great many of them.

Senator REED. That is rather indefinite.

Senator NEW. Oh, I have no list. I have not the list. In fact, there are very few contracts that have been made and very few who have asked us for compensation.

Senator EDGE. What type of speakers are those who are being paid? Are they what you might call those who speak on technical subjects or something of that kind? What is the idea?

Senator NEW. Some of them. But there are men—for instance, some young attorneys, who can not afford to absent themselves from their offices; it practically means that they have to close their offices when they go out campaigning; and to them we mean to give some compensation that will requite them for having closed their offices and gone into the campaign; that is all.

Senator EDGE. In your contact men who are seeking employment of that character, have you had any experience that would lead you to believe that some men seek employment from either party?

Senator NEW. Yes.

Senator EDGE. Could you give us any information concerning that, as a matter of information to the committee?

Senator NEW. Yes; I have one instance here.

Senator EDGE. We would like to be informed of that.

The CHAIRMAN. They will teach that the world is either round or square, according to which side they are on.

Senator NEW. Yes. Along about the last of July, some time the last week in July, Congressman Nelson of Minnesota brought to my attention Prof. John O. Hall, of Willamette University, Willamette, Oreg., then in the employ of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Mr. Nelson said to me that he was a Scandinavian, with great influence among the Scandinavians, and he said he would be a good man for us to have as a speaker or worker among the Scandinavian population. On July 29 I wrote him this letter—do you want me to read this letter?

Senator EDGE. I would like to hear it. We have heard so much about paid speakers that I would like to be informed just what the situation is.

Senator NEW. On July 29 I wrote Prof. John O. Hall as follows:

JULY 29, 1920.

Prof. JOHN O. HALL,
1824 Fifteenth Street NW.,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR PROF. HALL: My attention has been called to you by Mr. Nelson and by other members of Congress as one eminently qualified to assist in the work here of the speakers' bureau, particularly among voters of Scandinavian antecedents.

I feel sure that the national committee would like to have the benefit of your services. I wish you would write me here and let me know that you are at liberty and disposed to assist, and about what your ideas are as to terms, etc.

Very truly, yours,

Senator New. And I got this reply to that letter, on the letterhead of Willamette University, department of social science, John O. Hall, professor. It is dated Washington, D. C., July 31, 1920, and is as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *July 31, 1920.*

HON. HARRY S. NEW, U. S. S.,
Republican National Committee,
Auditorium Hotel, Chicago, Ill.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I wish to thank you for your kind letter of the 29th inst.

My position has been quite delicate of late, as I have been engaged in Government work and many of my Democratic friends have been pressing me hard to join in their political campaign.

In order that you may fully understand my present position and my future plans, permit me to go somewhat into detail. I have always voted the Republican ticket up to nine years ago, when I moved to Oregon. Then, for several reasons, I registered as an independent. Being somewhat disappointed with President Taft's administration and not fully in sympathy with the Bull Moose Party, I voted for Woodrow Wilson, inasmuch as I knew him personally and by his books. At his second campaign I also gave him my vote, believing that it was not wise to make any change in that critical period. At that time I must have been as blind as a new-born kitten, but my wide experience in Government service since then has opened my eyes. Furthermore, when I consider the work done by the Republicans during the last Congress, in spite of being handicapped, my disposition is to assist my old party to the maximum of my capacity.

Concerning terms, I wish to state frankly that the other party has offered me \$7,500 and my expense account, and they also promise me a good appointment of a nonpolitical character after the campaign is over. I have been putting them off, as I could not very well go into a campaign for a cause in which I do not believe. Yesterday forenoon a gentleman in charge of the speakers' bureau had an interview with me again and stated that, if the terms were not satisfactory, he would be willing to raise them. He wanted an appointment with me on Wednesday, August 4, as by that time they shall have considered fully their budget and will be in a position to state definitely what they could offer me. I am obliged to meet that appointment at 10.30 next Wednesday, and I would appreciate it very much if I could hear from you by that time and be able to give them a conclusive answer. What I should like is, first, to be able to say that the Republican Party has requested my services; second, that they are able to make me a better offer than the Democratic Party (the minimum offered by the other party is \$7,500, the maximum \$10,000); third, that all of my time and talents will be engaged in behalf of the Republican Party from now on.

If agreeable to you, I could give most of my lectures in churches, as they will be open to me free of charge. I also believe that it is very essential to organize campaign clubs among these church people, who are apt to look upon politics as beneath their spiritual dignity. In fact, this sentiment is so strong among many of the Scandinavians that they are even prone to neglect casting their vote unless they are positively convinced that it is part of their Christian duty to exercise their franchise. This would probably apply to women's clubs and societies as well as men's.

As you have probably noticed from one of my proposed itineraries which has been forwarded to you, I have a very large field, and I feel strongly that it is very essential for me to get started as early as possible after you have selected my exact itinerary. I shall, therefore, hold myself in readiness and be at your service on comparatively short notice.

Hoping to receive a favorable reply at your earliest convenience, I remain,

Very sincerely, yours,

J. O. HALL.

P. S.—A gentleman called on me last night who stated that if the Democratic committee was not in a position to make me a satisfactory offer next Wednesday he would be willing to make up the difference out of his private funds. You need not pay any attention to this in your estimate, however, as my principal consideration is not money but the opportunity to render efficient service for the party and my country. I am merely mentioning this incident to show how insistently they are trying to enlist my services.

Kindly pardon haste, as I want to get this mailed at once.

J. O. H.

